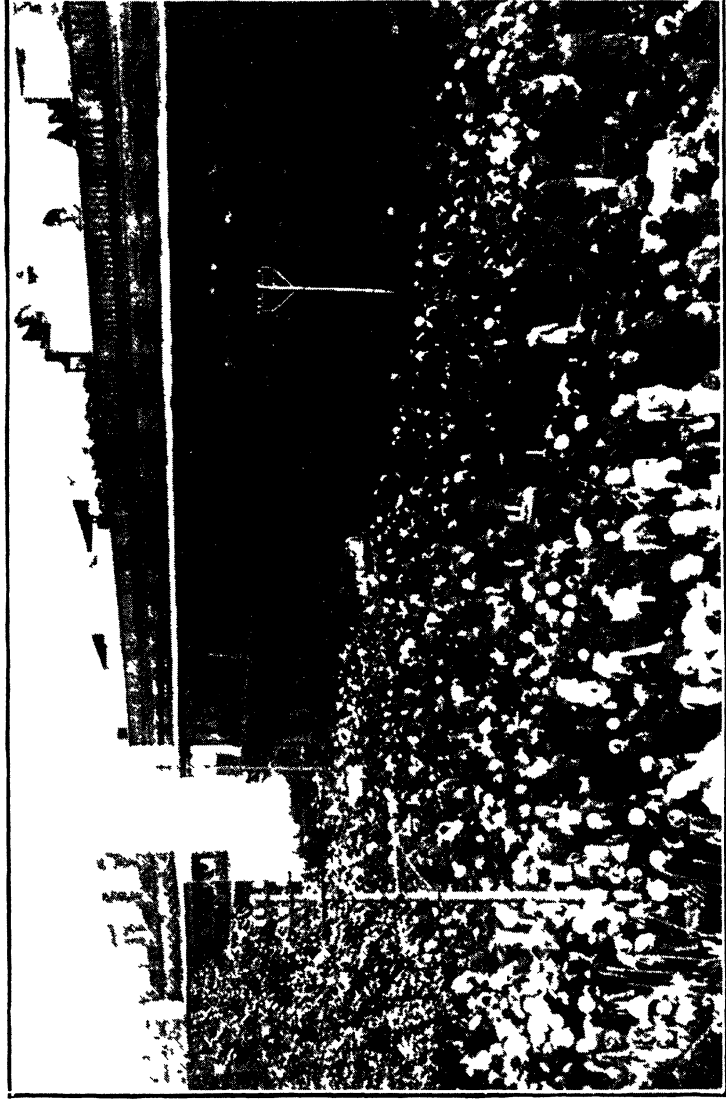
# *विषय-सूची*

| विषय | पृष्ठ सं० |
|---|---|

प्रो० सत्यव्रत जी प्रिन्टर तथा पब्लिशर के लिये गुरुकुल यन्त्रालय कांगड़ी में छपा

शहीद स्वामी श्रद्धानन्द महाराज के शव का जलूस

वर्ष ३, अङ्क ६,१० ]     फाल्गुन, चैत्र     [ पूर्ण संख्या ३३,३४

# अलङ्कार

तथा

## गुरुकुल–समाचार

स्नातक-मण्डल गुरुकुल-कांगड़ी का मुख-पत्र

ईळते त्वामवस्यवः कण्वासो वृक्तबर्हिषः।
हविष्मन्तो अलंकृतः॥ ऋ० १. १४. ५।

### तव वन्दन हे नाथ! करें हम।

तव चरणन की छाया पाकर,
शीतल सुख उपभोग करें हम॥

भारत-जननी की सेवा का,
व्रत भारी व्रत नाथ धरें हम॥

माता का दुःख हरने के हित,
न्योछावर निज प्राण करें हम॥

पाप-शैल को तोड़ गिरावें,
वेदाज्ञा इक सीस धरें हम॥

फूले गुरुकुल की फुलवारी,
विद्या-मधु का पान करें हम॥

राग द्वेष को दूर भगाकर,
प्रेम-मन्त्र का जाप करें हम॥

सायं प्रातः तुझ को ध्यावें,
दुःख-सागर के पार तरें हम॥

# कुल-पिता श्रद्धानन्द का दीक्षान्तसंस्कार में स्नातकों को उपदेश।

पुत्रो ! आज मैं तुम्हें उन बन्धनों से मुक्त करता हूं, जिन के अनुसार गुरुकुल में चलना तुम्हारे लिए आवश्यक था। पर यह न समझना कि अब तुम्हारे लिए कोई बन्धन नहीं है। प्राचीन काल से हमारे ऋषियों ने कुछ बन्धन बांध रक्खे हैं, उन्हें मैं आज तुम्हें सुनाना चाहता हूं। इन बन्धनों के पालन करने में किसी का तुम पर दबाव नहीं, इसी लिए ये बन्धन और भी कड़े हैं। ये बन्धन उन उपनिषद् वाक्यों में वर्णित हैं, जिन्हें आज से हज़ारों वर्ष पहले इस पवित्र भूमि में प्रत्येक आचार्य अपने स्नातकों को विद्या-समाप्ति के समय सुनाया करता था। उन्हीं पुराने आचार्यों का प्रतिनिधि होकर मैं तुम्हें वे वाक्य सुनाता हूं।

पुत्रो! परमात्मा सत्यस्वरूप है। उस के प्यारे बनने के लिए अपने जीवन को सत्यस्वरूप बनाओ। तुम्हारे मन में, तुम्हारी वाणी में, और तुम्हारी क्रिया में सत्य हो।

धर्म-मर्यादा का उल्लंघन मत करो। इस मर्यादा का साक्षि अन्तःकरण ही है, बाहर से कोई धर्म बतलाने वाला नहीं है। जो हृदय परमात्मा का आसन है, वही तुम्हें धर्म की मर्यादा बतलादेगा। अपने आत्मा की वाणी को सुनो और उसके अनुसार चलो।

स्वाध्याय से कभी मुख न मोड़ो। वह तुम्हें प्रमाद से बचायेगा।

जिस आचार्य ने तुम्हारी इतने दिनों तक रक्षा की, उसके प्रति तुम्हारा जो कर्तव्य है, उसे अपने हृदय से पूछो। यह कुल तुम्हारा आचार्य है। मैं नहीं जानता कि तुम इसे क्या दक्षिणा देना चाहते हो। मैं तुम से केवल एक ही दक्षिणा मांगता हूं। मैं चाहता हूं कि तुम्हारा ऐसा कोई काम न हो, जिस से तुम्हें अपने आत्मा और परमात्मा के सामने लज्जित होना पड़े।

तुम में से अब कई गृहस्थ में प्रवेश करेंगे। उनसे मैं कहता हूं कि पांचों यज्ञों के करने में कभी प्रमाद न करना।

माता पिता आचार्य और अतिथि, ये तुम्हारे देवता हैं, इनकी सदा शुश्रूषा करना धर्म समझो।

पुराने ऋषि बड़े उदार और निरभिमान थे। वे कभी पूर्ण या दोषरहित होने का दावा नहीं करते थे। उन्हीं का प्रतिनिधि होकर मैं तुम्हें कहता हूं कि हमारे अच्छे गुणों का अनुकरण करो, और दोषों को छोड़ दो। इस संसार की अँधयारी में किसी को अपना ज्योतिःस्तम्भ बनाओ। पढ़ा पढ़ाया कुछ अंश तक पथ-दर्शक होता है, पर सच्चे पथ दर्शक वे ही महापुरुष होते हैं, जो अपना नाम संसार में छोड़ जाते हैं। वे जीवन-समुद्र में ज्योतिःस्तम्भ का काम देते हैं। ऐसे आत्मत्यागी सत्यवादी और पक्षपात रहित महापुरुषों के, चाहे वे जीवित हों या ऐतिहासिक, पीछे चलो।

लेना तो सभी संसार जानता है, तुम इस योग्य हुए हो कि अपनी बुद्धि और विद्या में से कुछ दे सको। जो तुम्हारे पास है, उसे उदारता से फैलाओ। हाथ खुला रक्खो, मुट्ठी को बन्द न होने दो। जो सरोवर भरता है वह फैलाता है, यह स्वाभाविक नियम है।

जिस भूमि की मिट्टी से तुम्हारा देह बना है, जिस की गङ्गा का तुमने निर्मल जल पीया है, और जिसके गौरव के सामने संसार का कोई देश ठहर नहीं सकता, उस पवित्र भारत-भूमि में रहते हुए तुम उसके यश को उज्ज्वल करोगे, यह मुझे पूरी आशा है। इस के साथ ही जिस सरस्वती की कोख में तुमने दूसरा जन्म लिया है, उसे मत भूलना। किसी भी काम को करते हुए सावित्री माता की उपासना से विमुख न होना।

यह मैंने संक्षेप से उन वाक्यों का सारांश सुना दिया है, जो कि सहस्रों वर्षों से इस पवित्र भूमि में गूंजते रहे हैं। इन्हें गुरु-मंत्र समझो और अपना पथ-दर्शक बनाओ।

इस के अतिरिक्त मेरा भी तुम्हारे साथ कई वर्षों का संबन्ध रहा है। मैं तुम से गुरुदक्षिणा नहीं मांगता। गुरुदक्षिणा देना तुम्हारा धर्म है, मांगना मेरा धर्म नहीं। मैं तुम से यह भी नहीं पूछता कि तुम्हारे राजनैतिक सामाजिक या मानसिक विचार क्या क्या हैं। मैं केवल तुम से यही पूछता हूं कि क्या तुहारे सब काम सत्य पर आश्रित हैं

या नहीं । स्मरण रक्खो, यह ससार सत्य पर आश्रित है। सत्य के बिना राजनीति धिक्कारने योग्य है, सत्य के बिना समाज के नियम पददलित करने योग्य हैं। यदि सत्य तुम्हारे जीवन का अवलम्बन है, तो मुझे न कोई चिन्ता है और नाही कुछ मांगना है। +

# कुलपिता श्रद्धानन्द का कुलजन्मोत्सव

## के समय कुलपुत्रों को उपदेश

पुत्रो! आज मुझे इतनी प्रसन्नता है कि तुम उसका अनुभव नहीं कर सकते। मुझे अपने जीवन में जिस बात के देखने की आशा नहीं थी, उसे मैंने देख लिया। यदि आज मेरे प्राण भी चलने को तय्यार हों तो मैं बड़ी खुशी से उन्हें आज्ञा देसकता हूं। इस आनन्द का कारण मैं बताना निरर्थक समझता हूं, तुममें से प्रत्येक उसे अनुभव कर रहा है। लोग समझा करते थे कि हम दिमागों को परतन्त्र बनाना चाहते हैं, परन्तु अब लोग देख रहे हैं कि यदि कोई ऐसा स्थान है जहां स्वतन्त्रता नहीं रुक सकती तो वह यही स्थान है। मेरा अपने ब्रह्मचारियों को केवल एक ही उपदेश है; मत देखो कि लोग तुम्हें क्या कहते हैं, सत्य की दृढ़ता को पकड़ो। सारे संसार का सत्य ही आधार है। यदि तुम्हारा मन वचन और कर्म सयमय है, तो समझो कि तुम्हारा उद्देश्य पूरा होगया। प्रसिद्धि के पीछे भाग कर कोई काम मत करो। प्रसिद्धि के पीछे भागने से किसी की प्रसिद्धि नहीं हुई। अपने सामने एक उद्देश्य रखलो, उसी में लग जाओ, फिर गिरावट असम्भव है। उपदेशक बनो या मत बनो, पर एक बात याद रखो, बनावटी मत बनो। सब को परमात्मा वाणी की शक्ति या उपदेश देने की शक्ति नहीं देता। वाणी न हो न सही, किन्तु आचरण सत्यमय हो। नट न बनो, न इस संसार को नाट्य-शाला बनाओ। स्वच्छ जीवन रक्खो। यदि इस प्रकार का स्नातकों का आचरण होगा तो मेरा पूरा सन्तोष है। *

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+ यह उपदेश कुलपिता ने दूसरे दीक्षान्त-संस्कार में २८ मार्च १९१४ ई० को दिया था।

* यह उपदेश कुलपिता ने चतुर्थ कुलजन्मोत्सव के समय फाल्गुन बदी १०, सम्वत् १९७० को दिया था।

# श्रद्धानन्द का बलिदान

काँप गयी है धरा, देख कर तेरा आज बलिदान ।
सहम गया आकाश, बढ़ा जब तेरा उसकी ओर विमान ॥

देख रही है भौचक दुनिया, आर्यवीर क्या करते हैं ।
धार्मिक युद्ध-क्षेत्र में कैसे हँसते हँसते मरते हैं ॥

जितना पीछे इन्हें धकेलो उतने आगे बढ़ते हैं ।
जितना ही पैरों से कुचलो उतने सिर पर चढ़ते हैं ॥

हुई संगठन की जय सच्ची, हुई शुद्धि की पूरी जीत ।
घर घर में क्या, हृदय हृदय में गाये जाते इनके गीत ॥

कर सकता था जीते जी जो, मर कर उससे अधिक किया ।
अमर बने रहने का सीधा पथ जो हम को दिखा दिया ॥

एक एक शोणित-कण से जनमेंगे सौ सौ श्रद्धानन्द ।
जो पल भर में आर्यजाति के काटेंगे दुखदायी फन्द ॥

कौन सदा जीवित रहने को इस दुनिया में आया है ।
धन्य वही है, आत्मत्याग से जिसने सुयश कमाया है ॥

जाओ स्वामी, पुनर्जन्म ले अबकी जब तुम आओगे ।
तब सचमुच ही काम अधूरा पूर्ण हो चुका पाओगे ॥

आँखों में ये अश्रु नहीं हैं हृदय स्वच्छ करते हैं हम ।
जान हथेली पर लेकर अब पग आगे धरते हैं हम ॥

होगा जीवन धन्य, धर्म पर जावेंगे जब अपने प्राण ।
धार्मिकता की विडम्बना से मातृभूमि पावेगी त्राण ॥

श्रीयुत बद्रीनाथ जी भट्ट

# स्वामी श्रद्धानन्द

( डाक्टर रवीन्द्रनाथ ठाकुर शान्तिनिकेतन )

हमारे देश में जो सत्य—व्रत के ग्रहण करने के अधिकारी हैं, एवं इस व्रत के लिये प्राण देकर जो पालन करने की शक्ति रखते हैं, उनकी संख्या बहुत ही कम होने के कारण हमारे देश की इतनी दुर्गति है। ऐसी अवस्था जहां पर है, वहां पर स्वामी श्रद्धानन्द से इतने बड़े वीर की इस प्रकार मृत्यु से कितनी हानि हुई होगी इसके वर्णन करने की आवश्यकता नहीं। परन्तु इसके मध्य एक बात अवश्य है कि उनकी मृत्यु कितनी ही शोचनीय हुई हो, किन्तु इस मृत्यु ने उनके प्राण एवं उनके चरित्र को उतना ही महान् बना दिया है। बार बार इतिहास में देखा जाता है कि जिन्हों ने अपना सब कुछ देकर कल्याण-व्रत को ग्रहण किया है, अपमान और अपमृत्यु ने उनके ललाट पर जय-तिलक की तरह अपना स्थान जमाया है। महापुरुष आते हैं प्राण की मृत्यु के ऊपर जय करने के लिये, सत्य को जीवन की सामग्री बनाने के लिये। हमारे खाद्य द्रव्य में प्राण देने का जो उपकरण है, वह वायु में भी है, एवं वैज्ञानिक परीक्षागार में भी है। परन्तु जब तक वह उद्भिज प्राणी में जीव आकार नहीं धारण करता तब तक प्राण की पुष्टि नहीं होती। सत्य के सम्बन्ध में भी यही बात है। केवल वाक्यों के द्वारा आकर्षण कर उसे जीवन-गत करने की शक्ति कितनों में है? सत्य को जानते बहुत हैं, किन्तु उसको मानता वही है जो विशेष शक्तिमान है। प्राणों की आहुति के द्वारा मान कर ही हम उस सत्य को सब मनुष्यों के लिये उपयोगी बना देते हैं। यह मानकर चलने की शक्ति ही एक सुन्दर वस्तु है। इस शक्ति की सम्पद् को जो समाज को अर्पित करते हैं उन्हीं के दान का महामूल्य है। सत्य के प्रति उसी निष्ठा का आदर्श श्रद्धानन्द इस दुर्बल देश को देगये हैं। अपनी साधना-परिचय के उपयोगी जिस नाम को उन्होंने ग्रहण किया था वही सार्थक हुआ। सत्य की उन्होंने श्रद्धा की थी। इसी श्रद्धा के मध्य सृष्टि-शक्ति है। इसी शक्ति के द्वारा वे अपनी साधना को मूर्ति के रूप में सजीव कर गये हैं। इसी से उनकी मृत्यु भी प्रकाशमय हो उनकी श्रद्धा को उस भयहीन दोषहीन तथा क्लांतिहीन अमृतमय छवि को उज्वल कर प्रकाशित कराती है। सत्य के प्रति श्रद्धा के इस श्रद्धानन्द को उन के चरित्र के मध्य आज हम सार्थक आकार में देख रहे हैं। यह सार्थकता बाह्य

फल स्वरूप नहीं है, अपितु निज की ही अकृत्रिम वास्तविकता में है।

विधाता जब दुःख को हमारे पास भेजता है तब वह अपने साथ एक प्रश्न लेकर आता है। वह हम से पूंछता है कि तुम हम को किस भाव से ग्रहण करोगे? विपद आयेगी नहीं ऐसा नहीं हो सकता—सङ्कट का समय उपस्थित होता है, उद्धार का कोई भी उपाय नहीं रहता, किन्तु जिस प्रकार विपद् का हम व्यवहार करते हैं इसी के ऊपर प्रश्न का सदुत्तर निर्भर है। किसी पाप के उपस्थित होने पर हम उस से डरें वा उसके सम्मुख अपना सिर झुकावें? अथवा उस पाप के विरुद्ध पाप ही को सम्मुखीन करें, मृत्यु के आघात दुःख के आघात के ऊपर रिपु की उन्मत्तता को जागृत करें? शिशु के आचरण में देखा जाता है कि जब वह गिरता है तब वह उल्टे जमीन ही को मारता है। वह जितना ही मारता है, फलस्वरूप उसको उलटा ही लगाता है। परन्तु यदि किसी वयस्क को ठोकर लगता है तो वह सोचता है कि वह किस प्रकार दूर की जावे। परन्तु हम देखते हैं कि किसी समय बाहर के आकस्मिक आघात की चमक में मनुष्य भी शिशु की बुद्धि वाला हो जाता है। वह उस समय सोचता है कि धैर्य का अवलम्बन करना ही कापुरुषता है, क्रोध का प्रकाश करना ही पौरुष है। हम यह स्वीकार करते है कि आज दिन स्वभावतः ही क्रोध आवेगा, मानव धर्म तो बिल्कुल छोड़ा नहीं जा सकता। किन्तु यदि क्रोध से अभिभूत हों तो वह भी मानव-धर्म नहीं है। आग के लग जाने पर यदि सब कुछ भस्म हो जावे तो आग की रुद्रता लेकर आलोचना करना वृथा है। विपद सभी पर आती है, जिनके पास उसके प्रतिकार के उपाय नहीं हैं वे भी दोषी हैं।

भारतवर्ष के अधिवासियों के मुख्यतया दो भाग है—हिन्दू और मुसलमान। यदि हम यह समझें कि मुसलमानों को एक ताक में रख देश की सभी मङ्गल चेष्टाओं में सफल होंगे तो यह भी एक बहुत भारी भूल है। हमारे लिये सब से ज्यादा अमंगल और दुर्गति का विषय यह है कि मनुष्य मनुष्य के पास रहता है किन्तु उनके मध्य किसी प्रकार का सम्बन्ध नहीं रहता। विदेशी राज्य में राजपुरुषों के साथ हमारा एक वाह्य योग-दल है, किन्तु आन्तरिक सम्बन्ध नहीं रहता। विदेशी राजत्व में यही हमारे लिये सब से अधिक पीड़ाजनक है।

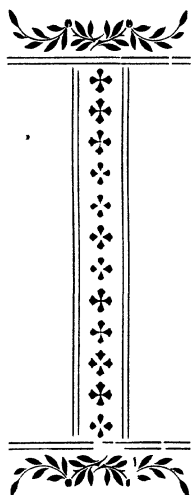
इसी से आज हमें देखना होगा कि हमारे हिन्दू समाज में कहां कौन सा छिद्र है, कौन सा पाप है, अति निर्भय भाव से उस पर हमें आक्रमण करना होगा। इसी उद्देश्य को लेकर आज हिन्दू समाज को आवाहन करना

होगा, कहना होगा हम पीड़ित हुए हैं हम लज्जित हुए हैं, बाहर के आघात से नहीं किन्तु अपने भीतर के पापों के फलस्वरूप। आओ, आज हम सब मिल कर उस पाप को दूर करें। परन्तु हमारे लिये यह बहुत सहल बात नहीं है, क्यों कि हमारे भीतर बहुत प्राचीन अभ्यस्त भेद-बुद्धि भरी हुई है। बाहर बहुत पुरानी भेद की प्राचीर है। मुसलमानो ने जिस समय किसी उद्देश्य को लेकर मुसलमान समाज को आवाहन किया है, उन्हें कोई भी बाधा नहीं पड़ी। एक ईश्वर के नाम पर 'अल्लाह हो अकबर' कह कर उन्हें बुलाया है। फिर आज हम सब बुलावेंगे हिन्दू आओ, तब कौन आवेंगे? हमारे मध्य कितने छोटे छोटे सम्प्रदाय है, कितनी प्रादेशिकता है, उनको पार कर कौन आवेगा? कितनी आफ़तें पडीं परन्तु कभी भी तो हम एकत्रित नहीं हुए। बाहर से जब पहला वार मुहम्मद गौरी का हुआ था, तब भी तो उस आसन्न विपद् के दिन हिन्दू एकत्र नहीं हुए थे। इसके बाद मन्दिर के बाद मन्दिर लुटने लगे, देव-मूर्तियें झूठी होने लगीं, तब वे अच्छी तरह लड़े हैं, मारे गये हैं, खण्ड खण्ड होकर युद्ध करके मरे हैं, किन्तु एकत्र नहीं हुए। अलग २ थे, इसी लिये मारे गये। युग युग में हमारे इसके प्रमाण हैं। हां, सिक्खों ने अवश्य एक समय इस बाधा को दूर किया था। परन्तु सिक्खों ने जिसके द्वारा इस बाधा को दूर किया वह सिक्ख धर्म था। पञ्जाब में सिक्ख धर्म के आवाहन करने पर जाट-प्रकृति सभी जातियां एक झण्डे के नीचे एकत्रित हो सकीं थी। एवं, वे ही धर्म की रक्षा करने के लिये खड़ी हो सकीं थी। शिवाजी ने भी एक समय धर्मराज्य की स्थापना की नींव डाली थी। उनकी जो असाधारण शक्ति थी उसी के द्वारा वे समस्त मराठों को एकत्र कर सके थे। इसी सम्मिलित शक्ति ने भारत वर्ष को अपनाकर छोड़ा था। घोड़े के साथ जब घुड़सवार का सामञ्जस्य रहता है तभी वह घोड़ा किसी भी तरह नहीं रुकता। शिवाजी के साथ होकर जो उस दिन लड़े थे, उनके साथ भी शिवाजी का ऐसा ही सामञ्जस्य था। बाद में ऐसा सम्बन्ध नहीं रहा। पेशवाओं के मन में आचरण में भेद-बुद्धि का उदय हुआ, और इसी के फलस्वरूप उनका पतन भी हुआ। मेरे कहने का तात्पर्य यह है कि यह जो हमने भेद-बुद्धि के पाप को पाल रखा है, यह अत्यन्त भयङ्कर है। पाप का प्रधान आश्रय दुर्बल के मध्य है। अत एव यदि मुसलमान हमें मारते हैं और हम यदि उसे पड़े पड़े सह रहे हैं, तो यह केवल सम्भव हुआ है हमारी दुर्बलता के कारण। हमारे लिये, एवं

स्वामी जी की चिता ज्वाला

वीर स्नातक धर्मपाल
विद्यालंकार

स्वामी भक्त सेवक
धर्मसिंह

Punjab Fine Art P ess Calcutta

प्रतिवेशियों के लिये भी हमें अपनी दुर्बलता को दूर करना होगा। हम प्रतिवेशियों के निकट अपील करते हैं कि तुम इतने क्रूर मत बनो, अपनी उन्नति करो। नरहत्या के ऊपर किसी भी धर्म की भित्ति स्थापित नहीं की जा सकती। परन्तु यह अपील इसी दुर्बलता का रोना है। जिस प्रकार वायुमण्डल के घिर आने पर झड़ी आप ही आरम्भ हो जाती है, धर्म को दुहाई दे उसे कोई बाधा नहीं दे सकता, उसी प्रकार दुर्बलता के पाल रखने पर अत्याचार भी होने लगते हैं, उनमें कोई बाधा नहीं पहुंचा सकता। कुछ समय के लिये एक उपलक्ष्य को लेकर परस्पर में कृत्रिम बन्धुता हो सकती है, किन्तु चिरकाल के लिये नहीं हो सकती।

आज हमारे अनुताप का दिन है, आज अपराध का प्रायश्चित्त करना होगा। सत्यमय प्रायश्चित्त यदि हम करेंगे तभी शत्रु हमारा मित्र हो सकेगा, रुद्र हमारे प्रति प्रसन्न होंगे।

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# स्वामी श्रद्धानन्द जी की यादगार में

( लेखक श्रीयुत डा० तारकानाथदास० एम०ए०, पी०एच० डी० )

एक आततायी की गोली ने ऋषि श्रद्धानन्द को हम से छीन लिया। आप का भौतिक देह हम से बिछुड़ गया परन्तु आपकी आत्मा हमारे बीच में ही है। आज श्री स्वामी जी के भौतिक वियोग पर मैं उनकी आत्मा से और भी निकट सम्बन्ध का अनुभव कर रहा हूं। मेरे लिये वह ऋषि 'दधीचि' थे जिन्होंने धर्म-वेदी पर जीवन की अन्तिम आहुति भी दे डाली। वीरता के वह साक्षात् अवतार थे। हिन्दुओं की निर्बलताओं व कुरीतियों को दूर करने में उनसा पराक्रमी कोई नज़र नहीं आता था। उनका मिशन करोड़ों पतितों और मनुष्यता के जन्मसिद्ध अधिकारों से वंचित हिन्दु भाइयों का उद्धार करना ही न था, अपितु उनका पवित्र मिशन उन विधर्मियों को, जो ऋषि-सन्तान होते हुए भी तलवार के बल पर मुसलमान बनाये गये, शुद्ध करके हिन्दू धर्म में फिर से दीक्षित करने का था। सारांश में उन्होंने हिन्दुओं के धार्मिक सामाजिक तथा राजनैतिक उत्थान के लिये जी जान से कोशिश की और अपने उद्योग में सफल हुए। भारतीय राष्ट्र के निर्माण के लिये जिन साधनों का उन्होंने सहारा लिया था, मैं उनकी गहराई में नहीं जाता, परन्तु इतना अवश्य कहूंगा कि वह हिन्दुओं के उन शहीदों में से जिन के नाम पर हिन्दू जाति गर्व करती है श्रेष्ठतम थे और भारतीय राष्ट्र के निर्माताओं में सब से उत्कृष्ट थे।

हिन्दुओं के कुछ राजनीतिज्ञों को

हिम्मत नहीं हुई कि वह शुद्धि और अछूतोद्धार के पवित्र कार्य में महान् स्वामी का हाथ बटा सकें, क्यों कि वह विधर्मियों की धर्मान्धता से भय खाते थे। ऐसे राजनीतिज्ञों ने उस महान् स्वामी के महान् कार्यों का ज़ाहिरा और पोशीदा तौर पर विरोध करके भारतवर्ष की राष्ट्रीय एकता को भारी नुकसान पहुंचाया है, और एकता के आधारभूत सिद्धान्त धार्मिक सहिष्णुता के कायम होने में बड़ी भारी रुकावट डाली है। उम्मेद है कि ऐसे अदूरदर्शी राजनीतिज्ञ अपनी आंखें खोलेंगे और स्वामी जी के कार्यों में पूरा सहयोग देकर इस पाप का प्रायश्चित करेंगे।

उस महान् व्यक्ति की स्मृति को ताजा बनाये रखने का एक ही उपाय है, और वह यह कि उन द्वारा संचालित कार्यों को द्विगुण उत्साहसे चलाया जाये। शुद्धि और संगठन के कार्यों के अतिरिक्त २५ करोड़ हिन्दूओं को एक ही छत्रच्छाया के नीचे लाना भी उनका उद्देश्य था। इस उद्देश्य के लिये 'स्वामी श्रद्धानन्द-दिवस' मनाया जाना चाहिये और उनके कार्यों के लिये धनसंग्रह होना चाहिए। इस काम में पं० मालवीय, लाला जी, डा० मुंजे, मि० केलकर, श्रीनिवास आयंगर तथा मि० बिर्ला आदि को पूरा सहयोग देना चाहिये। प्रतिवर्ष हिन्दू जाति को स्वामी श्रद्धानन्द-दिवस मनाना चाहिए और उन के मिशन को पूरा करने का दृढ़ संकल्प करना चाहिये।

स्वामी श्रद्धानन्द जी 'ब्रह्मचर्य' के प्रचारक थे। स्त्री-शिक्षा और विधवा-विवाह के वह कट्टर पक्षपाती थे। हर एक हिन्दू का, जो स्वामी जी के भक्त होने का दावा भरता है, कर्तव्य है कि वह उक्त कार्यों का क्रियात्मक प्रचार करे। २५ करोड़ हिन्दूओं में से यदि २ लाख हिन्दू भी सच्चे हृदय और दृढ़ संकल्प के साथ स्वामी जी के कार्यों को पूरा करने का व्रत ले लें तो १० वर्षों में हिन्दू जाति की काया पलट हो जाय।

हिन्दुओं को याद रखना चाहिये कि श्री स्वामी जी को हिन्दू जाति के उत्थान के निमित्त जीवन की आहुति देनी पड़ी है। एक तरह से हिन्दू जाति की पतित अवस्था ही एक धर्मान्ध मुसलमान द्वारा स्वामी जी की हत्या का कारण है। इस लिए याद रखिये स्वामी श्रद्धानन्द की हत्या की जिम्मेवारी उन सब हिन्दूओं पर है जो हिन्दू जाति की पतित अवस्था को देखते हुए भी उत्थान के लिए अपना कर्तव्य पालन नहीं करते। आइये, आज उस पाप को हम धो डालें और प्रायश्चित कर के श्री स्वामी जी द्वारा शुरु किए हुये कार्यों को द्विगुण उत्साह से करें ताकि शहीद श्रद्धानन्द का यश अमर हो और हिन्दू जाति फिर अपने प्राचीन गौरव को प्राप्त कर सके।

# श्री स्वामी श्रद्धानन्द जी महाराज के

## श्रीचरणों में "शोकाञ्जलि"

( १ )

निज मातृभू के भक्त थे तुम दीन-जन के बन्धु थे।
थे नाथ ! नाथ अनाथ के श्रद्धा सुधा के सिन्धु थे॥
कुलभूमि के कुलदेव थे, देवत्व की वर पूर्ति थे।
मृत-जाति-जीवन स्फूर्ति थे, करुणा क्षमा की मूर्ति थे॥

( २ )

आलोक थे इस लोक के, तुम आर्य जनता-प्रान थे।
परतन्त्र भारत के सदा ही, मूर्तिमय अभिमान थे॥
निज धर्म-धन के थे धनी, धृति सिन्धु के शुभ पोत थे।
अशरन-शरन थे पुण्य-पावन, प्रेम-गङ्गा-स्रोत थे॥

( ३ )

इस आर्त हिन्दू जाति के, तुम एक ही आधार थे।
रणधीर थे, नरवीर थे, वर-आत्म-बल-आगार थे॥
आपत्ति से हो भीत, देश-द्रोह तुम करते न थे।
कर्त्तव्य-पालन में कभी, हा ! मृत्यु से डरते न थे॥

( ४ )

हे वीर ! तुम तो वीर गति को पा चले इस लोक से।
क्यों रो रही है आज हिन्दू जाति फिर इस शोक से॥
बलिदान की विधि धर्म पर, इस मृत्यु ने सिखला दिया।
होते अमर मर करके कैसे, दृश्य यह दिखला दिया॥

( ५ )

हे देव ! तुमने गोलियों को इस हृदय पर सह लिया।
हो मूक केवल ईश से मृत जाति का हित कह लिया॥
हे वीर ! जाओ शान्ति से, इस लोक से जो जा रहे।
पर देखना इस पुण्य-पथ पर, वीर कितने आ रहे॥

साहित्याचार्य गयाप्रसाद शास्त्री 'श्रीहरि'

# गुरुकुल का महत्त्व

( हिज़ हाइनेस श्रीमान् राजाधिराज सर नाहरसिंह जी बहादुर के०सी०आई० ई० शाहपुरा )

शिक्षा का महत्त्व केवल विद्वत्ता में नहीं प्रत्युत सदाचार में है। एक बड़ा भारी विद्वान्, प्रत्येक दार्शनिक विषय को भली प्रकार समझाने की योग्यता रखने वाला यदि अपने आचार द्वारा प्रभाव नहीं डाल सकता तो उसकी समस्त विद्वत्ता लोगों के लिए व्यर्थ और उसके लिये भार स्वरूप है। इस के विरुद्ध एक साधारण विद्वान् जो अपने आचार द्वारा यह दिखला सकता है कि श्रेय और हेय मार्ग क्या है, संसार का बड़ा उपकार कर सकता है। अतएव शिक्षा पूर्ण तभी है जब कि विद्वत्ता के साथ २ चरित्र-संगठन का भी बल हो। वही शिक्षा-संस्था वस्तुतः लोकोपयोगी संस्था है जहां इस प्रकार का प्रबन्ध हो।

प्रसन्नता है कि गुरुकुल इस प्रकार की संस्थाओं में से एक है जहां विद्यार्थियों को ब्रह्मचर्य-जीवन व्यतीत करते हुये विद्या की प्राप्ति कराई जाती है। वृक्ष की उपयोगिता अथवा अनुपयोगिता उसके फल द्वारा निश्चय की जाती है। गुरुकुल से निकले हुये स्नातकों में से कइयों ने यह दिखला दिया है कि उन की शिक्षादात्री संस्था सचमुच देश के एक आवश्यक अङ्ग की पूर्ति कर रही है।

यह ठीक है कि बहुत से लोग इस से निराश होगये हैं, परन्तु इस का कारण है। वह यह है कि कार्य आरम्भ करते ही लोग बड़े २ फल की इच्छा करने लग जाते हैं, उन लोगों ने आशा की थी कि गुरुकुल से कणाद और गौतम निकलेंगे, परन्तु यह नहीं ध्यान दिया कि इतने दिनों की बिगड़ी हुई परिपाटी एक दम कैसे सुधर सक्ती है। आखिर वे बालक जो गुरुकुल में प्रविष्ट हुवे हैं, उन लोगों के ही सन्तान हैं जिन्होंने नियम पूर्वक गृहस्थाश्रम में प्रवेश नहीं किया है, और उन के पढ़ाने वाले किसी गुरुकुल के नहीं, प्रत्युत कालेज के निकले हुये हैं और आधुनिक शिक्षा प्रणाली के वातावरण से बाहर नहीं हैं। धैर्य पूर्वक स्वामी जी के बतलाए हुये मार्ग का अनुकरण करते चले जायें, तो आशा है अवश्य सफलता प्राप्त होगी, और किसी न किसी समय वह दिन भी देखने में आजायगा जिसकी सब को प्रतीक्षा है। ईश्वर वह दिन लावे।

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# संस्कृत संस्कृति संस्कार और गुरुकुल

( ले० श्रीयुत राज्यरत्न आत्माराम जी बड़ौदा )

२२ कोटि हिन्दु प्रजा धर्म की उपासक है। मुट्ठीभर उसके सच्चे वीर नेता कांग्रेस आदि द्वारा उसको स्वराज्य दिलाने की चिन्ता में है। पर इस प्रजा का यथार्थ स्वरूप वह अभी नहीं समझ सके। वह सच्चे हैं, उनका अनुभव भी ठीक है। उन्हों ने आंखों से युरोप आदि में जाकर देख लिया है कि मज़हबी दीवानगी इस समय वहां नहीं, और जबतक वहाँ की प्रजा मज़हब की एकमात्र पुजारी बनी रही तब तक वह इस वैभव को प्राप्त नहीं कर सकी। महात्मा गांधी जी ने भी जब चरखे से स्वराज्य दिलाने की प्रतिज्ञा करते हुए हजारों हिन्दु युवकों को कारागार भिजवाया, तब भी वह सच्चे रहे, कारण कि वह कहते थे कि भारत के सब मनुष्य चर्खा नहीं कात सके इस लिये मैं स्वराज्य कैसे दिलाता? अङ्गरेज़ी शिक्षण जो कुछ भी फैला है, उसका कुछ भी प्रभाव कालेजों के पढ़े हुए युवक हिन्दु जाति के सुधारने मे नहीं दिखा सके। ब्रह्मसमाज का दृष्टान्त काफ़ी है। हिन्दुओंका समाज दौर्भाग्य-वश 'धर्म' शब्द के गिर्द ही चक्कर काट रहा है। महमूद गज़नवी की तलवार और वर्तमान काल की मुसलिम-गुंडेशाही ने इस के मन्दिर तोड़े, पर यह उनकी मुरम्मत करने की चिन्ता में है न कि मूर्तिपूजा छोड़ने की। एक वर्ष में एक सहस्र बालविधवाओं को मुसलमान गुंडे घरों, मेलों, तीर्थों, रेलों, यज्ञों, मन्दिरों, नदियों, तथा सड़कों पर से उड़ा ले जाते हैं। पर यह बाइस करोड हिन्दुजाति क्या बालविधवा-विवाह की घोषणा करने को तैय्यार है? गङ्गा-स्नान से मुक्ति दिलाने वाले हमारे धर्मनेता ब्राह्मण क्या ७ करोड़ दलित और दो करोड़ भीलों को कल गंगा-स्नान से शुद्ध कर सकते है। देहली के 'तेज' पत्र के कृष्णांक मे श्रीयुत रामप्रसाद जी बी. ए. भूतपूर्व संपादक 'बन्देमातरम्' ने सच लिखा है कि हिन्दुवीर राजनीति का दुरुपयोग करने के कारण हारते रहे। श्री सातवलेकर जी ने उसी पत्र में सत्य कहा है कि वैज्ञानिक शस्त्रों से शून्य होने के कारण हिन्दुवीर अनेक बार परास्त हुए। महाराजा रणजीतसिंह जी ने कबायद सिखाने के लिये फ्रैंच नायक रखा था, पर यदि वीर सिख सेनापति युरोप भेजे जाते तो कितना उत्तम होता? पर विदेश-गमन पाप है, यह हिन्दुधर्म कह रहा था। इस लिये जो महानुभाव देशभक्त हिन्दुनेता होने पर २२ कोटि हिन्दुप्रजा को धर्म की बातों से एकदम हटा कर स्वराज्य की अलफ़ बे पढाना चाहते हैं, वे सच्चे

देशभक्त हैं, इस में संदेह नहीं। व्रहडाकूर हितैषी है, यह तो ठीक हैं, पर मरीज़ की मरज़ दूसरी है। जब तक घोड़े पर बैठ कर एक हाथ में तलवार और दूसरे हाथ में रोटी खाने को हिन्दुप्रजा तैय्यार नहीं, जब तक वह यवन वा गोरे के पानी को रणभूमि में पीने को तैय्यार नहीं, तब तक उसको स्वराज्य का पात्र समझना ठीक नहीं हो सकता। अभी दिल्ली बहुत दूर है, यह कहावत ठीक घटती है।

अब प्रश्न केवल यह रह गया कि इन २२ कोटि हिन्दुओं का सामाजिक सुधार करने के लिये पहिले क्या किया जावे ? क्यों कि जब तक ये कल्पित धर्म के भूत से डर रहे हैं तब तक आत्म-हत्या और समाज-हत्या के कुमार्ग में विवश जा रहे हैं।

इनका सामाजिक रोग भी तो बड़ा भयंकर और असाध्य कोटि का बन रहा है। जो धर्म के रक्षक कहलाते हैं, वही इस समय दुर्दैव से हिन्दुसमाज के प्राणघातक बन रहे हैं। संस्कृत भाषा के एकमात्र वे ठेकेदार हैं। २२ कोटि हिन्दुप्रजा उनकी बात को ईश्वर-वाक्य मान रही है। वे यदि कहदें कि विधवा विवाह पाप है तो क्या मज़ाल कोई सेठ इसको कर तो जावे ? इस लिये वेदों वा अन्य संस्कृत ग्रन्थों में क्या लिखा है ? और उसके अर्थ व्याकरण अनुसार क्या है ? ये बातें जब तक घर घर में न पहुंचाई जावें तब तक २२ कोटि प्रजा नहीं मान सकती कि सत्य धर्म क्या है ? कानपुर से 'धर्म' नामी एक मासिकपत्र ६ वर्ष से निकलता है। वह एक सौ पण्डितों वा शास्त्रियों की नामावलि छाप कर भोले हिन्दुओं को कहता रहता है कि एक ईश्वरचन्द्र विद्यासागर ने यदि भूल की तो क्या हुआ, सैंकड़ों पंडित विधवा-विवाह के विरोधी हैं। इस का यथार्थ उत्तर गुरुकुल के हो जाने पर हम छाती ठोक दे सकते हैं कि यदि आप १०० संस्कृतज्ञ पंडितों के नाम विरोध में दे सकते हो तो हम गुरुकुल से निकले हुए स्नातकों के नाम, जो भारी पंडित है, उन से दुगुने वा तिगुने दे सकते हैं। विदेश-गमन पाप है, शुद्धि पाप है. दलितोद्धार पाप है, रण में जाना पाप है, ये सब पाप शीघ्र ही पुण्य हो जावें यदि शीघ्र ही हम गुरुकुलों की संख्या बढ़ा सकें।

संस्कृत-भाषा, संस्कृत-विद्या, वैदिक-संस्कृति और संस्कार, सब लुप्त हो चुके थे। काशी में ब्राह्मण के पुत्र को ही केवल संस्कृत और शास्त्र पढ़ाते थे। क्षत्रियों और वैश्यों के बालक कभी नहीं पढ़ पाते थे। आज गुरुकुल कांगड़ी हरिद्वार का भारी प्रताप है कि यदि कोई ब्राह्मण क्षत्रिय वैश्य शूद्र वा दलित बालक संस्कृत तथा वेद पढ़ना चाहे, उसके लिए कोई रुकावट

वा बंधन नहीं। इस समय उक्त गुरुकुल में चारों वर्णों के ही बालक जहां वेद पढ़ रहे है वहां यज्ञ भी करते हैं। यही नहीं परन्तु एक पंक्ति में भोजन भी करतेहैं। यह वह उत्तम काम है जिस की स्तुति हो नहीं सकती। संगठन का यही महाप्राण है।

सत्य सनातन वैदिक सिद्धान्तों, महती आर्ष संस्कृति, मनुष्य को देवता वीर तथा तपस्वी बनाने वाले वैदिक षोडश-संस्कार, इनके तत्त्व को वही छात्र जान सकता है जो गुरुकुल में रह कर संस्कृत का भारी पण्डित होकर निकले। दण्ड तथा कौपीनधारी होने से प्रत्येक ब्रह्मचारी बालचर बन जाता है। आर्य-भोजन अथवा अन्नाशन की महिमा गुरुकुल खूब दिखा रहा हैं। राममूर्त्ति समान पत्थर तोड़ते हुए, और पृथिवीराज समान बाण चलाते हुए अन्नाशी ब्रह्मचारी वीरपद को सार्थक कर रहे हैं। गुरुकुल कांगड़ी के छात्रों का डंडों से शेर को मार डालना, उनके ब्रह्मचर्य्य वीरता तथा अन्नाशन का भारी प्रकाशक है। गुरुकुल कांगडी के जन्म तथा जीवन को मैं सफल समझता हूँ, क्योंकि यह छात्रों की शारीरिक, आत्मिक और सामाजिक उन्नति को साथ साथ करने में रातदिन लगा हुआ है।

इस समय देशभक्त ला० हरदयाल जी संस्कृत भाषा सीखने की जरूरत आर्य्य-जाति के प्रत्येक छात्र को बता रहे है। कलकत्ते मे जो अभी भारतीय संस्कृत-प्रचारक मंडल का अधिवेशन हुआ है, उसने आर्य्य-जनता का विशेष ध्यान संस्कृत भाषा सीखने की तरफ आकृष्ट किया है। जिस संस्कृत भाषा की तरफ इस समय आर्य जनता का ध्यान खैंचा जा रहा है, उस संस्कृत-भाषा के प्रचार का भारी काम गुरुकुल कर रहा है और करता रहेगा। महर्षि दयानन्द का जीवन व्यवहाररूप से सस्कृत भाषा सीखने तथा सिखाने का सच्चा मार्ग-दर्शक है। लौकिक और वैदिक सस्कृत का भेद जना कर अंग तथा उपाङ्ग ग्रन्थों सहित वेद तथा वैदिक साहित्य को पढ़ने की ऋषि ने अनुभव-सिद्ध चेतावनी दी है। उनके इस मार्ग पर मुनवर त्यागवीर महात्मा पंडित गुरुदत्त एम० ए० ने चलकर दिखा दिया। उस मुनि ने अष्टाध्यायी महा-भाष्य निरुक्त आदि अंग और छः दर्शन वा उपाङ्ग ग्रन्थ स्वयं पढ़े और गृह पर अष्टाध्यायी, महाभाष्य तथा निरुक्त आदि पढ़ाने के लिए दो श्रेणियां खोलदीं। और तीन वर्ष तक वा मरण-पर्य्यन्त उनको चलाते रहे। जब साधु केशवानन्द ने सनातन धर्म सभा लाहौर की तरफ से धारा-प्रवाह संस्कृत में भाषण दिए तो उस समय दो घंटे तक धारा प्रवाह शुद्ध संस्कृत बोल कर

वैदिक सिद्धान्तों का मंडन करते हुए पंडित गुरुदत्त ने सिद्ध कर दिया कि ऋषि दयानन्द प्रदर्शित सनातन आर्षविधि अङ्ग उपाङ्ग सहित वेद पढ़ने की सफल हो गई। पं० गुरुदत्त के इस सिद्ध प्रयोग ने गुरुकुल कांगड़ी को स्थापन करने की व्यवहार रूप से प्रेरणा की।

ज्यों २ गुरुकुल से स्नातक वा वैदिक पंडित अधिक से अधिक संख्या में निकलेंगे, त्यों २ ही वेद-मंत्रों के सच्चे अर्थ जिन्हें आज तक पौराणिक छिपा रहे थे सब पर खुल जावेंगे और विधवा विवाह तथा नियोग को रोकने की शक्ति फिर किसी में न होगी। विदेश-यात्रा, शुद्धि, दलितोद्धार, स्त्री-शिक्षण, सहभोज, तथा संस्कार आदि सामाजिक विषय, जो इस समय गोरखधंधे के रूप में दृष्टि पड़ते हैं, सरल हो जावेंगे। यूनिवर्सिटी ने परीक्षा को रोग बना कर उस की चिन्ता से जो सैंकड़ों युवकों के मन मार दिये हैं, उसका भी संशोधन गुरुकुल की न्याय तथा प्रेम युक्त परीक्षा-प्रणाली कर रही है। मुसलमानों ने जो भ्रम फैला रखा है कि मांस खाने से ही बल आता है, इसका उत्तर गुरुकुलों ने उत्तम रूप से दे रखा है। पत्थर उठाने तीर चलाने तथा लाठी आदि की खेलें करते हुए अल्पाशी ब्रह्मचारियों ने कांगड़ी के जंगल में कुछ वर्ष हुए एक शेर को डंडों से मार कर दिखा दिया कि मांस खाए बिना भी सब वीर हो सकते हैं।

योरुप के शिक्षण-शास्त्री कहते हैं कि आदर्श-छात्र वह हो सकता है जो शरीर से पुष्ट, विद्या से विभूषित और चारित्रवान् हो, तथा समाज-सेवक बन सके। यह आदर्श गुरुकुल विशेष उत्तमता तथा सुविधा से पूर्ण कर रहा है, क्यों कि इसको यूनिवर्सिटी की परीक्षाओं के लिए घोटा लगवाने की जरूरत नहीं।

देश सेवा के जो अन्य भारी तत्त्व हैं, उनकी तरफ भी गुरुकुल कांगड़ी का पूरा ध्यान सदैव रहता है। यथा, यहां शिक्षण का माध्यम हिन्दी भाषा है। इस के अतिरिक्त यहां सब वर्णों के बालक, ब्राह्मण से लेकर शूद्रकुलोत्पन्न तक न केवल संग ही रहते हैं किन्तु एक ही पंक्ति में खाना खाते हैं। अछूत बालक भी बराबर इस में लिये जाते और समान अधिकार पाते हैं। इस लिए उक्त सब कारणों से मैं इस गुरुकुल का जन्म तथा जीवन सफल समझता हूं। जब तक नगर नगर में ऐसे २ उत्तम गुरुकुल नहीं होंगे तब तक आर्यजाति की संतान की शारीरिक, आत्मिक और सामाजिक उन्नति एक साथ नहीं हो सकेगी।

गुरुकुल कांगड़ी भूमि के प्रदाता दानवीर मुन्शी अमन सिंह जी

गुरुकुल कांगड़ी के उपाध्यायगण

# श्री पूज्य स्वामी जी के चरणों में

## श्रद्धाञ्जलि

ऐ पूज्य मेरे स्वामी, क्या भेंट मैं चढ़ाऊं।
भगवन्! तुम्हीं बतादो, कैसे तुम्हें रिझाऊं॥
उपकार जो किये थे, मुझ से गिने न जाते।
ऋण से दबा हूँ उन के, कैसे उऋण कहाऊं॥
जो कुछ भी मैं बना हूं, सब आप की कृपा थी।
बदला मैं उस दया का, कैसे कहो चुकाऊं॥
मङ्गल भरा तुम्हारा, नित हाथ शीश रहता।
आशीष थी तुम्हारी, अब कैसे उस को पाऊं॥
दलितों के तुम सहारे, तुम ने पतित उभारे।
उस कार्य को तुम्हारे, पा शक्ति मैं बढ़ाऊं॥
त्यागी परोपकारी, तुम दिव्य-देहधारी।
मन में सदा तुम्हारी, प्रतिमा गुरो! बिठाऊं॥
वो दिव्य बल तुम्हारा, दिल साफ जोश वाला।
पाऊं कि जिस से मैं भी, औरों के काम आऊं॥
दुःख को मिटा चुके हो, अमरत्व पा चुके हो।
क्यों देव सद्गति की, फिर प्रार्थना कराऊं॥
श्रद्धा का दिव्य मन्दिर, यह मेरा दिल विमल हो।
चल के तुम्हारे पथ में, जीवन सफल बनाऊं॥
बस कामना यही अब, सेवा में सब लगाऊं।
फिर अन्त में तुम्हारी, सी वीर मृत्यु पाऊं॥

डा० धर्मदेव विद्यावाचस्पति

# ब्रह्मचर्य्य

( ले० प्रो० धर्मदत्त जी विद्यालंकार, उपाध्याय आयुर्वेद महाविद्यालय )

विषय-वासना के संयम करने का नाम ब्रह्मचर्य्य है। विषय का संस्कार बीजरूप से प्रत्येक बालक के मन में विद्यमान रहता है। उसके युवावस्था में आने पर कुछ २ अंकुरित होने लगता है और पूर्ण युवा हो जाने पर अधिक विकसित हो जाता है। इस प्रकार विषय-वासना प्रत्येक मनुष्य के अन्दर स्वभावतः ही उत्पन्न होती है। पर इस के आधीन हो जाना ब्रह्मचर्य का नाश और इसे अपने आधीन रखना ही ब्रह्मचर्य्य है।

जब बालक के शरीर में शुक्र उत्पन्न होने लगता है तब उस का स्वभाव भी बदलने लगता है। पहले वह माता पिता की आँख के नीचे रहना पसन्द करता था, अब स्वतन्त्र और उच्छृङ्खल रहना पसन्द करता है। अब उसे किसी को आधीनता और और किसी का आश्रय अखरता है; जिन माता पिता के बिना वह थोड़ी देर में व्याकुल हो जाता था वे ही यदि उसे आधीनता की बेड़ियों में रखना चाहें तो उन के विरुद्ध द्रोह करने लगता है। स्कूलों के मास्टर बालक के इस स्वभाव-परिवर्त्तन को न समझ कर उन्हें बलात्कार जकड़ कर रखना चाहते हैं, जिस से बालक उनके विरुद्ध विद्रोह कर देते हैं और उन के तथा विद्यार्थियों के बीच झगड़े उत्पन्न हो जाते हैं। अध्यापकों को जानना चाहिये कि यह स्वतन्त्रता की प्रवृति युवावस्था प्रारम्भ होने का एक ज़रूरी परिणाम है। गुरुओं को चाहिये कि वे इस आयु में बालक की नियन्त्रण-रज्जु को न तो बहुत ढीला करें और न ही बहुत खींच कर रखें, क्योंकि दोनों ही अवस्थाओं में बालक के बिगड़ने का डर है।

बालक के अन्दर अब साहस भी आने लगता है। जो पहले रात को बाहर नहीं निकल सकता था, वह अन्धेरे में निकल कर बड़े २ उपद्रव करने लगता है; प्रायः कर बालक शैतानी के कामों में इस साहस को प्रकट करते हैं, यह साहस भी युवावस्था का एक परिणाम है।

परन्तु एक विशेष परिवर्तन और भी होता है। जो बालक अब तक विषय की बात नहीं जानता था वह अब विषय की बातों में दिलचस्पी लेने लगता है। जननेन्द्रिय के लिए एक प्रकार की उत्सुकता अनुभव करने लगता है और सुन्दर बालकों तथा सुन्दर कन्याओं की ओर आकर्षण भी अनुभव करने लगता है।

बारहवें वर्ष से सोलहवें वर्ष के बीच किसी समयमें यह विषय सम्बन्धी

विचार प्रत्येक बालक में उत्पन्न होने आरम्भ होते हैं। इन विचारों के झोंके उसे डगमगाने लगते हैं। परन्तु यदि माता पिता और आचार्य्य की तीव्र आँखे बालक पर हर समय लगी रहें और यदि इन के अमृतमय उपदेश उसे प्राप्त होते रहें तो बालक इन झोंकों द्वारा गिरने से बच जाता है। पर यदि दौर्भाग्य से माता पिता अपने काम धन्धों में लगे रह कर और आचार्य्य दूसरे प्रबन्ध के काम में लगे रह कर ऐसे संकटमय काल में बालक को अकेला छोड़ दें तो वह इन झोंकों से डगमगाया हुआ ऐसे अन्धेरे कुएं में जा गिरता है जिस में से फिर उसे उबारना कष्ट-साध्य हो जाता है। अभिप्राय यह है कि बारहवें से सोलहवें वर्ष के बीच जब कि अण्ड-ग्रन्थियां शुक्र को बनाना आरम्भ करने लगती हैं, और युवावस्था आरम्भ होने लगती है तब बालक पुरुष बनना आरम्भ होता है। इस अवस्था में स्वाभाविक तौर से उस के अन्दर कुछ विषय सम्बन्धी विचार उत्पन्न होने लगते हैं।

## शुक्रोत्पत्ति का प्रयोजन

युवावस्था में—यह ठीक है कि शुक्रोत्पति के साथ विषय सम्बन्धी विचार भी आरम्भ होते लगते हैं, परन्तु शुक्रोत्पत्ति का एक मात्र प्रयोजन बालक की मानसिक तथा शारीरिक अभिवृद्धि करने का होता है। यदि इस आयु में शुक्र उत्पन्न न हो तो बालक सदा के लिए बालक ही रह जाय और पुरुष न बन सके।

शुक्र उत्पन्न हो कर फिर से शरीर में विलीन हो जाता और शरीर की मांसपेशियों नसों और अस्थियों के निर्म्माण में सहायक होता है, अतः इसे "जीवनीय रस" कहते हैं। यदि यह जीवनीय रस शरीर में उत्पन्न न हो तो कितना ही पौष्टिक भोजन खाया जावे तब भी शरीर और मस्तिष्क की वृद्धि न हो। परीक्षण से देखा गया है कि यदि किसी प्राणी के युवाकाल के आरम्भ में ही उसकी अण्ड-ग्रन्थियां निकाल दी जावें तो उसके शरीर और मन की वृद्धि सर्वथा रुक जाती है और वह बालक के समान ही रह जाता है। पर यदि फिर उसकी किसी जगह की त्वचा को काट कर त्वचा के नीचे किसी दूसरे प्राणी की अण्ड-ग्रन्थियाँ स्थापित कर दी जावें और ऊपर से त्वचा सी दी जावे तो उस की रुकी हुई शारीरिक और मानसिक वृद्धि फिर से आरम्भ हो जाती है, जिस से पता लगता है कि अण्ड-ग्रन्थियों का रस या शुक्र शरीर और मस्तिष्क की अभिवृद्धि का अत्यावश्यक कारण है।

शरीर और मस्तिष्क की अभिवृद्धि बारहवें से बीसवें वर्ष तक विशेष तौर से होती है। बीसवें वर्ष के पीछे

अभिवृद्धि की मात्रा कुछ मन्द हो जाती है, किन्तु चौबीसवें या पचीसवें वर्ष तक जारी रहती है। अतः २४या २५ वर्ष की आयु तक शुक्र का एक मात्र प्रयोजन शरीर और मस्तिष्क की अभिवृद्धि करना ही है। इस अभिवृद्धि-काल में विषय सम्बन्धी विचार और चेष्टाएं उत्पन्न होने लगती हैं। परन्तु जो युवक उनको अपना परम शत्रु समझ कर उनको दबाये रखता है वह जहां अपने शरीर और मस्तिष्क की उन्नति में रुकावट नहीं आने देता वहां अपनी इच्छा-शक्ति को भी प्रबल बनाता और इस प्रकार अपने आप को पूर्ण मनुष्य बनाता है।

परन्तु जो युवक पच्चीस वर्ष की उमर से पहिले इस अभिवृद्धि-काल में विषय सम्बन्धी विचारों और चेष्टाओं में अपने जीवनीय रस को व्यय करना आरम्भ कर देता है, वह याद रखे कि वह अपने शरीर और मस्तिष्क के खर्च पर यह काम कर रहा है। यदि कोई युवक विषय सम्बन्धी विचारों और चेष्टाओं में आनन्द अनुभव करता है, वह अपना ही खून चूस कर समझता है कि मैंने अपना पेट भर लिया, अपने ही घर की अमूल्य सामग्री को जला कर समझता है मैंने तमाशा देख लिया।

अण्डग्रन्थियों को शरीर में से निकालने अथवा उन के रस को शरीर में से निकालने का परिणाम एक ही होता है। जिस प्रकार अण्डग्रन्थियों को निकालने से बालक मनुष्य नहीं बन सकता, उसी प्रकार चौबीस वर्ष से पहिले अण्डग्रन्थियों के रस के व्यय कर देने से भी बालक मनुष्य नहीं बन सकता, जो पुरुष शुक्र के बिन्दु २ को शरीर में लीन होने देता है वही सच्चा पुरुष बन सकता है।

**युवावस्था के बाद**—चौबीस या पच्चीसवें वर्ष के बाद शुक्र के दो कार्य हो जाते हैं:—

(१) शरीर का रक्षण (२) प्रजनन

इन में से रक्षण का कार्य मुख्य, और प्रजनन का कार्य गौण होता है। यह ठीक है कि यदि विषय सम्बन्धी चेष्टाओं में शुक्र का व्यय किया जाय तो शरीर को इतनी क्षति नहीं होती जितनी युवावस्था में, पर तो भी यदि अधिक व्यय किया जावे तो शरीर के रक्षण में न्यूनता अवश्य आ जाती है।

देखा गया है कि यदि पच्चीसवें वर्ष के बाद भी अण्डग्रन्थियों को निकाल दिया जाय तो पुरुष में पुरुषत्व के गुण नष्ट हो जाते हैं; वह भीरु और कमज़ोर हो जाता है, उस के अन्दर से उत्साह, साहस, वीरता, आत्माभिमान आदि पुरुषोचित गुण नष्ट हो जाते हैं; वह दूसरे के आक्रमण से अपनी रक्षा आप नहीं कर सकता और उसके अन्दर से विषय सम्बन्धी आनन्द तथा प्रजननशक्ति भी नष्ट हो जाती है, जिस से मालूम होता है कि शुक्र का

मुख्य प्रयोजन. पुरुष के पुरुषत्व को कायम रखना है, अर्थात् पच्चीस वर्ष तक पुरुषत्व बनाना और पच्चीस के पीछे पुरुषत्व को कायम रखना शुक्र का मुख्य काम है । इस से जहां मनुष्य दूसरे पुरुषों के आक्रमण को रोक सकता है वहां उसी पुरुषत्व से नाना प्रकार की व्याधियों के आक्रमण को भी रोकने में समर्थ होता है । इसी लिये जब ऋतु-परिवर्तन होता है और रोगों का अधिक भय रहता है अथवा चारों तरफ कोई संक्रामक रोग फैला होता है तो जो पुरुष यत्न से वीर्य की रक्षा करते हैं वे रोग के आक्रमण से बच जाते हैं जब कि दूसरे लोग शीघ्र ही रोग का शिकार हो जाते हैं; इस से स्पष्ट है कि युवावस्था के पीछे भी शुक्र का मुख्य प्रयोजन आत्मसंरक्षण है और प्रजनन गौण है ।

शरीररूपी दीपक में शुक्र एक तैल है। यदि उसे उलट कर फैंक न दिया जावे तो वह शरीर में जला करता है। उसकी आग में सब रोगों के जीवाणु नष्ट हो जाते हैं, उस की ज्योति आंख और चेहरे पर दिखने लगती है, उस के तेज से चेहरा धधकता करता है, उसके ज्वलन से शरीर मे दिव्य शक्ति उत्पन्न होती है, जीवन में उत्साह और उमङ्ग की विद्युत् संचार किये रहती है, और यदि कोई आकस्मिक कारण न हो जावे तो जीवन रूपी दीप १०० वर्ष तक अखण्ड रूप से चमकता दमकता रहता है ।

शुक्र की उत्पत्ति के साथ विषय वासना की उत्पत्ति और स्थिति उस का लक्षण मात्र है, उद्देश्य नहीं । विषय वासना के होते हुए उसे आठों याम काबू रखना घर के सिंह को वश में रखने के सदृश है और यही सच्चा ब्रह्मचर्य है ।

## माता पिता का कर्तव्य

कई बार माता दाई या दूसरे लोग बच्चे की उपस्थेन्द्रिय को हिला २ कर खुश हुआ करते हैं, परन्तु यह सर्वथा अनुचित है । जब बालक तीन या चार वर्ष का हो जावे तो उसे दाई या नौकरों के पास सर्वथा नहीं छोड़ना चाहिये; अनेक बालकों के चरित्रनाश का बीज इन्हीं नौकरों ने बोया है। जब बच्चा तीन वर्ष से बडा हो जावे तो उसे कभी किसी दूसरे के पास न सुलावें। अनेक मूर्ख माता पिता तो आठ या दस वर्ष के बालकों को भी एक ही चारपाई पर सुला देते हैं, इस से उनके चरित्र के नष्ट होने का भारी भय रहता है। जब बालक पांच वर्ष से बड़ा हो जावे तो उसे उठाना, प्यार करना और चूमना सर्वथा छोड़ देना चाहिये, नह बातों से उस में सोई हुई विषयवासना के उत्तेजित होने का भय रहता है।

आठ वर्ष तक माता बालक की प्रत्येक क्रिया को अपने सामने रखे,

और आठ वर्ष की उमर के पीछे आने वाले भय को सम्मुख रखती हुई माता अपने बालक को सावधान करती हुई प्यार से समझावे कि "ए मेरे प्यारे बेटे! तेरी यह उपस्थेन्द्रिय बड़ी पवित्र इन्द्रिय है, यदि इस हाथ से स्पर्श किया जावे या कोई दूसरा इसे हाथ से स्पर्श करे तो यह अपवित्र हो जाती है, जो बच्चे इसे छूते या दूसरों को छूने देते हैं वे बच्चे ही रह जाते हैं, मनुष्य नहीं बन सकते, अतः यदि तू मनुष्य बनना चाहता है तो मेरी शपथ खाकर कर कहो कि न तो कभी इस इन्द्रिय को छुवेगा और न किसी को छूने देगा।" बालक की श्रद्धा माता पर अगाध होने से माता की बात को मान लेगा। इस प्रकार की शिक्षा को आचार्यकुल में गुरुवर्ग भी समय २ पर देते रहें।

सात या आठ साल की उमर के पीछे बालकों को गुरुकुल में प्रविष्ट कर दें। गुरुकुलों की श्रेणियों के अध्यापकों या शिक्षकों को भी यह समझना चाहिये कि पुस्तक पढ़ाने की अपेक्षा बालक के चरित्र पर ध्यान देना उन के लिए अधिक आवश्यक है। वे याद रखें कि यदि उनके आधीन एक भी बालक में दुर्व्यसन आ जावेगा तो वे परमात्मा और दुनियाँ, दोनों के सामने इस लापरवाही के ज़िम्मेदार होंगे।

प्रायः आठ या दस वर्ष के बालकों को यह शंका उत्पन्न होती है कि "हम कहां से, कैसे उत्पन्न हुए?" माता पिता यदि उन के इस प्रश्न को टाल देंगे तो बालकों की इस प्रश्न सम्बन्धी उत्सुकता और भी अधिक बढ़ जावेगी, अतः 'उत्पत्ति' का अपने बालकों को ठीक २ ज्ञान करा देना चाहिये। उन को वनस्पतियों के फूल दिखा कर बताना चाहिये कि फल कैसे उत्पन्न होते हैं! पशुओं और पक्षियों का उत्पत्ति का भी इशारा कर देना चाहिये, क्योंकि यदि बालक अपने आप इन बातों को उत्सुकता में पड़ा रहेगा तो इस से अधिक हानि है।

यदि माता पिता तथा आचार्य चौबीस घंटे जागृत रह कर बालक के प्रति अपना कर्तव्य पूरा करेंगे तो निश्चय है कि बालक के मन-मन्दिर में सोया पड़ा विषयवासनारूपी सिंह शीघ्र जागृत न होगा। परन्तु इस आयु के बाद युवावस्था के आरम्भ होते ही यह मन से उत्पन्न होने वाला 'मनसिज सिंह' स्वयमेव कुछ २ जागृत होने लगता है। तेरह से बीस वर्ष तक की आयु न केवल बालक प्रत्युत उनके माता पिता और आचार्य, सब के लिये परीक्षा का काल है। यदि वे इस काल में से बालक को ऐसी सावधानी से ले आवेंगे कि जिस से उस में जागता हुआ यह सिंह उत्तेजित होने न पावे तो वे महाधन्य होंगे, परमात्मा के दरबार में आशीर्वाद के भागी होंगे। परन्तु यदि वे इस काल में बालकों के

प्रति लापरवाह रहेंगे तो वे याद रखें कि परमात्मा के दरबार में क्रोध और धिक्कार के पात्र होंगे।

यदि बालक किसी दूसरे लड़के से अधिक मिले या यारी दिखावे तो सावधान हो जाना चाहिये, इस उमर के लड़कों में यारी सदा चरित्र को भ्रष्ट करने के लिये होती है। माता पिता को घर में खेलने और मनोरञ्जन करने के लिये इतना सामान घर में रखना चाहिये कि बालक को इसके लिये बाहर न जाना पड़े। सायंकाल के समय माता पिता को कहीं बाहर न जाना चाहिए, घर पर रह कर बच्चों के मनोरञ्जन और खेल में उन्हें भी शामिल होना चाहिए। बालकों को खिलाने के साथ साथ मनोरञ्जन वार्तालाप से उनका ज्ञान भी अच्छा बनाया जा सकता है। यदि बालकों का पर्याप्त मनोरञ्जन हो जावे तो वे कभी दूसरे लड़कों के साथ खेलने बाहर न जावेंगे।

२० वर्ष की आयु तक लड़के को कभी नाटक, सिनेमा, नाच आदि देखने न भेजना चाहिये; गन्दा उपन्यास, अश्लील साहित्य और गन्दे चित्र तथा गन्दी गल्पें हाथ में न देनी चाहियें, क्योंकि ये विषयवासना सम्बन्धी विचारों को भड़काने वाले हैं।

यदि माता पिता और आचार्य के दिन रात सावधान रहने पर भी युवक में वह विषयवासना रूपी सिंह उत्तेजित हो जावे और वह किसी प्रकार का दुष्कृत्य कर बैठे तो उसको मारना या धमकाना नहीं चाहिये, इस से कुछ भी लाभ न होगा। उस को तो इस सिंह के विरुद्ध लड़ने और काबू करने के लिए उत्साहित करना चाहिये, पिता या गुरु उसको एकान्त में बुला कर इस विषय में उत्तम २ उपदेश दे कर समझाने की पूर्ण चेष्टा करें। प्रेम से समझाने पर युवक अपनी कठिनता को आप ही कह देता है, तब पिता या आचार्य इस शत्रु के विरुद्ध लड़ने के लिए जिस प्रकार से भी बन सके उसकी सहायता करे।

## युवकों का कर्तव्य

जो हस्तमैथुन के द्वारा शुक्र का नाश करते है, उनके शरीर और मस्तिष्क को बड़ा धक्का लगता है। उन के शरीर की वृद्धि रुक जाती है जिससे उनका चेहरा पीला, शरीर कृश, और शरीर के कृश हो जाने से पाचन आदि के अंग भी निर्बल हो जाते हैं, पाचन आदि के क्षीण होने से स्मरणशक्ति क्षीण हो जाती और बालक पढ़ाई में निर्बल हो जाते हैं। उत्साह, साहस, तेज और ओज की मात्रा घट जाती और वह डरपोक हो जाता है, आंखों से आँख मिला कर नहीं देख सकता। उसका सारा आत्मविश्वास नष्ट होजाता है और इसलिए वह उद्योगहीन, परिश्रमहीन हो कर आलसी हो जाता है।

जननेन्द्रिय का दुरुपयोग करने से युवकों में स्वप्नमेह का रोग उत्पन्न हो जाता है जिस से निद्रावस्था में कोई विषय सम्बन्धी स्वप्न आता है, शिश्नहर्ष होता है,और शुक्रनाश हो जाता है। इस से शरीर और मस्तिष्क और भी अधिक निर्बल होने लगते हैं। कई युवक तो अधिक हस्तमैथुन करने से गृहस्थ में प्रवेश करने से पहिले ही अपने आप को नपुंसक बना लेते हैं; इस प्रकार यह स्मरण रखना चाहिये कि यह आदत मनुष्य के जीवन को सदा के लिए दुःखी बना देती है।

माता।पिता और आचार्य को चाहिये कि ऐसे बालक को प्रेम से समझावें न कि डरावें और दण्ड दें; क्योंकि प्रायः युवक को यह पता नहीं होता कि इस आदत से उसके शरीर और मन को क्या हानि होती है। यदि इस से होने वाली हानियों को उसके सामने रखा जावे तो वह अवश्य ही इस आदत को छोड़ देता है।

यदि युवक यह समझता हो कि हस्तमैथुन आदि द्वारा शुक्रनाश करने में कोई आनन्द है तो उसे स्मरण रखना चाहिये कि यह आनन्द वही है जो कुत्ते को सूखी हड्डी चबाते समय हड्डी के द्वारा मुख में से निकले खून चूसने में आता है। उसे यह भी याद रखना चाहिये कि वह इस झूठे आनन्द से भविष्य में आने वाले आनन्द को खो रहा है। इस क्रिया को अपने शरीर और मस्तिष्क के लिए घातक समझ कर इस से मुक्त होने के लिए प्रयत्नशील होना चाहिये, यदि मुक्त होने का दृढ़ निश्चय कर लेगा तो वह अवश्य ही मुक्त होगा। उसे अपने दिल में जमा लेना चाहिये कि यदि वह पच्चीस वर्ष से पहिले इन बातों से शुक्र का नाश करेगा तो पच्चीस वर्ष के बाद गृहस्थ के योग्य न होगा।

सब से प्रथम उसे व्यसनी युवकों के साथ मिलना छोड़ देना चाहिये और उन्हें अपना परम शत्रु समझना चाहिये। दृढ़ निश्चय कर लेने से भी यदि श्रवण, स्पर्शन, दर्शन आदि से कामविषयक विचार उत्पन्न होने लगें तो उसी समय शत्रु को समीप आया जान बैठा हो तो उठ खड़ा हो जाय, खड़ा हो तो दौड़ना आरम्भ कर दे; ऐसे समय में लेटे रहना या बैठे रहना उचित नहीं है; अथवा खुली हवा में आकर दो एक प्राणायाम कर लेने चाहियें। हर समय कार्य में लगे हुए युवक को विषय सम्बन्धी विचार अधिक नहीं तङ्ग करते, अतः अपना खाली समय खेतो,फुलवारी,चित्रकारी या दस्तकारी में लगाये रखना चाहिये।

युवक को दूसरों से अलग एकान्त में भी नहीं रहना चाहिये। हंसी, खेल, सभा, सोसायटी और समाज आदि में सभ्य पुरुषों के साथ अच्छी तरह मिलना जुलना चाहिये। जो एकान्त में रहते हैं वे प्रायः इस दुर्व्यसन का

गुरुकुल कांगड़ी के स्नातक तथा वर्तमान मुख्याधिष्ठाता और आचार्य जी

शिकार हो जाते हैं। यदि युवक से कभी विषय सम्बन्धी चेष्टा हो जावे तो पश्चात्ताप करना चाहिये; एक समय या एक दिन भोजन का परित्याग कर देना चाहिये; ऐसा करने से दूसरी बार फिर प्रलोभन आने पर वह अपने को अधिक बलवान पाता है।

## वीर्य-रक्षा के कुछ साधन

( १ ) भोजन सम्बन्धी— मद्य, मांस, तैल, खटाई, लाल मिर्च, गर्म मसाले, चाय, काफी, तमाखू तथा सब तले हुए गरिष्ठ भोजन, ये गर्म उत्तेजक और जननेन्द्रिय को भड़काने वाले भोजन हैं। इनका भोजन सभी को कम करना चाहिये और युवकों को तो सर्वथा न करना चाहिए। यदि भोजन अधिक मात्रा में खाया जावे तो भी रक्त का दबाव बढ़ जाता है, इस लिए वीर्य की रक्षा करना कठिन हो जाता है, अतः भोजन सदा थोड़ी मात्रा में करना चाहिये, रात्रि को तो विशेषतः इस का ध्यान रखना चाहिये।

( २ ) व्यायाम सम्बन्धी— निर्बल युवक और पुरुषों के लिए वीर्यरक्षा करना अपेक्षया कठिन होता है, क्योंकि शरीर की निर्बलता के साथ उत्पादक अंग भी निर्बल होते हैं और शरीर के बलवान होने के साथ उत्पादक अङ्ग भी बलवान होते हैं। उत्पादक अङ्गों की निर्बलता को हटाने के लिए सीधे खड़े होकर या पेट या पीठ के भार लेट कर टांगों को आगे या पीछे या पार्श्वों की ओर धीरे २ उठाने वाली व्यायाम करनी चाहिये। ज्यों २ जंघायें बलवान होती हैं त्यों २ उत्पादक अङ्ग भी बलवान होते हैं, अतः दौड़ना भी बड़ा लाभदायक है। इस के अतिरिक्त पीठ या रीढ़ की हड्डी की भी व्यायाम से वातनाड़ियां बलिष्ठ होती हैं, इस से उत्पादक अङ्गों की वातनाड़ियां बलिष्ठ होती हैं। ऐसे व्यायाम और आसन जिन में पीठ को आगे या पीछे की तरफ झुकाया जाता है प्रतिदिन कुछ काल करनी चाहिये। शीर्षासन से भी वीर्य-रक्षा में बड़ी सहायता मिलती है। यदि सायंकाल या सोने से ५ या १० मिनट पूर्व शीर्षासन किया जाये तो रात्रि को स्वप्नमेह या शिश्नहर्ष का भय नहीं रहता, क्योंकि इस से शुक्राशय और अन्य उत्पादक अङ्गों में रक्त का संचय कम हो जाता है।

( ३ ) प्राणायाम सम्बन्धी— सिद्धासन में अर्थात् बांयें पैर की एड़ी को गुदा और उपस्थेन्द्रिय के मध्य-स्थान पर और दाहिने पैर की एड़ी को उपस्थेन्द्रिय पर ऐसा रखकर बैठे कि बांयें पैर की एड़ी से सीवन प्रदेश अच्छी तरह दबा रहे; इस स्थान के दबने से भी वीर्य रक्षा में बड़ी सहायता मिलती है। इसी प्रकार सीधा बैठकर एक नासिका से गहरा श्वास लेकर कुछ क्षण अन्दर रोक कर दूसरी नाक से कुछ धीरे २

बाहिर फैंके। अन्दर लेते समय पेट और छाती को फूलने दे, और श्वास फैंकते समय पेट और छाती को अन्दर सिकुड़ने दे। परन्तु सारे समय में उपस्थेन्द्रिय और गुदा को ऊपर खींच रखे।

( ४ ) स्नान सम्बन्धी—एक टब में ताजा कूप का जल भर कर ऐसे बैठे कि टांगें तथा धड़ पानी से बाहिर रहें और जंघा से नाभि तक का प्रदेश पानी में डूबा रहे। फिर एक तौलिये से पेडू तथा शिश्न और गुदा के मध्यवर्ती प्रदेश को अच्छी तरह मलें, इस प्रकार पांच या दश मिनिट स्नान करना पर्याप्त है। इस से उत्पादक अंगों में नवीन बल प्राप्त होता है । शिश्न के अग्र चर्म के नीचे वर्तमान मल को भी साफ़ करते रहना चाहिये, क्योंकि उसके संचित होने से शिश्न के क्षोभ का भय रहता है।

( ५ ) निद्रा सम्बन्धी—सोने से न्यून से न्यून दो घण्टा पहिले तक भोजन दूध या पानी आदि द्रव न पीने चाहियें, क्योंकि भरे हुए पेट और भरे हुए मूत्राशय का दबाव शुक्राशय पर पड़ सकता है जिस से स्वप्नमेह का भय रहता है। यदि तीव्र स्वप्नमेह की शिकायत हो तो रात्रि का भोजन कुछ दिन के लिए बन्द कर देना चाहिये। सोने से पहिले पेशाब होकर हाथ मुंह धोकर थोड़ी देर शान्ति से बिस्तर पर बैठना चाहिये; सारी चिन्ताओं को मन से हटा कर चित्त को खूब प्रसन्न करना चाहिये और अपने शरीर के सब अंगों पर हाथ फेरते हुए और विशेषतः निर्बल अंगों पर हाथ फ़ेरते हुए कल्पना करनी चाहिये कि ये सब अंग बलवान हो रहे हैं। कुछ काल के लिए चिन्ताओं से रहित आनन्द-मग्न हो अपनी रुचि के अनुसार भगवच्चिन्तन करना चाहिये और इसी निश्चिन्तता की स्थिति में लेटते ही सो जाना चाहिये। जिस प्रकार की अवस्था सोने से ठीक पहिले रहती है वैसी ही प्रायः सारी रात रहती है, अतः निश्चिन्त हो कर सोने वाले को अच्छी नींद आती है । स्वप्नमेह की चिन्ता सर्वथा न करनी चाहिये, जो जितनी अधिक चिन्ता करता है, यह भूत उसे उतना ही अधिक लिपटता है। सदा करवट पर ही सोना चाहिये, पीठ पर सोने से मूत्राशय और मलाशय के बीच में वर्तमान शुक्राशय पर दबाव पड़ता है जिससे कि स्वप्नमेह का भय रहता है।

रात्रि को एक या दो बजे के लग भग प्रायः प्रत्येक आदमी की निद्रा खुलती है, उस समय उठ कर एक वार अवश्य पेशाब कर लेना चाहिये; अधिक स्वप्नमेह की शिकायत हो तो जितनी वार नींद खुले उठ कर पेशाब कर लेना चाहिये। जिस समय शिश्न-हर्ष का पता लगे उस समय लेटे न रह कर उठ कर बैठ जाना या कुछ कदम चल लेना चाहिये।

(६) आचार-विचार सम्बन्धी-जिस प्रकार यदि आरम्भ में आँख को धूंयें और धूल आदि से न बचाया जावे या उस से अधिक उपयोग या कुरुपयोग लिया जावे तो आंख कमज़ोर पड़ जाती है और फिर थोड़े से धूंयें के लगने से लाल होकर पानी बहाने लगती है, फिर यदि कुछ काल आँख को पूरा आराम दिया जावे और उससे किसी प्रकार का उपयोग न लिया जावे तो आंख अपनी साधारण अवस्था में आ जाती है, इसी प्रकार यदि युवक अपनी उपस्थेन्द्रिय को दर्शन, स्पर्शन, श्रवण अथवा हस्त-मैथुन आदि से और गृहस्थ अतिस्त्रीसंग से क्षुब्ध करता रहे तो जनन सम्बन्धी अङ्ग इतने निर्बल हो जाते हैं कि थोड़े से भी क्षोभक कारण से क्षुब्ध हो जाते हैं, इसलिए पहिले तो ऐसे आचार विचार से बचना चाहिये जो जननेन्द्रिय को क्षुब्ध करने वाले हैं। यह समझ लेना चाहिये कि ये सब उत्तेजनाएं उत्पादक अंगों को अधिक २ निर्बल और असहन शील कर जाती हैं। गृहस्थियों और युवकों में उत्पादक अंगों को अधिक उत्तेजित करने से ही शीघ्रस्खलन और पुंस्त्व-नाश के रोग हो जाते हैं, अतः जनन सम्बन्धी अंगों को बलवान करने और इन्हें सब उत्तेजनाओं से बचाने के लिए पूर्ण विश्राम देना चाहिये। ब्रह्मचर्य से ही वास्तव में भोग की शक्ति और भोग का आनन्द प्राप्त होता है।

(७) औषधि सम्बन्धी—दिन में तीन या चार माषे आमलकी या हरीतकी का चूर्ण मधु के साथ खा लेने से वीर्य रक्षा में सहायता मिलती है। बबूल की भुनी हुई गोंद को वेसन के लड्डू आदि में डाल कर खा लेना इसके लिए हितकर है। अच्छा बना हुआ चन्दनासव एक या दो तोला थोड़े जल में मिला कर दिन में एक दो वार पी सकते हैं; ये सब उत्पादक अंगों के लिए शामक औषधियें हैं।

बंग, अभ्रक, प्रवालमुक्ता और शुक्ति आदि की भस्में तथा इन के बने हुए प्रयोग भी वीर्य रक्षा में बड़े सहायक होते हैं। ये उत्पादक अंगों के लिए उत्तम बल्य द्रव्य हैं। उत्पादक अङ्गों को उत्तेजित करने वाली दवाइयां न खानी चाहियें क्यों कि वे थोड़ी देर के लिए उत्तेजित कर के उन्हें चिरकाल के लिए निर्बल कर जाती हैं।

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ब्रह्मचर्येण तपसा देवा मृत्युमुपाघ्नत।
इन्द्रो ह ब्रह्मचर्येण देवेभ्यः स्वराभरत्॥ अथर्व वेद

ब्रह्मचर्य-तप से ब्रह्मचारी मृत्यु या पाप का हनन करते हैं, और एवं जीवात्मा ब्रह्मचर्य के द्वारा इन्द्रियों से सुखानन्द को पाता है॥

# मन्त्र-साधन

## ( मन्दाक्रान्ता छन्द )

१

कैसा आया समय, बदला काल का रङ्ग कैसा
होती जाती भरतभुवि की आज कैसी दशा है ।
आँखें खोलें विबुध, समझें देश की सर्व बातें
सोचें होके प्रयत, युग के धर्म का मर्म क्या है ॥

२

आशा होवे उदय उर में, दूर होवे निराशा
सूझें सारे सुपथ, सफला युक्तियां हों हमारी ।
ऐसे बाँधें नियम, जिससे कालिमा दूर होवे
आभा वाले सकल दृग हां, ज्योति फैले जनों में ॥

३

प्यारी संख्या प्रति दिवस है जाति की न्यून होती
संतप्ता हो दुख-उदधि में मग्न जातीयता है ।
छीने जाते हृदय-धन हैं, पत्नियां छूटती हैं
सोने जैसा सुख-सदन है प्रायशः दग्ध होता ॥

४

ढाहे जाते सुर-सदन हैं, मूर्त्तियाँ टूटती हैं
बाधा होती अधिकतर है पर्व औ' उत्सवों में ।
काँटे जाते प्रथित पथ में चाव से हैं बिछाये
न्यारी शोभा रहित, नित है नन्दनोद्यान होता ॥

५

की जाती हैं विफल, छल से सिन्धुजा की कलायें
टूटी सी है परममधुरा भारती की सुवीणा ।
क्रीड़ा द्वारा कलुषित बनी मञ्जु मन्दाकिनी है
लूटा जाता धनद-धन है, स्वर्ग है ध्वंस होता ॥

६

तो भी होता कलह नित है, वैर है वृद्धि पाता
सद्भावों के सुमन-चय में हैं घुसे दम्भ-कीट ।
सच्चिन्ता की ललित-लतिका हो गई छिन्नमूला
उल्लासों के विपुल विटपी पुष्प ही हैं न लाते ॥

७

धर्मों की है निपतित ध्वजा, सत्यता वञ्चिता है
हैं शास्त्रों की सबल विधियाँ रूढ़ियों से विपन्ना ।
सत्कर्मों की प्रगति बदली लोक आडम्बरों से
मोहों द्वारा बहुमथित हो आर्यता मूर्च्छिता है ॥

८

वेदों की है अतुल महिमा, मन्त्र हैं सिद्धि-मन्त्र
धाता जैसी सृजन-पटु हैं उक्तियाँ आगमों की ।
भू-विख्याता, पतितजनता-पावनी जान्हवी है
आर्यों के हैं सुअन, हम में कौनसी न्यूनता है ॥

९

सच्ची शिक्षा सतत चित की उच्चता है सिखाती
सद्वाञ्छा है विदित करती त्याग संकीर्णता दो ।
उद्बोधों के विपुल मुख से है यही नाद होता
जागो जागो, कटि कस उठो, काल की क्रान्ति देखो ॥

१०

जो लोहू है गरम, यदि है गात में शेष शक्ति
जो थोड़ी भी हृदय-तल में धर्म की वेदना है ।
हो जाता है चित व्यथित जो जाति-उत्पीडनों से
तो हो जाओ सजग, सम्हलो, सिद्धि का मन्त्र साधो ॥

साहित्यरत्न श्री अयोध्या सिंह जी उपाध्याय

# सहजात-प्रवृत्तियें और उन का शिक्षा में स्थान

( ले०--श्री पं० प्रियव्रत जी विद्यालङ्कार )

पशुओं और मनुष्य में बड़ा भेद यह समझा जाता है कि जहां पशुओं के सारे व्यवहार और उनकी सारी चेष्टायें सहजात-प्रवृत्तियों के आधीन होती हैं वहां मनुष्य अपने सारे कार्य बुद्धि से सिद्ध करता है। सहजात-प्रवृत्ति ( Instinct ) प्राणी के अन्दर कार्य करने की वह शक्ति है, जिस की सहायता से प्राणी फल या उद्देश्य का पहिले से ज्ञान न रहने और उद्देश्य प्राप्ति में उपरोक्त शारीरिक या मानसिक चेष्टाओं की पहले से शिक्षा न होने न पर भी अभीष्ट फल या उद्देश्य को प्राप्त कर लेता है। पशुजगत् अपने अधिकांश व्यवहारों को सहजात प्रवृत्तियों की सहायता से ही पूरा करता है। बिल्ली चूहे को देखते ही उस पर झपटती है; कुत्ते के सामने आते ही भाग खड़ी होती है या भागने का मौका न रहने पर लड़ने को तैयार हो जाती है है; पानी और आग से बहुत बचती है। मनोवैज्ञानिकों का कहना है कि बिल्ली की ये क्रियायें इस लिये नहीं होती कि उसे मौत, जीवन या आत्मरक्षा का कोई विचार ऐसा करने के लिए प्रेरित करता है; नहीं, इस प्रकार का कोई विचार बिल्ली के मन में नहीं होता। चूहे के सामने आने पर बिल्ली उस पर झपटने और कुत्ते के आने पर भागने के लिए स्वभाव से बाधित है। यह बात दूसरी है कि इस बाधित होने का प्रयोजन आत्म-रक्षा हो। बिल्ली के मन में आत्म-रक्षा जैसा कोई विचार उपस्थित नहीं होता। बिल्ली तो चूहे के आगे आने पर इस प्रकार क्रिया कर बैठती है, जिस प्रकार किसी चीज़ के पास आ जाने से आँख झपक जाती है। किसी बड़ी शक्ति के मन में बिल्ली की आत्म-रक्षा का विचार हो तो हो। बिल्ली के शरीर की रचना और उसकी नस नाड़ियों की बनावट ही इस प्रकार की है कि वह चूहे का चित्र आंखों के आगे आते ही झपट पड़े।

मुर्गी अण्डे पर उन्हें सेने लग जाती है। अण्डों से बच्चे निकल आने पर चुग्गा ला ला कर उनकी चञ्चु में डालने लग जाती है। मुर्गी की इन क्रियाओं का प्रयोजन बच्चों की उत्पत्ति और उन की रक्षा है। पर फिर भी मुर्गी को पहले से इस प्रयोजन का ज्ञान नहीं होता और नाही उसे उन तरीकों की पहिले से शिक्षा होती है, जिनका अवलम्बन करके अण्डे सेने पर उन में से बच्चे निकल आयें। अण्डे देने के दिन आने पर चिड़िया को घोंसला बनाने

की शिक्षा कौन देता है ? कोई नहीं, केवल सहजात-प्रवृत्ति ( Instinct ) से वह घोंसला बनाने लग जाती है। बिल्ली, मुर्गी और चिड़िया ही नहीं सारा पशु-पक्षी जगत् ही अपने व्यवहारों के लिए सहजात-प्रवृत्तिों पर निर्भर करता है।

इस बात से प्रायः सभी विचारक सहमत हैं कि पशु-पक्षियों का जीवन सहजात-प्रवृत्तियों पर ही अवलम्बित है। पर मनुष्यों के सम्बन्ध में इस से विपरीत विचार पाये जाते हैं। समझा जाता है कि मनुष्य सर्वथा बुद्धि-जीवी प्राणी है। उस में सहजात प्रवृत्तियों का बिल्कुल अभाव माना जाता है। पर ज़रा गहरा विचार करने पर इस विचार की अवास्तविकता स्पष्ट दीखने लग जाती है। मनुष्य भी उसी प्रकार सहजात-प्रवृत्तियों पर आश्रित है जिस प्रकार पशु और पक्षी। नवजात बालक माता के स्तनों का स्पर्श पाते ही उन्हें मुख में क्यों ले लेता और दूध चूसने के लिए मुख और हाथों से उन्हें क्यों दबाने लग जाता है? भूख मिटाने की इस विधि की शिक्षा उसने कहां पायी है ? छोटा बच्चा चमकीली वस्तुओं की ओर आकृष्ट क्यों होता है ? चमकीली वस्तुओं का आकर्षण बच्चों में इतना बलवान् होता है कि अनेक वार बच्चे साँपों को पकड़ने की चेष्टा करते पाये गये हैं। अगर उक्त अवसरों पर दूसरे लोग न पहुंच गये होते तो साँप उन नन्हें बच्चों को डस लेते। बच्चों का चमकीली वस्तुओं की ओर आकर्षण क्या सहजात-प्रवृत्ति वश नहीं होता ? नवजात और छोटे २ बच्चों में ही सहज-प्रवृत्तियें नहीं पाई जातीं, प्रस्तुत युवा और वृद्धों में भी इनका पूरा राज्य होता है। युवक युवती की ओर क्यों आकृष्ट होता है और उसे सारा संसार अपनी प्रेम-पात्री के रंग में रंगा हुआ क्यों नज़र आता है ? सहजात-प्रवृत्ति से ही इस घटना की की व्याख्या हो सकती है। मनुष्यों में भी पशु-पक्षियों की तरह ही सहजात-प्रवृतियों का राज्य होने पर भी उन में कुछ ऐसी शक्तियें हैं जो उन के जीवन को पशु-पक्षियों के जीवन से भिन्न बना देनी हैं। मनुष्य की स्मृति शक्ति, उस को विचार करने और परिणाम निकालने की शक्ति उस के जीवन को अन्य प्राणियों के जीवन से भिन्न बना देती हैं। पशु-पक्षी किसी पदार्थ के सामने आने पर पुनः पुनः एक ही प्रकार की क्रिया करेंगे। पर मनुष्य की स्मृति आदि शक्तियें उस के और पशु-पक्षियों के जीवन में बड़ा भेद डाल देती हैं।

इस प्रकार हम देख चुके हैं कि पशु पक्षियों और मनुष्यों का जीवन समान रूप से सहजात-प्रवृत्तियों (Instinct) पर आश्रित है। अब देखना

यह है कि इन सहजात प्रवृत्तियों का मनुष्य की शिक्षा में क्या मूल्य है। इस प्रश्न पर विचार करने से पूर्व हमें सहजात-प्रवृत्तियों के सम्बन्ध में दो नियमों को संक्षेप से समझ लेना चाहिये। मनोवैज्ञानिकों का कथन है। कि (१) सहजात-प्रवृत्तियें अभ्यास से दब जाती हैं, और (२) ये चिरस्थाई नहीं होती। (१) पहले नियम का अभिप्राय यह है कि प्रायः ऐसा होता है कि जब किसी श्रेणी विशेष के पदार्थों के सामने आने पर प्राणी में कोई सहजात-प्रवृत्ति उत्पन्न हो सकती हो तो जो पदार्थ उस प्रवृत्ति (Instinct) के उद्बोधन में प्रथम आता है उसी के सामने आने पर वह प्रवृत्ति बार २ उठती है, उस श्रेणी के दूसरे पदार्थों के सामने आने पर वह प्रवृत्ति नहीं उठती। युवक के मन में युवतियों को देख कर प्रेम उत्पन्न होता है। पर जो युवती उस के अन्दर प्रेम की प्रवृत्ति (Instinct) को जगाने में प्रथम कारण होगी, युवक उसी से प्रेम करने लग जायेगा। मित्रता आदि की प्रवृत्ति (Instinct) में भी यही नियम काम करता है। इसी नियम की दूसरी व्याख्या यह है कि अनेक पदार्थों को देख कर प्राणी के अन्दर दो विरोधी सहजात-प्रवृत्तियें (Instincts) उत्पन्न होती हैं। ऐसे पदार्थ को देखने पर जो प्रवृत्ति पहले उत्पन्न हो जायेगी भविष्य में वही प्रवृत्ति पुनः पुनः उत्पन्न होगी, दूसरी नहीं। छोटे बच्चे के अन्दर कुत्ते या और प्राणियों को देखने पर उन से प्यार करने की इच्छा भी उत्पन्न होती है और साथ ही उसे इन से डर भी लगता है। अगर किसी कारण से कुत्ते के प्रथम दर्शन में बच्चे के अन्दर डरकी प्रवृत्ति (Instinct) प्रबल हो जाये तो भविष्य में सालों तक उस के मन में कुत्तों से प्यार करने की इच्छा उत्पन्न नहीं होगी: इस नियम की पुष्टि में प्राणी-जगत् और मनुष्य-संसार से लाखों उदाहरण दिये जा सकते हैं। स्थानाभाव से एक दो उदाहरण ही पर्याप्त समझे गये हैं। (२) दूसरे नियम का अर्थ यह है कि अनेक सहजात-प्रवृत्तियें एक निश्चित आयु पर ही उत्पन्न नहीं होतीं। यदि उस निश्चित आयु के अन्दर २ उद्बोधक पदार्थ आकर इन प्रवृत्तियों को जगादें तो भविष्य में भी वे पदार्थ उन्हें जगाते रहेंगे, यद्यपि उन के उत्पन्न होने की आयु बीत भी चुकी हो। परीक्षणों से देखा गया है। कि अगर मुर्गी के बच्चे जन्म से लेकर आठ दस दिन तक अपनी माता की आवाज़ न सुन पायें तो फिर उनके लिए माता की आवाज़ माता की आवाज़ नहीं रहेगी। इन नियमों के अनुसार चलने से सिंह और बकरी को वास्तविक अर्थों में एक घाट पानी पिलाया जा सकता है। इन नियमों के अपवाद भी पाये जाते हैं पर उन से नियमों

गुरुकुल सूपा के प्रारम्भिक ब्रह्मचारी, कार्यकर्त्ता तथा संस्थापक श्री स्वामी श्रद्धानन्दजी ।

की पुष्टि ही होती है, खण्डन नहीं। इन नियमों को ध्यान में रखते हुए हम शिक्षा को इस प्रकार की बना सकते हैं जो कि विद्यार्थियों के लिये अधिक से अधिक उपयोगी हो सके।

मनुष्यों की सहजात-प्रवृत्तियें भी उपर्युक्त दोनों नियमों से शासित होती हैं। बालकों को खेल-कूद, कथा कहानियों और चीजों की बाहिरी बातों में आनन्द आता है। युवकों को शारीरिक व्यायाम, काव्य, गान, मित्रता, प्रकृति, यात्रायें, साहस के कार्य विज्ञान और दर्शन अपनी ओर आकृष्ट करते हैं। प्रौढ़ पुरुष के मन में महत्वाकांक्षा, नीति, अर्थ-संग्रह और दूसरों के प्रति उत्तर-दायित्व और स्वार्थ के भाव राज्य करने लगते हैं। अगर कोई बालक खेलने और कूदने के दिनों में क्रीड़ा की सामग्री और क्षेत्र से अलग रहे तो भविष्य में वह इन चीजों को कभी नहीं सीख सकेगा। यौवन के आरम्भिक काल को यदि संयम और सावधानी के साथ व्यतीत कर दिया जाये तो सारा भविष्य जीवन पवित्र और सदाचारी बन सकता है, दूसरी ओर उस समय को अत्यधिक स्वच्छन्दता भविष्य जीवन को नरक बना सकती है। अध्यापक का कार्य विद्यार्थियों में उत्पन्न होने वाली सहजात प्रवृत्तियों का निरीक्षण करना है। जब जिस विषय के लिए शौक पैदा हो, तभी विद्यार्थी के आगे उस के सीखने के सामान उपस्थित कर देने चाहियें नहीं तो समय बीत जाने पर वह फिर कभी उस विषय को नहीं सीख सकेगा। आलेख्य, प्रकृति-विज्ञान, वनस्पति-विज्ञान जैसे विषयों की ओर विद्यार्थियों की रुचि एक खास समय में पैदा होती है। यन्त्र-विज्ञान, भौतिकी और रसायन का समय इसके बाद आता है। फिर मनोविज्ञान, दर्शन और धर्म के तत्त्वों की ओर रुचि हो जाती है। इस के बाद सांसरिक काम-धन्धे ही मनुष्य के लिए सब कुछ हो जाते हैं। प्रत्येक विषय के लिए रुचि कुछ समय में ही शान्त हो जाती है, उस के पश्चात् हम उसी पर निर्भर रहते हैं जो कुछ हमने उन दिनों में सीख लिया था जिन दिनों में हमारी रुचि उस विषय में उत्कट रूप में बनी हुई थी। यही कारण है कि मनुष्यों का अपने पेशों से भिन्न विषयों का ज्ञान उस से अधिक नहीं होता जितना कि उसने २५ साल से पहिले उन के सम्बन्ध में प्राप्त कर लिया था। पीछे से विषयों के सीखने के लिए आवश्यक गुण, निःस्वार्थ और उत्सुकता, जाते रहते हैं। पिछली उमर में हम पहिले तो कुछ नया सीख नहीं पाते, अगर सीख भी लें तो वह विषय हमारे लिये उतना अपना नहीं बन पाता जितने कि उस समय सीखे हुए विषय बने होते हैं जब कि उन के सीखने का

स्वाभाविक समय था।

इस लिये अध्यापक का प्रथम कर्तव्य यह है कि वह देखता रहे कि विद्यार्थी में किस समय कौनसी प्रवृत्ति ( Instinct ) उत्पन्न होती है। साथ ही विद्यार्थियों का यह कर्तव्य है कि वे भविष्य पर किसी विषय को न छोड़ें। हरेक विषय को उस के उचित समय में ही सीख छोड़ें। खास खास आयु मे ही खास २ विषयों की ओर रुचि बढ़ती है। वह समय गुजर जाने पर उन विषयों के लिए फिर वैसा उत्साह नहीं रहता।

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# * कुलभूमि *

गङ्ग की तरङ्ग-वारी, हिमगिरि सङ्ग वारी,
पुण्य-प्रेमरङ्ग वारी, विश्व अभिराम है।

सुजन समूह वारी, सुमन-सुरभि वारी,
सरस समीर वारी, सुखद निकाम है॥

ब्रह्मवाद-राग वारी, विषय-विराग वारी,
ब्रह्मचारि-वृन्द वारी, विबुध सुधाम है।

स्वर्ग अपवर्ग वारी, भुक्ति मुक्ति सर्ग वारी,
प्यारी "कुलभूमि" ही हमारी पूर्ण-काम है॥ १॥

श्री हरि

# कुल की कहानी

सुनाने लगा एक हूं मैं कहानी,
जो औरों से अब तक सुनी थी जबानी,
नहीं इसमें शक है कि वो है पुरानी,
मगर साथ ही है रहस्यों की खानी ॥
ज़रा इसलिए ध्यान से इसको सुनिए।
औ' जो कोई उत्तम हो गुण उसको चुनिए ॥ १ ॥

हिमाचल की बगली में इक बन खड़ा था,
जो अज्ञात सदियों से अब तक पड़ा था,
वो झङ्काड़ झाड़ी से गुम्फित पड़ा था,
जो कांटे कंटेरी से बिलकुल मढ़ा था ॥
कि चिंघाड़ चीते जहां मारते थे।
कि दर्रे पहाड़ों के जो फाड़ते थे ॥ २ ॥

पहलवां भी इक बार थे खौफ़ खाते,
वे जा जा के फिर बीच से लौट आते,
अन्धेरा था इतना कि दिल कांप जाते,
प्रखर भानु भी थे नहीं पार पाते ॥
वो झाड़ी ही झाड़ी भरी हर जगह थी,
खड़े होने तक को न तिल भर जगह थी ॥ ३ ॥

वो मस्ते मतङ्गों से खोदा पड़ा था,
या जङ्गल के भैंसों से रोन्धा पड़ा था।
बराहों की दाढ़ों से रोंधा पड़ा था,
औ' ख़ूंखार पशुओं से अब तक भरा था।
यहां पर जहां आज है शामियाना।
था पड़ता दिवस में भी दीपक जलाना ॥ ४ ॥

सुना हमने सब कुछ मगर ये सुनाओ,
ये सारा हुआ कैसे ये तो बताओ,
असम्भव से सम्भव ये कैसे, सुझाओ,
औ' विश्वास जल्दी से हमको दिलाओ ॥
कि कोलं से हीरे का ये मूल कैसे ।
सड़े कीच से ये कमल-फूल कैसे ॥ ५ ॥

ये कष्ट सारे थे किसने उठाये,
कंटीले ये जङ्गल थे किसने गिराये,
गरजते वे मृगराज कैसे भगाये,
औ' कैसे वो भागीरथी-तीर आये ॥
अहो ! यज्ञशाला ये क्यों कर रचाई ।
औ' क्यों कर ये सुन्दर सुगन्धी फैलाई ॥ ६ ॥

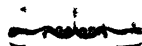
मैं त्रिंशत् सहस्र इकट्ठे करूंगा,
मैं घर घर में दर दर भी फिरता रहूंगा,
मगर इतना जब तक न मैं कर सकूंगा,
नहीं तब तलक पैर घर में धरूंगा ॥
सुदारुण प्रतिज्ञा ये किसने थी धारी ।
कि आखिर तलक थी न धुन जिसने टारी ॥ ७ ॥

न देता था कोई भी जन यों सहारा,
ये आशा सहित हाथ किसने पसारा ।
निजैश्वर्य राशी को किसने बिसारा,
न आंधी अन्धेरे को कुछ भी विचारा ॥
करी आहुती तन औ' मन धन की अपने ।
औ' आखिर को ऐसे दिखाये हैं सपने ॥ ८ ॥

मैं आचार्य-आदेश कैसे फैलाऊं,
औ' मैं ब्रह्मचारी कहां से बुलाऊं,
मैं कुल को कहां और कैसे चलाऊं,
सहोद्योगियों को कहां पर मैं पाऊं ॥
यही एक चिन्ता यही एक लक्ष्य ।
भले दुःख आवे, करूंगा अवश्य ॥ ९ ॥

थे प्रस्थान आखिर को कर ही दिया था,
औ' बत्तीस पुत्रों को संग ले लिया था,
उतर रेल से रुख इधर ही किया था,
बस इक "ओ३म्" का हाथ झण्डा लिया था ॥
सुनो, अन्त को सब यहीं पर थे आये ।
तथा आके डेरे सभी ने लगाये ॥ १० ॥

ये जङ्गल में मङ्गल ये ऐसे हुआ था,
प्रयत्नों से पौदा लगाया गया था,
पसीना जो इस देह का तब बहा था,
तथा चूंकि उससे ये सिञ्चित हुआ था ॥
इसी ही लिये ये फला फूला इतना ।
औ' फूले फलेगा न जाने ये कितना ॥ ११ ॥

ये पुत्रों की अन्तिम मगर याचना है,
या केवल यही एक अभ्यर्थना है,
या अवशिष्ट केवल यही कामना है,
बस अन्तिम से अन्तिम यही प्रार्थना है ॥
कि ओझल न हो कुल की ज्योती प्रभू जी ।
कभी भी किसी भी तरह से प्रभू जी ॥ १२ ॥

# आश्चर्यमय गुरुकुल

आज गुरुकुल की २५ वीं वर्ष-गांठ के दिन यदि उसके गत जीवन पर एक साधारण दृष्टि डाली जावे तो वह बड़ा आश्चर्य्यमय दीखता है। वह जीवन इतना आश्चर्य्यमय है, जीवन ने इतने जुदे २ भिन्न २ दृश्य दिखलाये हैं कि यदि मैं उसे एक नाटक से उपमा दूं तो कुछ अनुचित न होगा।

गुरुकुल की उत्पत्ति का दृश्य ही बड़ा अनोखा है। जिस तरह पीपल के विशाल वृक्ष का बीज बहुत छोटा होता है, उसी तरह, गुरुकुल का बीज भी बहुत छोटा था। पञ्जाब प्रतिनिधि सभा की अन्तरङ्ग में विचार पेश था कि बना हुआ वेदभाष्य कैसे किया जावे। इस विषय में लोगों ने कई प्रकार की स्कीमें समाचार-पत्रों द्वारा प्रस्तुत की हुई थीं, जिन का अन्तिम निचोड़ कुलपिता की स्कीम थी। उस स्कीम में उन्होंने बताया था कि एक ऐसा आश्रम खोला जावे जहां कुछ विद्वान् लोग रहें जो वेदभाष्य करने के साथ साथ विद्यार्थियों को पढ़ाया भी करें और इस तरह वेदभाष्य के साथ ब्रह्मचर्य्याश्रम का पुनरुद्धार भी हो सकेगा। यह स्कीम बहुत ही छोटी थी। आज गुरुकुल जिस व्यापक रूप को धारण कर रहा है, वह उस समय उनके भी ध्यान में न था। प्रतिनिधि सभा के उस समय के कार्यकर्ता इस स्कीम को पास करना नहीं चाहते थे। परन्तु ब्रह्मचर्य्याश्रम के पवित्र नाम को सुनते ही आर्य लोगों में एक प्रकार की बिजुली का संचार हो गया। जिस दिन कुलपिता की प्रस्तावित यह स्कीम, आ॰ प्र॰ सभा पंजाब में पास हुई, उसे कभी भूल नहीं सकते। जब अधिक रात्रि के बीत जाने पर सभासद् थककर ऊंघने लग गये, तब अनावश्यक समझ कर यह स्कीम उस समय पेश कर दी गई। परन्तु इस स्कीम में अद्भुत बिजुली थी, क्योंकि इस स्कीम के आते ही सब लोग चौकन्ने होकर बैठ गये। थोड़े बाद विवाद के पीछे स्कीम पास हो गई, एक गुरुकुल का खोलना निश्चित होगया। उस के लिये तीन सहस्र रुपया मूलधन एकत्रित करना हुवा, और साथ ही यह स्वीकृत हुआ कि आठ हजार रुपया होजाने पर गुरुकुल खोल दिया जावे। अब यह देख कर आश्चर्य्य होगा कि उस समय तीन सहस्र रुपया ही गुरुकुल के लिए काफी समझा गया था, परतु उस समय इस कार्य की इस व्यापकता को कौन जान सक्ता था।

गुरुकुल का खुलना स्वीकृत हो गया। दूसरे दिन ही कुछ लोगों ने धन देने की प्रतिज्ञा भी की, परन्तु

कई महीनों तक यह स्कीम कागज़ी पुलिन्दे से बाहिर न निकली। लोग उस समय इस काम को असम्भव समझते थे, इस लिए इसके लिए प्रयत्न करना भी कोई अपना कर्तव्य न समझता था। परन्तु ऋषि दयानन्द के लेखों ने कुलपिता के हृदय पर अंकित कर दिया था कि सारे आश्रमों की व्यवस्था सुधारने के लिए ब्रह्मचर्य प्रणाली का पुनरुद्धार अत्यन्त आवश्यक है। जब नींव ही कच्ची है तब उस पर खड़ा किया हुआ भवन मजबूत कैसे हो सकता है। कुलपिता उस समय विकालत छोड़कर आजीविका का कोई और ही ढङ्ग सोच चुके थे और इस पवित्र कुल के आचार्य पद के लिए तय्यार नहीं होते थे,किन्तु गुरुकुल के खोलने को अत्यन्त आवश्यक समझ कर, उस के लिए रुपया एकत्र करने का भार उन्होंने अपने ही ऊपर ले लिया। उन्होंने यह प्रतिज्ञा करली कि तीस हज़ार रुपया इकट्ठा करने के पहिले मैं अपने घर में पांव न धरूंगा। २६ अगस्त १८६६ ई० को मन में यह दृढ़ संकल्प करके वह गुरुकुल के लिए धन इकट्ठा करने बाहिर निकले।

लगभग सात महीने तक संयुक्त प्रान्त, पंजाब, और दक्षिण हैदराबाद से घूम कर उन्होंने गुरुकुल के लिए भिक्षा मांगी। उस समय गुरुकुल के कार्य में जो जो कठिनाइयें थीं, उन का विस्तार से यहां वर्णन करना असम्भव है। उस समय सब से बड़ी कठिनाई इस विचार की नवीनता थी। उस समय तक यह एक ख़याली स्कीम थी; इस प्रणाली पर चलता हुवा कोई विद्यालय उदाहरण के लिए वे लोगों के साम्हने नहीं रख सके थे। लोगों के लिए यह विचार बिल्कुल ही नया था इस लिए भिक्षा मांगने के पहिले मुझे बताना पड़ता था कि गुरुकुल खोलने के क्या उद्देश्य हैं। गुरुकुल के विषय में लोगों की अनभिज्ञता का, इस से बढ़ कर क्या प्रमाण होगा कि कई स्थानों में लोग कुलपिता का ही नाम गुरुकुल समझते थे। ऐसे नये कार्य के लिए धन, आसानी से कैसे मिल सकता था? इस के सिवाय, नये ढंग के पढ़े लिखे लोगों की ओर से भी गुरुकुल की कार्यप्रणाली पर आक्षेप किये जाते थे। वे कहते थे कि सभ्यतामय बीसवीं सदी में ऐसे विद्यालय का चलना सर्वथा असम्भव है। पुराने समय को लाने के प्रयत्न को वे कुलपिता के दिमाग़ की निर्बलता बतलाते थे। सब से बड़ा आक्षेप यह था कि कौन ऐसे पाषाण हृदय माता पिता निकलेंगे जो पच्चीस वर्षों तक अपने प्यारे पुत्रों का बिछोड़ा सहने के लिए तय्यार होंगे। परन्तु कुलपिता को गुरुकुल शिक्षाप्रणाली के महत्त्व पर इतना पूरा भरोसा था कि इस तरह के आक्षेप उन्हें अपने

उद्देश्य से कुछ भी विचलित न कर सके। मुझे पूरा विश्वास था कि यदि एक वार नहीं तो कई वार ब्रह्मचर्याश्रम का संदेशा सुनाते रहने से लोगों की आंखे अवश्य खुलेंगी, और वे इस की आवश्यकता को अनुभव करेंगे। ऊपर कहे हुवे सब आक्षेपों के होते हुवे भी, जहां वहीं जाकर मैं वर्तमान समय में ब्रह्मचर्य की और विद्यार्थियों की शोचनीय दशा का वर्णन करते थे, लोगों की आत्माओं को अपने साथ सहमत पाते थे। लोग युनिवर्सिटी की धर्मशून्य शिक्षा प्रणाली के दोषों को अनुभव कर रहे थे; आर्य जाति के शारीरिक, मानसिक और आत्मिक ह्रास को देख कर विचार शील लोग कांप रहे थे, परन्तु आर्यसमाज के पास ऐसे उपदेशकों का अभाव था जो धर्म के प्यासों तक धर्म का संदेशा पहुंचा सकें। अतएव जब लोगों को बतलाया गया कि इन सब त्रुटियों को दूर करने का एक मात्र उपाय गुरुकुल ही है, तब उनका ध्यान इधर आकर्षित होने लगा। इस छः सात महीनों के भ्रमण का फल यह हुआ कि तीस हज़ार रुपया इकट्ठा हो गया और सर्वसाधारण गुरुकुल की आवश्यकता को समझने लग गये।

रुपया एकत्र होने के पश्चात् भी कई मासों तक कार्यकर्त्ताओं की शिथिलता से यह कार्य खटाई में पड़ा रहा। सब से बड़ी रुकावट एकान्त स्थान न मिलने की थी। बहुत खोज और विचार के पश्चात्, हरिद्वार के समीप, श्री० मुंशी अमनसिंह जी के दिये हुवे कांगड़ी ग्राम में गुरुकुल का खोला जाना निश्चित हुआ और इस की अधिष्ठात्री सभा ने इस कार्य का सारा भार कुलपिता पर डाला।

वह दिन मुझे और मेरे साथी ३१ ब्रह्मचारियों को अच्छी तरह याद है, जो उस समय शिवरात्रि से ४ दिन पूर्व १९५८ वि० की फाल्गुन बदी १० (४ मार्च १९०२ ई०) को इस पवित्र भूमि में पहिले पहिल आये थे। हम चार बजे की गाड़ी से हरिद्वार उतरे और दयानन्द का चित्र सामने लेकर वेद मन्त्रों का उच्चारण करते हुए हम सीधे गुरुकुल-भूमि की ओर चले। हरिद्वार और कनखल के लोग कहते थे कि यहां दयानन्द का मठ बनेगा। कुछ अन्धेरे में हम गुरुकुल पहुंचे और जाते ही हम सब ब्रह्मचारियों ने गङ्गा की शीतल धारा में गोता लगाया। उस समय यहां बड़ा घना जंगल खड़ा था। उस में से थोड़े से स्थान को साफ़ कर के रहने के लिए और पढ़ाई के लिये कुछ छप्पर और तम्बू लगाये गये थे। आने के कुछ दिन पीछे गुरुकुल की स्थापना का उत्सव हुआ, जिस में चार सहस्र रुपया भी पूरा इकट्ठा न हो सका।

उस दिन और आज में बड़ा अन्तर है। गत पच्चीस वर्षों में गुरुकुल ने जो

गुरुकुल कुरुक्षेत्र के आश्रम का भीतरी दृश्य

गुरुकुल कुरुक्षेत्र की यज्ञशाला

उन्नति की है, उसे अचम्भे के सिवाय और कुछ नहीं कह सके। जो विद्यालय ३२ ब्रह्मचारियों से शुरु हुआ था, वहां आज ३३१ बालक शिक्षा पारहे हैं। इसके अतिरिक्त ७ शाखा-गुरुकुल हैं, जिन में एक कन्या-गुरुकुल भी है, और इन सब शाखाओं में लगभग ६७० के बालक और बालिकायें शिक्षा पा रहीं हैं। जिस गुरुकुल के विषय में यह पूछा जाता था कि वहां अपने पुत्रों को कौन भेजेगा वहां आज यह दशा है कि प्रति वर्ष डेढ़ सौ से ऊपर बालक और बालिकायें प्रविष्ट होती हैं। जहां घना जङ्गल था, वहां आज हरा भरा उद्यान दिखाई दे रहा है, और दो चार फूंस की झोपड़ियों की जगह आज आध मील तक फैली हुई गुरुकुल की इमारतें दिखाई दे रही हैं। जहां पहिले छोटा सा विद्यालय था वहां अब तीन महाविद्यालयों का संचालक विश्वविद्यालय है।

परन्तु मैं इन ईंट पत्थरों के फैलाव को गुरुकुल की वास्तविक उन्नति नहीं समझता। गुरुकुल की वास्तविक उन्नति के चिन्ह अन्दर और बाहर इन से जुदा हैं। बाहिर गुरुकुल की वास्तविक उन्नति उस की शिक्षा-प्रणाली के सामने लोगों का सिर झुकाना है। स्थान की कमी मुझे आज्ञा नहीं देती कि मैं शिक्षा प्रणाली के विषय में उन परिवर्तनों का वर्णन करूं जो इस समय विद्वान् लोगों के विचारों में हो रहे हैं। किन्तु इस में कोई सन्देह नहीं कि भारतवर्ष का शिक्षित समाज हमारी शिक्षाप्रणाली के महत्त्व को मानने लग गया है और हमारे परीक्षण को टक टकी लगाये देख रहा है। गुरुकुल की भीतरी अवस्था को वे ही लोग जान सकते हैं जो गुरुकुल के अन्दर काम करते हैं। जितना ही गुरुकुल विषयक लोगों का अनुभव बढ़ रहा है, उतना ही उन्हें दृढ़ विश्वास होता जाता है कि यदि कोई ऐसी संस्था है जो धार्मिक, आज्ञापालक, परिश्रमी, उत्साही और समाजसेवी मनुष्य बना सका है तो वह गुरुकुल ही है।

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# मेरा तपोवन

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जहाँ विश्वमें सब से पहिले हुआ सवेरा।
है वही भूमि वह-यही तपोवन मेरा ॥

२

जन्हु-सुता की जहाँ विमल धारा बहती है।
जिस पर उच्च हिमाचल की छाया रहती है।
जहाँ खड़े हैं विकसित द्रुम-दल शोभाशाली।
जहाँ छिटकती शुभ्र चाँदनी खिलने वाली।
जहाँ 'प्रकृति' में सब से पहले हुवा सवेरा।
है यही भूमि वह-यही तपोवन मेरा ॥

३

जहाँ धर्म की ज्योति निराली नभ में छाई।
'ब्रह्म ब्रह्म' की टेर जहाँ नित देत सुनाई।
घने वनों में जहाँ दिव्य रव गूंज रहा है।
जहाँ हृदय आनन्द-सिन्धु में डूब रहा है।
जहाँ 'भक्ति' में सब से पहले हुवा सवेरा।
है यही भूमि वह-यही तपोवन मेरा ॥

४

जहाँ खड़ी स्वाधीन-पताका फहराती है।
जिसे देख कर इन्द्र-ध्वजा भी शरमाती है।
धर्म-युद्ध के हेतु जहाँ उठतीं तरवारें।
जहाँ चण्डिका नाच रही है कर हुंकारें।
जहाँ 'शक्ति' में सब से पहले हुवा सवेरा।
है यही भूमि वह-यही तपोवन मेरा ॥ ३ ॥

पं० विद्यानिधि सिद्धान्तालंकार

# गुरुकुल–शिक्षा--प्रणाली

( लेखक— श्री प्रो० चन्द्रमणि जी विद्यालङ्कार पालीरत्न )

## शिक्षा के उद्देश्य

बड़े २ विद्वान विभिन्न दृष्टिओं से विचार करते हैं कि शिक्षा के क्या उद्देश्य होने चाहियें, परन्तु वे इस महत्त्वपूर्ण प्रश्न का उत्तर उतनी स्पष्टता से नहीं देते जितनी स्पष्टता और निश्चयात्मकता से देना चाहिए। निरुक्तकार यास्काचार्य इस गम्भीर प्रश्न का हल तीन अक्षरों के 'आचार्य' शब्द में पाते हैं। यह संस्कृत भाषा की अपूर्व और विचित्र महिमा है कि उसका प्रत्येक शब्द अपने में बड़े विस्तृत ज्ञान को ढाँपे रखता है। 'आचार्य' का निर्वचन करते हुए यास्काचार्य लिखते हैं— "आचार्य आचारं ग्राहयति, आचिनोत्यर्थान्, आचिनोति बुद्धिम्" अर्थात् आचार्य वह है जो शिष्य को सदाचार ग्रहण करावे, उसमें शब्दों के अर्थों का सञ्चय करे, और उसकी बुद्धि को बढ़ावे। बस, शिक्षा के एकमात्र यही तीन उद्देश्य होने चाहियें कि (१) विद्यार्थी के सदाचार का निर्माण किया जावे, (२) उसे प्रत्येक शब्द के यथार्थ अर्थ का साक्षात्कार कराते हुए उसमें वस्तुओं का यथार्थ बोध संचित कर दिया जावे, (३) और उसकी ईश्वर-प्रदत्त बुद्धि को पूर्णतया विकसित किया जावे।

यदि वर्तमान युनिवर्सिटियों की शिक्षा-पद्धति की ओर दृष्टि डाली जावे तो हमें साफ़ तौर पर विदित होता है कि सदाचार-निर्माण, पदार्थावबोध और बुद्धि-विकाश, शिक्षा के इन तीन उद्देश्यों में से प्रथम और अन्तिम उद्देश्य को सर्वथा भुलाया हुआ है। सदाचार-निर्माण तो शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में से बहिष्कृत है ही, परन्तु इसके साथ साथ कृत्रिम पाठप्रणाली की यन्त्रकला में से बिना किसी ननु नच के प्रत्येक विद्यार्थी को गुजारने से उनकी ईश्वरप्रदत्त बुद्धि का विकाश भी नहीं हो पाता। होना तो यह चाहिए था कि जैसे सूर्योदय के होने पर सूर्य-प्रकाश से रोग-कृमि नष्ट होजाते हैं, चोर चोरी से और जार जारी से विरत होजाते हैं, मलिनता दूर हो जाती है और बन्द कमल खिल जाता है, उसी प्रकार विद्योदय के होने पर विद्या-प्रकाश से काम, क्रोध, लोभ, मोहादि मल दूर हों, पाप-कृमि नष्ट हों, और बुद्धि-कमल का विकाश हो। परन्तु इस माया-रूप-धारिणी विद्या से पाप-मल की वृद्धि होती है, और बुद्धि-कमल बिना खिले ही मुरझा जाता है।

एवं, शिक्षा के दूसरे उद्देश्य की पूर्त्ति के लिए किताबी शिक्षा की ओर ही ध्यान दिया जाता है। ऐसी शिक्षा

से दूसरा उद्देश्य भी पूर्णतया पूरा नहीं होता, पदों की रटन्त पर पूरा बल लगाया जाता है, पदार्थावबोध यथार्थ में नहीं होता। इससे पाठक समझ सकते हैं कि आधुनिक युनिवर्सिटी-शिक्षा-पद्धति कितनी दोषपूर्ण है। यह शिक्षा-पद्धति वह है जो कि शिक्षा के तीनों उद्देश्यों में से किसी भी उद्देश्य को सच्चे अर्थों में पूर्ण नहीं करती। इसलिए हमारे ऋषियों ने जो गुरुकुल-शिक्षा-प्रणाली प्रचलित की थी, वह विवेकपूर्ण है और वही वास्तव में मनुष्य को मनुष्य बनाने वाली है। वह शिक्षा-प्रणाली कैसी है, उसे मैं ऋषि दयानन्द कृत सत्यार्थप्रकाश के आधार पर ही बतलाना चाहता हूँ जिससे विद्वान् लोग उस पर अधिकाधिक विचार करते हुए विद्यार्थियों के जीवनों को सफल बना सकें।

## गुरुकुल-प्रवेश से पूर्व अपनी सन्तान के प्रति माता पिता के कर्त्तव्य-

(१) जन्म से पाँचवें वर्ष तक माता और छठे से आठवें वर्ष तक पिता अपनी सन्तान को शिक्षा दिया करे।

(२) जब पाँच वर्ष का लड़का वा लड़की हो तब उन्हें देवनागरी अक्षरों का अभ्यास करावें और अन्य देशीय भाषाओं के अक्षरों का भी।

(३) इसके पश्चात् जिन से उत्तम शिक्षा, विद्या, धर्म तथा परमेश्वर का बोध हो, और जिन से माता पिता आचार्य विद्वान् अतिथि राजा प्रजा कुटुम्ब बन्धु भगिनी तथा भृत्य आदि से कैसे बर्तना चाहिए, इसका उत्तम ज्ञान प्राप्त हो, उन मंत्रों तथा श्लोकों सूत्रों और गद्य पद्यों को भी अर्थ सहित कण्ठस्थ करावें।

(४) इसके अतिरिक्त जो २ विद्या-धर्म-विरुद्ध भ्रान्तिजाल में गिराने वाले व्यवहार हैं, उनका भी उपदेश करदें जिससे उन्हें भूत प्रेत आदि मिथ्या बातों पर विश्वास न हो।

(५) माता पिता का कर्त्तव्य है कि वे अपनी सन्तानों को वीर्यरक्षण में आनन्द और वीर्यनाशम से दुःख की प्राप्ति होती है, इसे भी भली भाँति जतला दें। जैसे— "देखो, पुत्रो! जिसके शरीर में वीर्य सुरक्षित रहता है, उसे आरोग्यता बुद्धि बल और पराक्रम की वृद्धि होकर बहुत सुख की प्राप्ति होती है। वीर्यरक्षा की यही रीति है कि तुम अष्टों मैथुनों से पृथक् रहकर उत्तम शिक्षा और पूर्ण विद्या को प्राप्त करो। जिसके शरीर में वीर्य नहीं होता वह नपुंसक तथा महाकुलक्षणी बन जाता है, वह प्रमेह रोग से युक्त होजाता है जिससे वह दुर्बल निस्तेज और निर्बुद्धि हुआ हुआ उत्साह साहस धैर्य बल पराक्रम आदि से रहित होकर नष्ट होजाता है। यदि तुम लोग सुशिक्षा और विद्या के ग्रहण तथा वीर्य की रक्षा करने में इस समय चूकोगे तो पुनः इस जन्म में तुमको यह अमूल्य समय प्राप्त नहीं होसकेगा।

जब तक हम लोग गृहकर्मों के करने वाले हैं, तब तक तुमको विद्या का ग्रहण और शरीर का बल बढ़ाना चाहिए।"

## गुरुकुल का स्थान कैसा हो

(१) विद्या पढ़ने का स्थान एकान्त देश में होना चाहिए।

(२) पाठशालाओं से एक योजन अर्थात् ४ कोस दूर ग्राम या नगर रहे।

(३) लड़के और लड़कियों की पाठशाला दो कोस एक दूसरे से दूर होनी चाहिये।

## गुरुकुल--प्रवेश के नियम

(१) इसमें राजनियम और जाति नियम होना चाहिए कि आठवें वर्ष से आगे कोई अपने लड़कों और लड़कियों को घर में न रख सकें, पाठशाला में अवश्य भेज देवें, जो न भेजे वह दण्डनीय हो।

(२) लड़कों को लड़कों की और लड़कियों को लड़कियों की पाठशाला में भेजना चाहिए।

## गुरुकुल के नियम

(१) जो अध्यापक, पुरुष वा स्त्री दुष्टाचारी हों, उन से शिक्षा न दिलावें, किन्तु जो पूर्ण विद्यायुक्त धार्मिक हों, वे ही पढ़ाने और शिक्षा देने के योग्य हैं।

(२) जो अध्यापिका और अध्यापक, भृत्य वा अनुचर हों, वे कन्याओं की पाठशाला में सब स्त्रियें और बालकों की पाठशाला में सब पुरुष हों।

(३) कन्याओं की पाठशाला में ५ वर्ष का लड़का, और लड़कियों की पाठशाला में ५ वर्ष का लड़का भी न जाने पावे। अर्थात्, जब तक वे ब्रह्मचारी वा ब्रह्मचारिणी रहें, तब तक लड़का या लड़की का दर्शन स्पर्शन एकान्त-सेवन भाषण विषय-कथा परस्परक्रीड़ा विषय का ध्यान और सङ्ग, इन आठ प्रकार के मैथुनों से अलग रहें। अध्यापक लोग उन को इन बातों से बचावें, जिस से वे उत्तम विद्यावान् सुशिक्षित सुशील और उत्तम स्वभाव वाले तथा शरीर और आत्मा से बलवान् होके आनन्द को नित्य बढ़ा सकें।

(४) सब को तुल्य वस्त्र खानपान और आसन दिये जावें, चाहे वे राजकुमार वा राजकुमारी हों और चाहे दरिद्र के सन्तान हों, सब को तपस्वी होना चाहिये।

(५) माता पिता अपने सन्तानों से वा सन्तान अपने माता पिता से न मिल सकें और न किसी प्रकार का पत्रव्यवहार एक दूसरे से कर सकें, जिस से वे सारी चिन्ताओं से रहित होकर केवल विद्या बढ़ाने की चिन्ता रखें।

(६) जब भ्रमण करने जावें तब उन के साथ अध्यापक रहें जिस से वे किसी प्रकार की कुचेष्टा न कर सकें।

(७) जहां गुरुजन शिष्यों का ताड़न करते हुए उन्हें अमृत पिलाते हैं और लाड़न करते हुए उन्हें अपने

ही हाथों से विष-पान कराके उन्हें नष्ट भ्रष्ट कर देते हैं, वहां शिष्यों को भी चाहिए कि वे ताडना से सदा प्रसन्न और लाड़न से सदा अप्रसन्न रहा करें, इस से विपरीत आचरण कभी न करें। परन्तु गुरुजनों को सदा ध्यान रखना चाहिये कि वे ईर्ष्या या द्वेष से कभी ताड़न न करें, अपितु ऊपर से भय-प्रदन और भीतर से कृपादृष्टि रखें।

ऋषि दयानन्द को अपना आचार्य मानने वाले आर्य लोग आचार्य के गुरुकुल-सम्बन्धी इन संकेतों पर विशेष ध्यान दें और देखें कि वे किस मार्ग को ओर चल रहे हैं, और जो आर्य अपनी सन्तान को गुरुकुलों में न भेज कर गुरुकुल शिक्षा प्रणाली की अवहेलना करते हैं, क्या वे अपने आचार्य की आज्ञानुसार दण्ड के भागी नहीं?

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# कुल--वन्दना

जय जय जननि! कुलदेवि! तुझ को बार बार प्रणाम है।
यह मञ्जु अञ्जलि प्रेममय, अर्पित तुझे अभिराम है॥ १॥

महिमा हिमालय की शिखायें, गा रहीं तेरी स्वयम्।
भागीरथी की बीचियों में, स्पष्ट तेरा नाम है॥ २॥
हम देखते तुझ में सदा, नव प्रेम का उल्लास है।
हम को मधुरतम गोद ही, तेरा परम विश्राम है॥ ३॥
तेरे विशद आकाश की, स्वाधीनता में हम पले।
स्वर्गीयता—मिश्रित जहां, उज्ज्वल उषा का धाम है॥ ४॥
तेरे वनों की स्तब्धता में, दिव्य कोई राग है।
सब ओर से मानो बरसता, पुण्य का परिणाम है॥ ५॥
तूने हृदय मोती पिरो कर, प्रेम के दृढ़ सूत्र में।
अनुपम बनाई यह हमारी, चारु मुक्ता दाम है॥ ६॥
तू ही बजाती वीणा वह, जिस के कि हम सब तार हैं।
जो तार सारे एक स्वर हो, कह रहे अविराम हैं॥ ७॥
हम हैं सदा तेरे, हमारी तू हृदय-वर-वासिनी।
सम्बन्ध यह तेरा हमारा, नित्य है निष्काम है॥ ८॥

# गुरुकुल-वृक्ष

'आश्चर्यमय गुरुकुल' शीर्षक वाले लेख में दर्शाया जा चुका है कि किस प्रकार १६०२ ई० की ४ मार्च को कांगड़ी की पवित्र भूमि में लगाया हुआ नन्हा सा गुरुकुल रूपी वृक्ष फूला और फला। इस वृक्ष के जो महत्त्व हैं, वे संक्षेप से इस प्रकार कहे जा सकते हैं कि यह संपूर्ण राष्ट्र का अपनाया हुआ है, छूत अछूत सब को आश्रय देने वाला है, उत्तम जीवन का प्रदाता है, सन्तप्तों को शान्ति देता है, भारत के प्राचीन गौरव का प्रत्यक्षतया भासमान चिन्ह है, और भारतभूमि का मुख उज्वल करने वाला है। वर्तमान समय में वेद महाविद्यालय महाविद्यालय और आयुर्वेद महाविद्यालय, ये तीन बड़े २ स्कन्ध हैं। इस वृक्ष को उत्पन्न हुए ४ मार्च १६२७ ईस्वी को २५ वर्ष व्यतीत होगए। गत १६ वर्षों में इस वृक्ष के सिंचन में लगभग २० लाख ७५ हज़ार रुपए व्यय हुए, नक़द और जायदाद मिलाकर लगभग साढ़े दस लाख रुपए इस की रक्षा के लिए विद्यमान हैं, और इस वर्ष के १५ फल मिला कर कुल १६२ फल इस वृक्ष से आर्यजाति को प्राप्त हो चुके हैं। इस सुप्रसिद्ध पवित्र वृक्ष और इस की सात शाखाओं की निर्मल छाया में बैठकर इस समय लगभग एक सहस्र बालक और बालिकायें शिक्षा पा रही हैं। यह वृक्ष अमर श्रद्धानन्द के हाथों से लगाया हुआ है और उन्हीं के रुधिर से सींचा हुआ है। ऐसे अद्भुत वृक्ष की पच्चीसवीं वर्ष-गांठ मनाते हुए आर्य जाति को कुछ विशेष प्रण करने चाहियें। आर्य-जाति से मैं केवल दो प्रणों की अभ्यर्थना करता हूँ; एक तो यह कि अपने आचार्य ऋषि दयानन्द की आज्ञा को शिरोधार्य करते हुए इस जाति का प्रत्येक व्यक्ति अपनी सन्तानों को विष-वृक्षों के नीचे शिक्षा के लिए न बैठा कर गुरुकुल-वृक्ष के ही नीचे बैठाना अपना कर्तव्य समझे, और दूसरा, इस वृक्ष के सिंचन में तन मन और धन, किसी की कमी न रखें। ऐसा न हो कि आर्यजाति की असावधानता से अमर श्रद्धानन्द का लगाया हुआ यह भारत-पावक वृक्ष कभी मुरझा कर सूख जावे, और फिर पीछे पछता कर सिर नीचा किये सब से यह सुनना पड़े कि अब पछताने से क्या होत है जब चिड़ियां चुग गईं खेत। अतः, ऐ आर्यजाति के वीरो, उठो, कमर कस कर तय्यार होवो, अब अधिक प्रतीक्षा का काल नहीं रहा।

— चन्द्रमणि

# कुलगीत

प्राणों से हम को प्यारा 'कुल' हो सदा हमारा ॥

( १ )

विष देने वालों के भी बन्धन कटाने वाले,

मुनियों का जन्म-दाता कुल हो यही हमारा ॥

( २ )

'कट जाय सिर न झुकना' यह मन्त्र जपने वाले,

वीरों का जन्म दाता कुल हो यही हमारा ॥

( ३ )

स्वाधीन्य-दीक्षितों पर सब कुछ बहाने वाले,

धनियों का जन्म दाता कुल हो यही हमारा ॥

( ४ )

निज जन्म भूमि भारत को क्लेश से छुड़ा कर,

गौरव बढ़ाने वाला कुल हो यही हमारा ॥

( ५ )

तन मन सभी न्योछावर कर वेद का संदेसा,

जग में ले जाने वाला कुल हो यही हमारा ॥

( ६ )

हिमशैल तुल्य ऊंचा, भागीरथी सा पावन,

भटकों का मार्ग-दर्शक दुखियों का हो सहारा ॥

( ७ )

आजन्म ब्रह्मचारी ज्योती जगा गया है,

अनुरूप पुत्र उस का कुल हो यही हमारा ॥

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गुरुकुल कुरुक्षेत्र के अध्यापक गण तथा ब्रह्मचारीवर्ग

गुरुकुल कुरुक्षेत्र के अध्यापक वर्ग तथा कार्यकर्त्ता

# गुरुकुल कांगड़ी की शाखायें

(१)

## शाखा-गुरुकुल मुलतान

डेराबुद्धू मुलतान के चौधरी म० रामकृष्ण जी के भूमि और नक़द दान देने पर और शाखा गुरुकुल खोलने के लिए बहुत आग्रह करने पर आर्य-प्रतिनिधि सभा पञ्जाब की अन्तरंग सभा ने २ अगस्त १६०८ को दानी के दान को स्वीकृत करके शाखा खोलने का निश्चय किया। तदनुसार १३ फर्वरी १६०६ के दिन डेराबुद्धू में इस गुरुकुल की स्थापना हुई जिस का नाम "शाखा-गुरुकुल देवबन्धु" के नाम से प्रसिद्ध हुआ। यह गुरुकुल कांगड़ी की सब से पहली शाखा थी। इस शाखा के प्रबन्ध के लिए स्थानिक आर्यपुरुषों की एक गुरुकुल-सभा बना दी गई जो बड़े उत्साहमय पुरुषार्थ और जोश से काम करने लगी। थोड़े ही दिनों में कई हज़ार रुपयों की लागत के पक्के मकान और कूप आदि तय्यार होगए। परन्तु दौर्भाग्य से दो तीन वर्षों में ही दानी चौधरी जी की मति बदल गयी और उन्होंने गुरुकुल के चलाने में अनेक बाधाएं डालनी शुरु कीं। लाचार होकर गुरुकुल देवबन्धु से उठाना पड़ा, और मुलतान शहर के बाहिर हजूरीमल के बाग में मुलतान के प्रतिष्ठित वकील ला० परमानन्द जी ने जो अपनी बड़ी २ दो कोठियें अस्थायी तौर पर इस के निमित्त अर्पण कर दी थीं वहां रखा गया। वहां आकर उस समय के मुख्याधिष्ठाता पं० चन्द्रमणि जी विद्यालंकार और स्थानिक सभा के मंत्री ला० मदनलाल जी ने अनेक यत्न किए कि शायद चौधरी जी की मति फिर बदल जावे, परन्तु कुछ परिणाम न निकला। तब मुलतान से लगभग तीन मील की दूरी पर ताराकुण्ड के समीप स्थायी तौर पर इस शाखा को स्थापित किया गया। यह भूमि ६५॥ बीघे है, जिस का आनुमानिक मूल्य ६ सहस्र रु० है। अब तक मकानों और कूप आदि पर ३० सहस्र रु० व्यय हो चुके हैं। इसकी पुरानी देवबन्धु वाली भूमि के सम्बन्ध में चौधरी रामकृष्ण जी के साथ झगड़ा चल रहा था, वह गतवर्ष निपट गया है और वहां के मकानों की क्षतिपूर्त्ति के लिए चौधरी जी ने १७ सहस्र रु० आर्य-प्रतिनिधि सभा पंजाब को दे दिए हैं।

पहले इस शाखा में १० श्रेणियों तक पढ़ाई का प्रबन्ध था। कई वर्ष यहां के दशम श्रेणी के ब्रह्मचारी गुरुकुल कांगड़ी अधिकारी परीक्षा के लिए आते रहे और बड़े योग्य सिद्ध हुए। इस वर्ष तक २० स्नातक ऐसे हो चुके हैं जो यहीं से अधिकारी परीक्षा के लिए गए थे। परन्तु इस वर्ष स्थानिक प्रबन्धकर्त्री सभा ने यह निश्चय कर लिया है कि यह शाखा प्रथम आठ

श्रेणियों तक ही रक्खी जावे। तदनुसार इसकी नवम श्रेणी गुरुकुल इन्द्रप्रस्थ भेजदी गई है। अब इस समय इस शाखामें १०५ ब्रह्मचारी शिक्षा पा रहे हैं।

( २ )

## शाखा—गुरुकुल कुरुक्षेत्र

संवत् १९६७ में थानेसर शहर के सुप्रसिद्ध रईस ला० ज्योतिप्रसाद् जी के मन में यह शुभ विचार उत्पन्न हुआ कि वे भी गुरुकुल कांगड़ी की शाखा अपने यहां खुलवायें। इन्होने अपने ये विचार महात्मा मुन्शीराम जी [ श्री स्वामी श्रद्धानन्द जी महाराज ]मुख्याधिष्ठाता गुरुकुल कांगड़ी के सामने रखे। तदनुसार सं० १९६९ को १ वैशाख को श्री महात्मा मुन्शीराम जी ने इस गुरुकुल की आधार-शिला रक्खी। ला० ज्योतिप्रसाद् जी रईस ने प्रारम्भ में १००००) नकद् तथा १०४८ बीघा भूमि इस कार्य के अर्पण की।

प्रारम्भ में इस गुरुकुल के मुख्याध्यापक श्री पं० विष्णुमित्र जी रहे। प्रबन्धकर्ता का काम ला० ज्योतिप्रसाद जी करते रहे, और उनके मित्र ला० भगीरथलाल जी भी तन मन धन से गुरुकुल की सहायता करते रहे।

दौर्भाग्य से गुरुकुल खुलने के १ वर्ष बाद् ही ला० ज्योतिप्रसाद् जी का स्वर्गवास हो गया। उनकी मृत्यु से गुरुकुल को बड़ी हानि हुई। उनके बाद् कैथल के ला० नौबतराय जी निस्स्वार्थ-भाव से बड़ी लगन के साथ प्रबन्धकर्ता का कार्य करने लगे। इस प्रकार दिन प्रतिदिन यह गुरुकुल अधिकाधिक उन्नति करता गया। संवत् १९७३ में इस गुरुकुल का प्रबन्ध एक स्थानीय कमेटी के हाथ में दिया गया। परन्तु फिर इसका प्रबन्ध मुख्याधिष्ठाता कांगड़ी के सीधे निरीक्षण में ही आ गया। सं० १९८० में प्रथम वार यहां से ६ ब्रह्मचारी ८ म श्रेणी पास करके गुरुकुल कांगड़ी गये और तब से प्रतिवर्ष ८ म श्रेणी के बाद् ब्रह्मचारी वहां पर जाते हैं।

वर्त्तमान समय में इस गुरुकुल में ८ श्रेणियें है। जिनमे लगभग १५० ब्रह्मचारी भारत के भिन्न २ प्रान्तों से आकर शिक्षा प्राप्त कर रहे हैं। अध्यापकों की संख्या ६ है। पं० सोमदत्त जी विद्यालंकार इस शाखा के मुख्याध्यापक तथा प्रबन्धकर्ता हैं।

**स्थान**— देहली से कालका जाते समय मार्ग में कुरुक्षेत्र जन्कशन नाम का एक स्टेशन है। इस स्टेशन से पहोवा तीर्थ को १ पक्की सड़क जाती है। इसी पक्की सड़क के बायें हाथ कुरुक्षेत्र तीर्थ से १ मील दूर गुरुकुल कुरुक्षेत्र बना हुआ है।

गुरुकुल के प्रथम वार्षिकोत्सव के अवसर पर इसका बुनियादी पत्थर रखते समय गुरुकुल के आचार्य श्री महात्मा मुन्शीराम जी [ श्री स्वामी श्रद्धानन्द जी ] ने निम्न लिखित वाक्य कहे थे "आज हमारी प्यारी भारत-भूमि पराधीनता की बेड़ी में जकड़ी हुई है। एक समय था जब कि संपूर्ण संसार के राजा आर्यावर्त के सम्राट् के चरण-रज को माथे पर लगाने में

अपना गौरव समझते थे। आज से लगभग ५००० वर्ष पूर्व इसी कुरुक्षेत्र भूमि में आर्यावर्त के नाश का बीज बोया गया था। आज उसी भूमि में आर्यावर्त की उन्नति के लिये यह बीज बोया गया है"।

कुरुक्षेत्र की इस भूमि में शाखा स्थापित करने का रहस्य तथा उद्देश्य कुलपति जी के भाषण की उपर्युक्त पंक्तियों से समझ में आ जाता है।

आज गुरुकुल को स्थापित हुए १६ वर्ष व्यतीत हुये हैं। इस थोड़े से समय में गुरुकुल ने पर्याप्त उन्नति की है। वर्त्तमान समय में इस गुरुकुल की लगभग ८००००) अस्सी हज़ार रुपये की लागत की पक्की इमारतें हैं। लगभग २०० ब्रह्मचारियों के निवास तथा पठन पाठन के लिये पर्याप्त मकान हैं। आश्रम से उत्तर की तरफ ब्रह्मचारियों के स्नान के लिये स्नानगृह बना हुआ है, जिस में लगभग ४१ ब्रह्मचारी एक साथ स्नान कर सकते हैं। दक्षिण की तरफ़ भोजन-भण्डार है। उसके पास ही परिवार-गृह बने हुए हैं।

**गौशाला**—ब्रह्मचारियों को प्रातः सायं ताजा दूध दिया जा सके, इसके लिये गुरुकुल की अपनी गौशाला है, जिसमें १०० के लगभग पशु हैं। कृषि आदि के लिये ५ जोड़ी बैलों की रखी हुई हैं।

**वाटिका**—ब्रह्मचारियों को ताजी सब्ज़ी तथा फल आदि देने के लिये १० बीघे पक्के का एक बाग है, जिस से ब्रह्मचारियों के लिये प्रतिदिन दो अढ़ाई मन के लगभग ताज़ी सब्जी निकल आती है। अनार, अंगूर, आड़ू सन्तरे, आम, अञ्जीर, केला आदि फल भी पर्याप्त मात्रा में इस वाटिका से ब्रह्मचारियों के लिये प्राप्त हो जाते हैं।

**चिकित्सालय**—वर्त्तमान समय में आश्रम के बीच में ही चिकित्सालय तथा रोगी-गृह हैं। शीघ्र ही आश्रम से कुछ दूर पश्चिम की तरफ़ पृथक् चिकित्सालय गुरुकुल के प्रबन्धकर्ता स्वर्गीय ला० नौबतराय जी के स्मारक में बनाया जायगा। गुरुकुल के १४ वें वार्षिकोत्सव के अवसर पर श्री स्वामी श्रद्धानन्द जी महाराज ने इसकी आधार-शिला रखी थी।

**पुस्तकालय**—विद्यालय के साथ ही गुरुकुल का अपना पुस्तकालय है जिसमें इस समय लगभग २००० पुस्तकें हैं।

**विज्ञान-भवन**—विद्यार्थियों को विज्ञान की शिक्षा देने के लिये विज्ञान भवन में लगभग २०००) के मूल्य के उपकरण हैं।

**कला-भवन**—विद्यार्थियों को कपड़ा बुनना तथा अन्य दस्तकारी का काम सिखलाने के लिये शीघ्र ही कला-भवन की योजना की जाने वाली है। खड्डियें आ चुकी हैं, कार्य शीघ्र ही प्रारम्भ करने का विचार है।

**जायदाद**—इस गुरुकुल के पास लगभग २२०० बीघा जमीन है जिसमें चार कूप हैं।

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## शाखा—गुरुकुल मटिण्डू

यह संस्था हरियाणा प्रान्त में शिक्षा की भारी न्यूनता को अनुभव करके श्री चौधरी पीरुसिंह आदि उत्साही आर्यसज्जनों द्वारा जिला रोहतक के मटिण्डू ग्राम के समीप, यमुना नहर की एक छोटी शाखा के किनारे अत्यन्त रमणीक स्थान पर १९७२ वि० में स्थापित की गई, जिस की आधार शिला श्रीयुत पूज्यपाद श्रद्धेय स्वामी श्रद्धानन्द जी महाराज के कर-कमलों द्वारा रक्खो गई। यह संस्था गुरुकुल विश्वविद्यालय कांगड़ी की शाखा रूप में खोली गई है।

विशेषतायें—(१) यह संस्था सर्वथा निःशुल्क संस्था है। इस में ब्रह्मचारियों को शिक्षा तो निःशुल्क दी ही जाती है किन्तु उनके भरण पोषण का व्यय भी गुरुकुल को ही ओर से होता है।

(२) ब्रह्मचारियों को इस योग्य बनाया जाता है कि अवसर पड़ने पर प्रत्येक कार्य को स्वयं कर सकें।

प्रबन्ध—संस्था का प्रबन्ध एक कमेटी के आधीन है। जो महाशय १००) एक दम या ६) वार्षिक चन्दा देवे, वह कमेटी का सदस्य हो सकता है। इस के मुख्याध्यापक गुरुकुल कांगडी के स्नातक श्री प० निरञ्जनदेव जी विद्यालंकार हैं। इन्हीं के आधीन विद्यालय तथा आश्रम आदि का सम्पूर्ण प्रबन्ध है।

विद्यालय—इस समय विद्यालय में ७ श्रेणियां हैं और लगभग ६० ब्रह्मचारी विद्याध्ययन कर रहे हैं। ६ साल से लगातार यहां के विद्यार्थी उत्तीर्ण होकर गुरुकुल कांगड़ी में अध्ययनार्थ जाते है। शाखाओं से जो ब्रह्मचारी कांगड़ी जाते हैं, उन्हें वहां के नियमानुसार शुल्क देना पड़ता है, किन्तु यहां के ब्रह्मचारियों के लिए शुल्क मे ५) की रिआयत करदी गई है। विद्यालय की पाठविधि गुरुकुल कांगड़ी की पाठविधि के अनुसार है।

वाटिका—नहर के किनारे पर गुरुकुल की एक रम्य वाटिका है, जिस में विविध प्रकार के फलों के वृक्ष तथा नानाप्रकार के मनोहर पुष्पों के पौदे हैं। यह वाटिका समयानुसार शाक की आवश्यकता को भी पूरी कर सकती है।

गोशाला—ब्रह्मचारियों के दुग्ध-पान के लिए एक गोशाला भी है, जिस में इस समय ४० गौएं तथा १० भैंसें है। यहां के ज़मीदारों से वैशाख तथा ज्येष्ठ मास में गौशाला के लिये भूसा एकत्रित किया जाता है, जिस से गोशाला को पर्याप्त सहायता मिल जाती है।

सहायता—इस हरियाणा प्रान्त के जाट ज़मींदार बड़े उत्साही तथा

दानवीर हैं। उन्हीं के उत्साह का फल है कि यह संस्था निःशुल्क होती हुई भी उत्तमता से अपना कार्य कर रही है। जनरल कमेटी द्वारा नियुक्त डेपुटेशनों से वैशाख और ज्येष्ठ के महीनों में जमींदारों से अनाज और गौओं के लिए भूसा तथा माघ मास में गुड़ इकट्ठा किया जाता है। अनाज सालभर में कम से कम ६०० मन के लगभग एकत्रित हो जाता है, और विवाह संस्कारों में प्रतिवर्ष दो या अढ़ाई हजार के लगभग धन दान में आजाता है। इस के अतिरिक्त वार्षिक उत्सव पर दो या अढ़ाई हज़ार के लगभग धन प्रतिवर्ष प्राप्त होता है। इस प्रकार यह संस्था ११ वर्षों से इस प्रान्त में सफलता से अपना कार्य कर रही है।

**सम्पत्ति**—इस गुरुकुल के पास ५६ बीघे ज़मीन है जिस का मूल्य लगभग ५६००) हैं। अब तक मकानों और कूप पर लगभग ५५००) व्यय हुए हैं और गोशाला के पशुओं का मूल्य लगभग ५०००) है। एवं, इस गुरुकुल की संपूर्ण संपत्ति १६०००) की है। इस संस्था का वार्षिक खर्च १०००) के लगभग है।

**नवीन मकानात**— इस संस्था की बढ़ती हुई आवश्यकताओं को देखकर इसके मकानात में वृद्धि करने की अत्यन्त आवश्यकता अनुभव हुई है। अतएव उनके बनवाने के लिए १६५०) की एक लाख दस हज़ार ईन्टे और २००) का चूना तथा २००) के गार्डर, टीन आदि सब सामान समीप के बन में पड़ा हुआ है। पर्याप्त धनराशि प्राप्त हो जाने पर कार्य प्रारम्भ किया जावेगा। दानी महाशयों को इधर ध्यान देना चाहिए।

**श्री स्वामी श्रद्धानन्द जी और गुरुकुल मटिण्डू**— यह संस्था श्री स्वामी श्रद्धानन्द जी के ही कर-कमलों से स्थापित हुई थी। इसकी उन्नति के लिए उन्हें अत्यन्त चिन्ता रहती थी। वे इसके उत्सव और अन्य समयों पर भी पधारा करते थे। इस संस्था के नूतन भवन बनवाने के लिए उन्होंने कई स्थानों से सहायता दिलवाई। बलिदान से एक मास पूर्व जो मटिण्डू के मुख्याधिष्ठाता को पत्र लिखा, उस पर अधिकारियों को विशेष ध्यान देना चाहिये। उस में वे लिखते है—"तुम्हारे गुरुकुल के लिए मुझे विशेष ध्यान है जब कभी मौका मिला इस के भवन निर्माणार्थ सहायता दिलवाऊंगा।"

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## शाखा–गुरुकुल रायकोट

गुरुकुल रायकोट की आधार-शिला श्रद्धेय श्री स्वामी श्रद्धानन्द जी महाराज ने सम्वत् १९७६ वि० में रखी थी। इसके मुख्य सञ्चालक श्री स्वामी गङ्गागिरि जी महाराज हैं।

इस गुरुकुल के दो विभाग हैं, एक

गुरुकुल कांगड़ी का शाखा-विभाग, और दूसरा उपदेशकविद्यालय का।प्रथम चार श्रेणियों तक गुरुकुल कांगड़ी का शाखा-विभाग है। इस में गुरुकुल कांगड़ी की निर्धारित पाठविधि ही पढ़ाई जाती है। चतुर्थ श्रेणी पास करने के पश्चात् ब्रह्मचारी को गुरुकुल कांगड़ी में भेजा जा सकता है, अन्यथा आगे यहीं पर "उपदेशक विभाग की पढ़ाई प्रारम्भ हो जाती है जिस में उपदेशक विद्यालय की पाठविधि के अतिरिक्त आंगलभाषा, गणित, इतिहास, भूगोल, अर्थशास्त्र तथा संस्कृत के बहुत से उपयोगी विषय भी पढ़ाये जाते हैं। यह उपदेशक विभाग संवत् १९७९ वि०में स्थापित किया गया था। इस समय उपदेशक विभाग में, सिद्धान्तशिरोमणि के द्वितीय वर्ष तक की पढ़ाई हो रही है, सिद्धान्त वाचस्पति का भी प्रबन्ध करलिया गया है। उपदेशक विभाग और शाखा विभाग दोनों को मिला कर इस समय कुल ११ श्रेणियाँ हैं, और ५० विद्यार्थी तथा ८ अध्यापक हैं।

इस गुरुकुल में गुरुकुल काङ्गड़ी के नियमानुसार ही सब कार्य होते हैं। ६ से ९ वर्ष तक बालक प्रविष्ट होते हैं, विशेषावस्था में १० वर्ष तक के भी ले लिये जाते हैं। शिक्षा, निवास, चिकित्सा तथा प्रबन्धादि सब मुफ़्त होते हैं। ब्रह्मचर्य्य-पालन के अन्य सब नियम पालन करवाये जाते हैं। यहां किस परिश्रम से शिक्षा दी जाती है, गुरुकुल कांगड़ी के परीक्षक इस की मुक्त कण्ठ से प्रशंसा करते हैं। इस वर्ष परीक्षा में १०० प्रतिशतक विद्यार्थी पास हुए। ब्रह्मचारी व्रतपाल ने ८७ प्रतिशतक नम्बर लिये तथा दूसरे नम्बर में रहने वाले ब्र० विद्यारत्न ने ६३ प्रतिशतक नम्बर प्राप्त किये। ब्रह्मचारी व्रतपाल को गुरुकुल में प्रथम रहने के कारण "श्रद्धानन्द स्वर्णपदक" दिया गया।

गुरुकुल के ब्रह्मचारियों की दो सभायें हैं, जिन में वे व्याख्यान निबन्ध तथा कवितादि का अभ्यास किया करते हैं। एक "वाग्वर्धिनी सभा" जिस के कार्य हिन्दी भाषा में सम्पादित होते हैं, तथा एक "विद्या विनोदिनी सभा" जिसके कार्य संस्कृत भाषा में होते हैं। ब्रह्मचारी सचित्र मासिक पत्र भी निकालते हैं जिसका सम्पादक ब्र० सत्यपाल है। अभी यह हस्तलिखित निकलता है, किन्तु कई सज्जनों ने उसकी उपादेयता को अनुभव कर इसको छाप कर निकालने के लिये आग्रह किया है, इसके लिये प्रबन्ध किया जा रहा है। ब्रह्मचारियों का एक संस्कृत मासिक पत्र "भूषण" नामसे निकालने का भी विचार है।

इस गुरुकुल की जायदाद लगभग ४००००) चालीस हज़ार रुपये की है। इस का वार्षिक व्यय लगभग १००००) रु० है। शुल्क कम होने के कारण इस का अधिकांश दान रूप में जनता से इकट्ठा किया जाता है। आर्य जनता से प्रार्थना है कि वह इस नई फूलती हुई संस्था की ओर विशेष ध्यान दें।

मुख्याधिष्ठाता गुरुकुल रायकोट

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# शाखा-गुरुकुल सूपा

गुजरात निवासियों की चिरकाल से प्रबल इच्छा थी कि विश्वविख्यात "गुरुकुल काँगड़ी" की एक शाखा गुजरात प्रान्त में भी खोली जावे। वे सोचते थे कि महर्षि दयानन्द की जन्मभूमि होने का जिस देश ( काठियावाड़ गुजरात ) को अभिमान है उसमें उन की स्मारक स्वरूप, कोई भी संस्था नहीं है। अपरञ्च,गुजरात से गुरुकुल काँगड़ी में प्रविष्ट होने वाले ब्रह्मचारीगण पर्याप्त संख्या में जाते थे और यहाँ के निवासी धन द्वारा भी प्रतिवर्ष गुरुकुल काँगड़ी की विशेष सहायता करते थे। धीरे २ यह चिन्ता यहाँ के निवासियों में विशेष रूप से जागने लगा।

इसी बीच में गुरुकुल काँगडी के सुयोग्य स्नातक श्रीयुत पं. ईश्वरदत्त जी विद्यालंकार (वैदिक मिशनरी) जो विदेश से लौट कर आये थे गुजरात में गुरुकुल काँगड़ी की शाखा खोलने का विचार करने लगे। बस, गुजराती आर्य भाइयों का उत्साह दूना होगया। फल स्वरूप गुजरात गुरुकुल सभा का संगठन किया गया, और यह नियम बनाया गया कि जो महानुभाव १०००) एक हजार रुपया दान दें वह इसके सभासद् समझे जावें।

श्रीयुत पंडित ईश्वरदत्त जी विद्यालङ्कार ( वैदिक मिशनरी ), श्रीदयालजी लल्लूभाई और श्रीयुत झीणाभाई देवाभाई के अनथक परिश्रम और उत्साह से पचास सभासद् बन गये, और पच्चीस हज़ार रुपये गुरुकुल की स्थापना के लिये नक़द प्राप्त होगये। तब १९२३ ईस्वी को गुजरात गुरुकुल सभा की स्थापना हुई।

**स्थापना**—अब गुरुकुल की स्थापना किस जगह की जाय। बहुत विचारने के पश्चात् यह निर्णय किया गया कि जगत्प्रसिद्ध "बारडोली" तहसील में पूर्णा नदी के रम्य किनारे पर गुरुकुल की स्थापना की जाय। तदनुसार पूर्णानदी के रम्य तट पर गुरुकुलों के प्रवर्त्तक परम पूज्य श्रद्धेय श्री स्वामी श्रद्धानन्द जी सन्यासी के मङ्गलमय पवित्र कर-कमलों से माघ शुक्ला त्रयोदशी १९८० सम्वत् तदनुसार १८ फरवरी १९२४ ई० को महर्षि-दयानन्द सरस्वती की जन्म शताब्दी के स्मारक में गुरुकुल कांगड़ी के शाखा रूप इस गुरुकुल की स्थापना हुई। "सूपा" ग्राम के निकट होने के कारण इस गुरुकुल का नाम "गुरुकुल सूपा"- रखा गया। प्रारम्भ में २८ ब्रह्मचारी प्रविष्ट किए गए। प्रवेशार्थ प्रार्थनापत्र तो १०० के लगभग आए थे, परन्तु निवास स्थान की कमी के कारण थोड़े ही ब्रह्मचारी प्रविष्ट किए गए। यह बात भी गुजरात निवासियों

का गुरुकुल शिक्षा प्रणाली के साथ प्रगाढ़ प्रेम प्रदर्शित करती है।

गुरुकुल सूपा का चतुर्थ वर्ष प्रारम्भ हो चुका है। चार श्रेणियों में मिला कर लगभग ६० ब्रह्मचारी हैं। सभा का नये वर्ष का चुनाव हो चुका है। और गुरुकुल का सारा प्रबन्ध एक योग्य और उत्साही आर्य श्रीयुत चतुरभाई बाबर भाई पटेल बी० कौम को सौंपा है। शिक्षण विभाग में भी अच्छे २ कार्यकर्त्ताओं की नियुक्ति हो चुकी है।

प्रारम्भ से ही कई आर्य सज्जन, तन, मन और धन से इस गुरुकुल की सेवा करते आये हैं, जिनमें बिजलपुर निवासी श्रीयुत भाणाभाई देवाभाई और माणेकपुर निवासी श्रीयुत डाह्याभाई नरसिंह के नाम विशेष उल्लेखनीय हैं। बाजीपुरा निवासी आर्य्य दानवीर श्रीयुत भक्तभाई दुर्लभभाई जी की यह संस्था हमेशा के लिए ऋणी रहेगी क्योंकि आप के हार्दिक प्रेम से गुरुकुल सूपा को २२५ बीघा भूमि दान मिली थी। भक्तिभाई-वैदिक शिक्षण-ट्रस्ट के नाम से एक ट्रस्ट भी बन चुका है।

अल्प समयमें ही गुरुकुल ने पर्याप्त उन्नति की है गुजरात-गुरुकुल-सभा के पास अपनी संस्था के लिए निम्नलिखित भूमि मकान आदि हैं:—

गुरुकुल भूमि २६ बीघा ... रु० ८०००)
आश्रम के पांच कमरे
और कार्यालय ........ रु० २००००)
भोजनालय और
परिवार गृह ............ रु० ३५००)
स्नानागार और
दो कूप ................ रु० ३०००)

इन के अतिरिक्त अन्य साधनों को जोड़ कर कुल जायदाद लगभग ४००००) की है। इस के सिवाय बंक में स्थिर कोष के रूप में २००००) जमा है। गुजरात में गुरुकुल-शिक्षा और धर्म-प्रचार की कमी को देख कर इस का भी गु० गु० सभा शीघ्र प्रबन्ध करने का यत्न कर रही है। धर्मानुरागी और गुरुकुल-शिक्षा प्रेमी दानी महानुभाव इस ओर अपनी दृष्टि करके संस्था की उत्तरोत्तर उन्नति में सहायता देकर श्रेय के भागी बनेंगे।

मंत्री गुजरात-गुरुकुल-सभा

( ६ )

# शाखा-गुरुकुल झज्झर

श्री पण्डित विश्वम्भरनाथ जी ने अफ्रीका से लौटने पर, गुरुकुल कांगड़ी की एक शाखा झज्झर खोलने का संकल्प किया। कुछ आर्य भाइयों से मिलकर रुपया एकत्रित कर शाखा खोलने की आज्ञा आर्यप्रतिनिधि सभा पंजाब से ले ली। कार्य प्रारम्भ होते ही अकस्मात् चिन्ताओं के कारण उन्हें सदमा पहुंचा और कार्य बन्द हो गया फिर स्वामी परमानन्द जी ने

गुरुकुल रायकोट के ब्रह्मचारी तथा अध्यापकगण

पं० ब्रह्मानन्द जी से मिलकर इस गुरुकुल को १९८१ वि० से प्रारम्भ किया। इसके पास १३५ बीघे भूमि है, और बीच में एक पक्का कूप है। १५००) के पोस्ट आफिस में कैश सार्टिफ़िकेट हैं, और लगभग ८०००) पञ्जाब नेशनल बैङ्क में गुरुकुल कांगड़ी की मार्फत जमा हैं। इस समय इस शाखा में २५ ब्रह्मचारी और दो श्रेणियां हैं।

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( ७ )

## कन्या-गुरुकुल इन्द्रप्रस्थ

गुरुकुल काँगड़ी की स्थापना के समय उसकी स्वामिनी सभा आर्य प्रतिनिधि सभा पंजाब ने जो गुरुकुल के नियम बनाए थे, उस में गुरुकुल की परिभाषा करते हुए लिखा हुआ है कि गुरुकुल उस वैदिक शिक्षणालय का नाम है जिसमें वे बालक वा बालिकायें, जिनका यथोचित वेदारम्भ संस्कार हो चुका हो, शिक्षा और विद्या प्राप्त करें। और, इसके नोट में उल्लिखित है कि कन्याओं के लिए जब सम्भव होगा पृथक् गुरुकुल स्थापित किया जावेगा। महात्मा मुन्शीराम जी (स्वामी श्रद्धानन्द जी) प्रारम्भ से ही समय २ पर व्याख्यानों और लेखों द्वारा आन्दोलन करते रहे और आर्यजनता से जोरदार शब्दों में अपील करते रहे कि वह शीघ्र कन्या गुरुकुल की स्थापना में भी सहायक हो, परन्तु कुछ परिणाम न निकला। प्रभु की प्रेरणा से दानवीर स्वर्गीय सेठ रग्घूमल जी इस पवित्र कार्य के लिए सहायक के तौर पर आगे बढ़े। उन्होंने कन्या गुरुकुल के लिए एक लाख रुपया पहले और फिर प्रतिमास ५००) देने का संकल्प किया।

इसी महती सहायता के आधार पर आर्यप्रतिनिधि सभा पञ्जाब ने २३ कार्तिक १९८० वि० [ ८ नवम्बर १९२. ईस्वी ] को दीपावली के शुभ दिन देहली में कन्या-गुरुकुल की स्थापना की। प्रारम्भिक वर्ष में ही ८५ कन्यायें प्रविष्ट हुईं और इस समय १२५ ब्रह्मचारिणियें हैं जो सात श्रेणियों में विभक्त हैं। इस का सब प्रबन्ध गुरुकुल कांगड़ी की तरह आर्यप्रतिनिधि सभा पंजाब के ही आधीन है। इस के प्रबन्धोध्यक्ष गुरुकुल कांगड़ी के मुख्याधिष्ठाता और शिक्षाध्यक्ष आचार्य हैं। इस समय इसकी आचार्या श्रीमती विद्यावती जी सेठ बी. ए. हैं। कन्या-गुरुकुल के अन्दर काम करने वाली अध्यापिकायें आदि सब स्त्रियें ही हैं, और बाहिर के प्रबन्ध के लिए पुरुष हैं।

यह कन्या-गुरुकुल पहला है और एक ही है। इस की अभी तक किसी स्थान पर न स्थिर इमारतें बनी हैं, और न कोई अपना स्थान है। अभीतक किराये के मकानों पर ही गुजारा हो रहा है, यह बड़े दुःख की बात है। आर्यजाति को इसकी ओर ध्यान देना चाहिए, और शीघ्र इसको स्थिर रूप में लाना चाहिए।

## गुरुकुल में प्रविष्ट होते हुवे पुत्र को
# पिता का उपदेश

( १ )

आज से तू सूत्रधारी ब्रह्मचारी बन गया,
पालना तीखे व्रतों का पुत्र ! मन में ठन गया;
पुत्र ! विद्यापीठ तुझ को आज अनमिल मिल गया,
द्वार सच्चे ज्ञान और आचार का अब खुल गया ॥

( २ )

आज से पच्चीसवें तक व्रत यही धारण करो,
वीर्य्य-रक्षा और विद्या का पठन पाठन करो;
आज से आचार्य्य के आधीन करता हूं तुम्हें,
एक दो ही बार मेरा मेल होगा वर्ष में ॥

( ३ )

जानते थे तुम मुझे ही जन्म-दाता आज तक,
सत्य, मैंने ही किया था देह-पोषण आज तक;
पर, तुम्हारा दूसरा यह आज विद्या-जन्म है,
पुत्र ! यह उस जन्म का दाता पिता आचार्य है ॥

( ४ )

पुत्र ! जब तक देह के पोषण भरण का भार था,
बस तभी तक ही पिता का पुत्र पै अधिकार था;
सौंपता हूं आज सादर मैं तुम्हें आचार्य को,
पास जिस के पावनी शिक्षा-सुधा को पा सको ॥

( ५ )

घर इसी आचार्य्य-कुल को पुत्र ! अपना मानलो,
आज से आचार्य्य-कुल को अपना पिता-सम जान लो,

भारती देवी तुम्हारी आज माता हो गई,
बन्धुता यह पुत्र! सारी अब नयी ही हो गई॥

( ६ )

ब्रह्मचारी जो तुम्हें बैठे यहां हैं दीखते,
ये इसी कुल में गुरु से वेद-विद्या सीखते;
आज से सब धर्मभाई ये तुम्हारे बन गये,
पुत्र! आगे से सुनो, अब तुम इन्हीं के हो गये॥

( ७ )

बैठना उठना इन्हीं के साथ होगा सर्वदा,
भोजनाच्छादन मिलेगा साथ ही इन के सदा;
दुःख सुख में अब इन्हीं के दुःखसुख निज मानना,
स्नेह से इन बन्धुवों के साथ रहना, देखना॥

( ८ )

पुत्र! शोकातुर न होना याद कर घर के भले,
ये नये बन्धू तुझे अपने लगावेंगे गले;
शीक्षा शिक्षा के लिये रहना ज़रूरी है यहां,
उन्नती पूरी तुम्हारी हो नहीं सक्ती यहां॥

( ९ )

वायु जल था हानिकारी पुत्र! रहते थे जहां,
पुष्प-सौरभ से भरी पावन पवन चलती यहां;
पर्वतों की रम्य हरियाली मनोहर थी कहां?
क्या विनिर्मल जान्हवी की शीत धारा थी वहां?

( १० )

द्वेष की सत्ता नहीं, पर, प्रेम का संचार है,
दुर्गुणों के स्थान में निर्व्याज सत्याचार है;
दिव्यशोभा का यहां चारों दिशा विस्तार है,
पुत्र! पहिले से निराला ही यहां संसार है॥

( ११ )

शील का आगार, विद्या का यहां आवास है,
ज्ञान की चर्चा निरन्तर, शास्त्र का अभ्यास है;
द्वार रत्नों की निरामय खान का मानो मिला,
रत्नसंग्रह कर सको जितना, करो उतना खुला ॥

( १२ )

पुत्र ! कैसे हों नियम इस दिव्य विद्यावास के,
बर्तना वैसे, न कोई दोष जिस से दे सके,
मानना आदेश होगा सर्वदा आचार्य का,
कौन शासन, आप आज्ञा पालने बिन कर सका ? ॥

( १३ )

वेश सादा, और सात्विक यान पानाहार है,
सादगी ही ज्ञानियों को शोभता शृङ्गार है;
कष्ट को झेलो, यही सच्चे बलों का धाम है,
पुत्र ! तप बिना मिलता कहां आराम है ॥

( १४ )

लाड़ के ही साथ पाला था तुम्हें हमने वहां
दोष करने पर परन्तु दण्ड भी होगा यहां;
आदि में शासन गुरु का, यद्यपि लगता बुरा,
पर वही परिणाम में देखा गया अमृत भरा ॥

( १५ )

लोभ मोह क्रोध आदि दुर्गणों को छोड़ दो,
शील की रक्षा करो, अज्ञान मुद्रा तोड़ दो;
सत्य का आधार लो, मिथ्या कभी करना नहीं,
पाप से इस भूमि को दूषित कभी करना नहीं ॥

( १६ )

खेलने को जो समय मिलता यहां थोड़ा नहीं,
चित्त-रञ्जन के लिये सामान का तोड़ा नहीं;
पुत्र ! केवल खेल का पर अब जमाना होगया,
खेल के अब साथ विद्या का समय भी आगया ॥

( १७ )

ब्रह्मचर्याचार ही सब शक्ति का आधार है,
नींव है यह आश्रमों की, मृत्यु का संहार है;
ऐहिकामुष्मिक सुखों का पुत्र ! सच्चा द्वार है,
शास्त्र में विख्यात इस की कीर्त्ति अपरम्पार है ॥

( १८ )

अन्त में मेरा यही सच्चा तुम्हें उपदेश है,
पालना व्रत को यथाशक्ती, यही आदेश है;
पुत्र ! आए हाथ अवसर को वृथा खोना नहीं,
बन्धुओं की आस सारी को वृथा करना नहीं ॥

( १९ )

देवगण जो यज्ञ शाला में उपस्थित हैं यहां,
सामने उन के प्रतिज्ञा आज जो की है महां,
पालने में ध्यान देना पुत्र ! उस के सर्वदा,
दीनबन्धू स्नेहसिन्धू साथ देंगे वे सदा ॥

( श्रीकण्ठ )

# महात्मा गुरुकुल और मिस्टर कालेज की बातचीत

( लेखक— श्रीयुत श्रीपादराव सातवलेकर जी )

एक समय महात्मा गुरुकुल जी महाराज अन्य भूमण्डलों पर अपना कार्य समाप्त करके हमारी भूमि पर पुनः सञ्चार करने के लिए यहाँ पधारे। जब प्राचीन आर्षकाल में म० गुरुकुल जी अपने विद्या फैलाने का पवित्र कार्य किया करते थे, उस समय आश्रम निवासी ब्रह्मचारियों के वेद्घोष से कानन गूंजा करते थे। परन्तु अब वह समय नहीं रहा। इस समय गुरुकुलों का स्थान कालिजों ने ले लिया है, जिन्होंने वनों की खुली पवित्र वायु को छोड़कर नगरों की गन्दी वायु में निवास करने को अधिक पसन्द किया है। यह देख कर म० गुरुकुल जी अत्यन्त दुःखित हुए। वनों से आगे बढ़कर जब उनकी दृष्टि नगरों के लोगों पर पड़ी तो बड़ा ही आश्चर्य हुआ। वे सोचने लगे कि क्या ये लोग उन्हीं आर्यों की सन्तान हैं, जो इतने हृष्ट पुष्ट और बलिष्ठ होते थे। इन लोगों के नये रंग ढंग, विचित्र बोली और विचित्र पोशाक को देखकर उन्हें और भी चकित होना पड़ा। पूछताछ करने पर म० गुरुकुल जी को पता लगा कि यह सब नयी रोशनी का प्रभाव है, जिसके ठेकेदार मि० कालिज का आजकल इस देश में बड़ा प्रभुत्व है। मि० कालिज का निवास स्थान पूछते हुए म० गुरुकुल अंधेराबाद पहुंचे। वहाँ पहुंच कर म० गुरुकुल, मि० कालिज से मिले और उनके मध्य में जो बातचीत हुई, उसे हम यहाँ प्रकाशित करते हैं:-

महात्मा गुरुकुल— नमस्ते, महाशय!

मिस्टर कालिज— गुड मार्निङ्ग! तुम कौन हो? तुम जंगली लोगों का यहाँ क्या काम है?

म० गुरुकुल— आप नगरवासी लोगों की सेवा के लिए हम उपस्थित हुए हैं।

मि० कालिज— तुम लोगों का यहाँ कुछ काम नहीं है। हमारी सिटी लाइफ़ में तुम क्या कर सकते हो? यह हमारी युनिवर्सिटी है, यह लायब्रेरी, यह टौन हाल, इत्यादि कई इन्स्टिट्यूशन्स हमने खोल रखे हैं, यहाँ जंगली लोगों का क्या काम है?

म० गुरुकुल— ठीक है महाशय; यह तो सब कुछ अच्छा है, पर यह तो बताइए कि आपने जो जो कार्य यहाँ किये हैं, उनसे लोगों की आयु और आरोग्यता बढ़ी है या घटी है ?

मि० कालिज — आयु के साथ हमारा क्या कनेक्शन है ? तुम ऐसे प्रश्न पूछकर हमारा टाइम क्यों खराब करते हो ? गुड फार नथिंग फैलो !

म० गुरुकुल — यदि आयु और आरोग्यता के साथ तुम्हारा कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं तो तुम्हारा किसके साथ सम्बन्ध है ?

मि० कालिज — हमारा सिविलाइज़ेशन के साथ सम्बन्ध है; लोगों को हम सिटिज़न बनाना चाहते हैं।

म० गुरुकुल— महाशय जी ! क्षमा कीजिए, शताब्दियों तक पूर्वकाल में मैं यहाँ कार्य करता रहा था और उस समय हमने भी लोगों को नागरिक बनाया था। परन्तु उस समय लोगों की आयु, आरोग्यता, तेजस्विता आदि बातों में ऐसी अवनति न थी। लोग प्रायः पूर्णायुषी होते थे। अनेक शास्त्रों में प्रावीण्य संपादन करते हुए भी आरोग्य-सम्पन्न रहते थे। परन्तु इस तुम्हारी नयी प्रणाली से इन आवश्यक बातों में अवनति दीखती है।

मि० कालिज— नान्सेन्स, ऐसी बातें करने के लिए मेरे पास टाइम नहीं है, अब मुझे क्लब में जाना है।

म० गुरुकुल— महाशय जी ! आपका भी तो चेहरा सिकुड़ गया है ! आप थोड़ा सा हमारे साथ भ्रमण करेंगे तो अच्छा होगा। कृपा करके आइए, मेरे साथ इस पहाड़ पर चलिए, वहाँ इसी विषय में बातें करेंगे।

मि० कालिज— मेरी हैल्थ बहुत वर्षों से बिगड़ी हुई है, देर से डिस्पेप्सिया सता रहा है, परन्तु क्या किया जावे अपनी ड्यूटी तो करनी ही पड़ती है। अब समय होचुका है, आज डा० 'किक डैथ' साहिब का फ़िजिकल कल्चर पर हमारे 'बिग व्हेल क्लब' में लेक्चर होगा, वहाँ मुझे प्रिज़ाइड करना है, इसलिए अब मैं तुम्हारे साथ घूमने नहीं जा सकता।

म० गुरुकुल— आप अपने स्वास्थ्य की रक्षा करना नहीं जानते तो औरों को वहाँ जाकर आप क्या उपदेश देंगे ?

मि० कालेज— तुम मेरा इन्सल्ट करते हो, तुम ज्यादा बकवाद करोगे तो इस पुलिस के हवाले तुम को कर दूँगा।

इतनी बातचीत होने पर 'बिग व्हेल क्लब' का चपरासी मोहम्मद खाँ आ पहुंचा और उसने मि० कालिज को सूचना दी कि आज डाक्टर साहिब का लेक्चर नहीं हो सकता, क्योंकि सर्द हवा के कारण उनको जुकाम होगया है।

म० गुरुकुल— महाशय जी! देखिए, आपकी प्रणाली से स्वास्थ्य की यह दुर्दशा हुई है।

मि० कालिज— तो क्या तुम्हारे सिस्टम से ठीक हो सकती है?

म० गुरुकुल— अवश्य ठीक होगी। आपने जो बिगाड़ किया है, उस के सुधार का हम पूरा प्रयत्न करेंगे। परन्तु कृपया यह तो बताइए कि आप अपनी भाषा में 'इन्सल्ट' 'सिस्टम' आदि शब्दों को मिलाकर उसे खिचड़ी भाषा क्यों बनाते हैं? क्या आपकी भाषा में इनके लिए शब्द नहीं हैं?

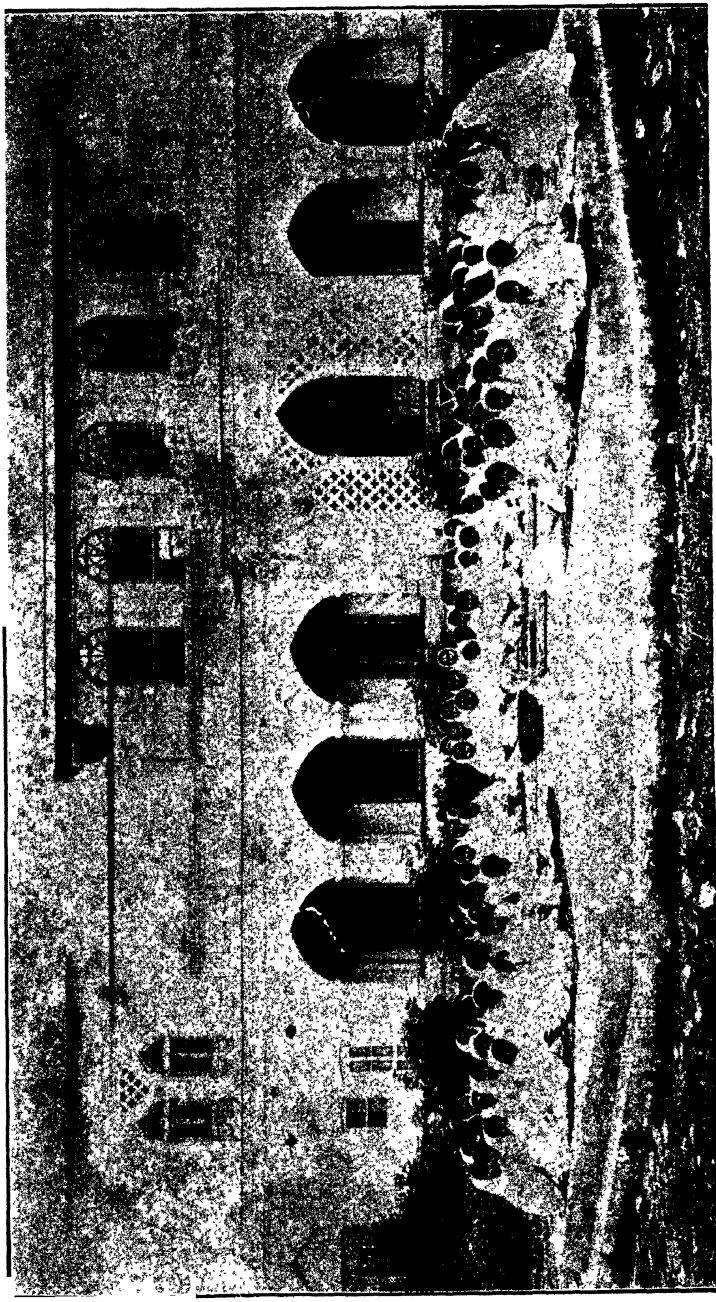
मि० कालिज— [ कुछ लज्जित होकर ] क्या करें भाई! आज कल का यही फैशन समझा जाता है। अच्छा आगे से शुद्ध भाषा बोलने का प्रयत्न करूँगा।

म० गुरुकुल— अच्छा, तो हमारे साथ पहाड़ पर घूमने चलिएगा?

मि० कालिज— चलो, आज तुम्हारे साथ ही घूमने के लिए जावेंगे। परन्तु कमज़ोरी के कारण मैं बहुत दूर तक नहीं जा सकूंगा।

म० गुरुकुल— सुनिए, महाशय जी! शहर की हवा बहुत बिगड़ी हुई होती है, परन्तु वन की हवा शुद्ध और पवित्र होती है। इसलिए मेरा कथन यह है कि सब विद्यार्थियों को न्यून से न्यून २५ वर्ष की आयु तक नगरों से दूर, वन की खुली वायु में रख कर विद्याध्ययन करवाना चाहिए।

मि० कालिज— रहना तो सब लोगों ने शहरों में ही है, फिर विद्यार्थियों को पहले से ही शहरों में क्यों न रखा जावे! इसमें हानि क्या है?

म० गुरुकुल— इसमें बड़ी भारी हानि है। देखिए, २५ वर्ष तक शरीर की वृद्धि का समय है, यदि उस समय गन्दी वायु और बुरे प्रभावों के कारण उसकी वृद्धि में रुकावट पड़ेगी तो जन्मभर के लिये स्वास्थ्य बिगड़ जावेगा।

कन्या गुरुकुल इन्द्रप्रस्थ की ब्रह्मचारिणियें ।

परन्तु यदि पूरी शारीरिक उन्नति के पीछे विद्यार्थी शहर में रहेंगे तो कोई बड़ी हानि न होगी।

मि० कालिज— इस प्रकार तो माता पिताओं से लड़के दूर हो जावेंगे?

म० गुरुकुल— अवश्य होंगे, और अवश्य होने चाहियें। आठ वर्ष की आयु तक लड़के माता पिता के पास रहें, तत्पश्चात् वे राष्ट्र के अतिथि बनाए जावेंगे। पच्चीस वर्ष तक विद्यार्थियों की रक्षा करना, उनके माता पिता का काम नहीं प्रत्युत राष्ट्र का कर्तव्य है।

मि० कालिज— आप क्या बोल रहे हैं, हमारे ध्यान में नहीं आता। विद्यार्थी लोग राष्ट्र के अतिथि कैसे हो सकते हैं?

म० गुरुकुल— महाशय जी! ध्यान दीजिए। हमने तो आयुष्य के चार भाग किए हैं। मनुष्य की आयु १०० वर्षों से १२० तक······

मि० कालिज— महात्मा जी! आप कब की बात करते हैं? इस समय तो ४० वर्ष तक ज़िन्दा रहना भी कठिन होता है।

म० गुरुकुल— यह मैं जानता हूं। हमारी प्राचीन व्यवस्था टूट जाने से ही तो आयु, शक्ति और तेजस्विता घटने लगी है। यदि हमारी प्रणाली पुनः चलेगी तो बराबर मनुष्य पूर्ण आयु वाले होंगे। अस्तु 'शतायुर्वै पुरुषः' यह साधारण मान है। चार विभाग करके पहले विभाग में ब्रह्मचर्य, दूसरे विभाग में गृहस्थ, तीसरे में वानप्रस्थ और चौथे में सन्यास—ये चार आश्रम निश्चित किए गये हैं। गृहस्थाश्रमी लोग ही नागरिक होते हैं। ब्रह्मचारी लोग वन में रह कर विद्याध्ययन करते हैं। वानप्रस्थी लोग वन में रह कर ब्रह्मचारियों को पढ़ाते हैं। इन दोनों आश्रमवासियों की पालना राष्ट्र का काम है। ये लोग राष्ट्र के अतिथि हैं। अब रहा सन्यासाश्रम, सन्यासी लोग सब राष्ट्रों के साथ एकसा संबन्ध रखते हैं। निष्पक्षपात होकर सब के हितार्थ उपदेश करना इनका काम है।

मि० कालिज— महाराज आप तो ख़याली दुनियाँ में सञ्चार कर रहे हैं। क्या कभी ऐसी व्यवस्था हो सकती है?

म० गुरुकुल— प्राचीन काल में आर्यावर्त में ऐसी ही व्यवस्था थी, और आप सब लोग ध्यान देंगे तो आगे भी हो सकती है। बचपन से बुढ़ापे तक शहरों में रहने से शरीर मन बुद्धि, तीनों का विकाश नहीं होता। इसके लिए आप अपना ही उदाहरण देखिए, आपका स्वास्थ्य ख़राब होने का यही कारण है।

मि० कालेज— जो आप कहते हैं, वह सब प्रतीत तो ठीक ही होता है। आज एक दिन शुद्ध वायु का सेवन करने से मुझे उत्साह विदित हो रहा है।

म० गुरुकुल— ऐसी शुद्ध वायु यदि विद्यार्थियों को सर्वदा मिले तो अवश्य उनका स्वास्थ्य ठीक ही रहेगा। आरोग्य ठीक रहने से विद्या भी बहुत प्राप्त हो सकती है।

मि० कालेज— गुरुजी! जो आप कहते हैं, वह सब ठीक है, मैं आज से आपका सहायक बनता हूं।

म० गुरुकुल— जो हमारा उद्देश्य है, वह आपका भी है। विद्या के प्रचार करने में हम दोनों सहमत हैं, यदि आप अपनी सब शक्ति इस ओर लगावें तो देखिए थोड़े ही काल में आरोग्यता, विद्वत्ता, तेजस्विता और सदाचार आदि गुणों का साम्राज्य सर्वत्र हो जावेगा।

मि० कालेज— मैं आज से आपका अनुगामी बनता हूं और मैं अपना तन मन धन, सब कुछ गुरुकुल-शिक्षा-प्रणाली के प्रसार में लगा दूंगा।

इतनी बात चीत होने पर दोनों आनन्द से "सहनावतु सहनौ भुनक्तु सहवीर्यं करवावहै। तेजस्विनावधीतमस्तु मा विद्विषावहै" यह मंत्र गाने लगे। आशा है सब पाठकगण ऐसा ही निश्चय करके अपनी सन्तति को गुरुकुल में भेजेंगे।

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# मेरा स्वर्ग

(१)

चलो यहां से चलें वहां हम जहां क्लेश का हो न उड़ान।
पूरण सुख ही फैल रहा हो, रहता मधुर जहां मुस्क्यान॥

(२)

झूम रहीं हों जहां लतायें खिलीं बसन्तीं कलियाँ जान।
भौंरों की मीठी रागिनियां उठें प्रेम का करती गान॥
करती हो निज नवल चमेली फूलों भरी मधुर आह्वान।
हो वसन्त ऋतु छाई जिस में आठों पहर महीनों जान॥

किंशुक फूले हुए जहाँ हों, सीमल के हों पेड़ महान।
कोयल जिस के वन में छिप कर बैठी मधुर मधुर ले तान ॥ चलो०

( ३ )

मलयाचल की पवन चले जहँ शीतल कोमल सौरभवान।
यज्ञ धूम से हुआ सुगन्धित जिसका हो सारा उद्यान ॥
मृग-शावक रोमन्थ कर रहे जहाँ करें निर्भय विश्राम।
पक्षी वृन्द जहाँ प्रमुदित हो गान करें जगदीश्वर नाम ॥
विस्तृत हों मैदान घास के गौएँ चरती हों बलवान।
टपक रहा हो दूध थनों से बछड़े करते हों तब पान ॥ चलो०

( ४ )

"मोहन" चलो उसी उपवन में रहने दो पीछे का ध्यान।
जहाँ उठें तूफान अनोखे आंधी दे जीवन का दान ॥
सामगान हो नित्य सबेरे कोकिल-कुल हों देते तान।
छोटे छोटे बालक बैठे करें जहां पर प्रभु का ध्यान ॥
जहाँ मिलें उपदेश धर्म के जीवन का नित हो कल्याण।
विषयवासना छूटें सारी हों शरीर से भी बलवान ॥ चलो०

( ५ )

पापकर्म का ध्यान जहां पर कभी न आता हो सच जान।
आंखों से मधु बरस रहा हो जहां हृदय का हो उत्थान ॥
कहीं कुटी हो बनी और कहिं बने हुए हों भवन महान।
जँह वशिष्ठ और गौतम जैसे ऋषि रहते हों पूरन काम ॥
जहाँ क्षीर की नदियां बहतीं मीठे पकते हों पकवान।
ले चल वहां यहां से मुझ को जल्दी हे मेरे भगवान ॥ चलो०

( ६ )

जहां रोग का नाम न हो और जहां न भय का हो कुछ भान।
ओत प्रोत हो जहां सरलता, पावें छोटे भी सन्मान ॥

जहां सङ्ग हो खाना पीना नित्य जहां हो मिल कर गान।
तप हो, व्रत हो, नियमधर्म हो जहाँ सत्य का हो सन्मान॥
जहाँ स्वार्थ का नाम न हो बस सेवा होती हो निष्काम।
पैसा तक भी पास नहीं हो फिर भी हो आनन्द निकाम॥ चलो०

( ७ )

घण्टे का हो नियत नाद जहँ तो हो जावें पुलकित प्राण।
ऊंच नींच का भेद जहाँ से भाग गया हो लेकर जान॥
हो समानता सब में ऐसी जैसी वन में लक्ष्मण राम।
जहाँ शोक का काम न हो कुछ और न हो धन का शुभ नाम॥
जहाँ वीरपूजा नित होती सच्चे ब्राह्मण का हो मान।
सन्यासी को सीस झुकाते दीखें सारे वृद्ध जवान॥ चलो०

( ८ )

चोरी, ठगी, विषय-लोलुपता जहाँ न पा सकतीं हों स्थान।
गायत्री का जप करता हो सबका पूरा ही कल्याण॥
कोई ब्रह्म-विचार करें जहँ, कोई नित्य चलावें बान।
कोई कृषक बने हों, सेवा कोई करते हों इर आन॥
गङ्गा की धारा, बस आकर जिसे कराती हो नित स्नान।
जहाँ न दुख का लेश, करें अब हम भी वहीं शीघ्र प्रस्थान॥ चलो०

( ९ )

मित्रों को भी संग ले चलें, चलें करें सत्वर प्रस्थान।
पुण्य हिमालय ऊपर है जहँ, नीचे है गङ्गा का स्थान॥
रहते जहां जगत के नामी स्वामी "श्रद्धानन्द" महान।
स्वर्गलोक के देव सदा हैं जिनका करते गुणगण गान॥
हे हृदयेश महेश्वर! अब तो दूभर लगता है यह स्थान।
वहां उड़ा कर ले चल, तेरा जो है शान्त मनोहर धाम॥ चलो०

पं० विद्याधर विद्यालंकार 'सोहन'

# विद्वानों की दृष्टि में गुरुकुल

ब्रिटिश साम्राज्य के भूतपूर्व प्रधान सचिव रेम्ज़े मैग्डानल्ड - भारतीय शिक्षा में गुरुकुल एक अत्यन्त महत्त्व पूर्ण वस्तु है। १८३५ में लार्ड मैकाले ने भारतीय शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में अपनी सम्मति लिखी थी। तब से आज तक भारतवर्ष में शिक्षा के लिये जो यत्न किये गये हैं उन में यह विद्यालय सब से अधिक गौरवयुक्त यत्न है। मैकाले की सम्मति के परिणामों से भारतवर्ष में प्रायः सब लोग असन्तुष्ट हैं, किन्तु उस असन्तोष को सिवा गुरुकुल के चलाने वालों के और किसी ने कार्य में परिणत नहीं किया।

* * * *

श्रीयुत लार्ड मेस्टन भूतपूर्व लाट साहिब युक्तप्रान्त --इस आश्चर्यजनक मनोरञ्जक तथा उत्तेजक संस्था को देखने के लिए आना मेरे लिये बड़ा परितोष-दायक सिद्ध हुआ। यहां अपने कर्तव्य-पालन में तत्पर तपस्वियों का एक समुदाय देखने में आता है जो प्राचीन ऋषियों की प्रणाली को वर्तमान वैज्ञानिक रीति के साथ मिला कर वस्तुतः गुज़ारे मात्र पर काम कर रहे हैं। यहां के विद्यार्थी पुष्ट शरीर आज्ञाकारी, पर सच्चे राजभक्त, कार्यपरायण तथा प्रसन्न हैं, और इनका पालन पोषण अच्छी तरह किया जाता है। एक बात मैंने यहां और भी देखी है। मुझे शोक है कि जहां दौर्भाग्यवश हमारे स्कूलों और कालिजों में तीन के पीछे एक विद्यार्थी के ऐनक लगी होती है, वहां गुरुकुल में २० में एक के एनक लगी है। यह गुरुकुल मेरे लिए आदर्श शिक्षणालय है।

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कलकत्ता युनीवर्सिटी कमीशन के प्रधान डा० सेडलर महोदय-- आपकी संध्या की प्रार्थना इस प्रकार की सार्वभौम है कि उस में बिना किसी परिवर्तन के सब मत और साम्प्रदायों के अनुयायी हार्दिक एकता और धार्मिक भाव से शामिल हो सकते हैं।

मैं समझता हूँ कि जिस शिक्षा-विधि में मातृभाषा को प्रथम और सब से पूज्य स्थान दिया गया है, वहां संभव है कि चित्त का स्वतंत्र विकास होकर मानसिक वृत्तियों तथा भावों पर प्रभुत्व प्राप्त हो और उच्च आकांक्षाओं को ओजस्वी शब्दों में प्रकट करने की योग्यता प्राप्त हो।

भारत महामंत्री के भूतपूर्व प्राइवेट सैक्रेटरी श्रीयुत किश महोदय— प्रबन्ध के साधनों की पूर्णता, कार्यकर्ताओं को सरलता और ब्रह्मचारियों की प्रत्यक्ष प्रसन्नता से मुझ पर इतना अधिक प्रभाव डला है कि मैं उसको इन थोड़ी सी पक्तियों में वर्णन नहीं कर सकता।

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सर्वेण्ट आफ इण्डिया सोसायटी के प्रधान श्रीयुत श्रीनिवास शास्त्री महोदय—कोई भी हिन्दु ऐसा नहीं हो सकता जिसको गुरुकुल के साथ प्रेम न हो, क्योंकि यह भिन्न २ शिक्षा विषयक हिन्दु-विचारों तथा उद्देश्यों को अपने साथ रखता है, और इसके साथ ही सनातन काल के गुरु तथा शिष्य के पवित्र सम्बन्ध को पुनर्जागृत करता है। मैं देखता हूँ कि ब्रह्मचारियों की सब आदतें सादी हैं। जो सामान ये उपयोग में लाते हैं, वह भी यदि कठोर नहीं तो सादा अवश्य है। मैं समझता हूँ कि ब्रह्मचारियों की नित्यप्रति की आदतें सर्वथा नियमित हैं, और वे लगभग कठिन तपस्या के समीप २ पहुँचती हैं। इस प्रकार की अवस्थाओं में शिक्षा का सफल और कृतकृत्य होना आवश्यक ही है।

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# ऋषि के जीवन का एक पृष्ठ

( ले०—श्रीयुत प्रेमचन्द बी० ए० )

यों तो श्री स्वामी श्रद्धानन्द ने देश और समाज के हितों की रक्षा के लिए अपना जीवन ही अर्पित कर दिया था, पर उन में सब से बड़ा गुण जो था वह उन की अपूर्व शालीनता थी। उन्होंने जाति सेवा के लिए जो मार्ग निश्चित किया था उस में अन्य मत वालों से मतभेद होना अनिवार्य था, लेकिन सिद्धान्तों के भेद को उन्होंने कभी अपने सौजन्य पर आधिपत्य न जमाने दिया। यही कारण है कि मुसलिम नेताओं में भी शायद ही कोई ऐसा हो जिस ने मुक्त कंठ से आप की कीर्ति का अनुमोदन न किया हो। हिन्दुओं के क़लम से अब तक आप के गुणानुवाद और शोक में हज़ारों लेख निकल चुके हैं, लेकिन एक सच्चे सहृदय मुसलिम के क़लम से इस विषय में जो लेख निकला है वैसा अब तक किसी हिन्दू ने नहीं लिखा। लेख क्या है एक भक्त की श्रद्धांजलि है, जिसके एक २ शब्द में लेखक के विशुद्ध भाव झलक रहे हैं। यह लेखक दिल्ली निवासी मि० आसफ़ अली, बार-एट-ला हैं। आप का लेख इसी महीने के 'हिन्दुस्तान रिव्यू' में छपा है। उस की

पढ़ने से ज्ञात होता है कि राष्ट्रवादी मुसल्लिमों को भी आप से कितना प्रेम था। और उस प्रेम का क्या कारण था? यही कि स्वामी जो की स्वाभाविक मृदुता, सौम्यता और शालीनता कभी उन का साथ नहीं छोड़ती थी। उनका हृदय निष्कपट था, उसमें क्षुद्रता के लिये स्थान ही न था। आप स्वामी जी के सामाजिक और धार्मिक कृत्यों का उल्लेख करने के बाद लिखते हैं—

"सन् १९१८ में जब दिल्ली में पहली वार कांग्रेस का अधिवेशन हुआ तो स्वामी जी स्वागत—कारिणी समिति के उपप्रधान चुने गए थे। मैं भी सहकारी मन्त्री था और मुझे स्वामी जी के साथ काम करने का उस समय बहुत अवसर मिला। आपकी स्नेह-मय उदारता, अपूर्व सज्जनता, नम्रता और निष्कपट मैत्री ने शीघ्र ही मुझे वशीभूत कर लिया। उन की गुरु-जन सुलभ सौम्यता और स्नेह और मेरी ओर से भक्ति और सम्मान के भावों ने हमारे बीच में एक ऐसा प्रगाढ़ सम्बन्ध उत्पन्न कर दिया जो अनेक विषयों पर हम में तात्विक विरोध होने पर भी अन्त समय तक बना रहा।"

सन १९२२ में मियाँवाली जेल में लेखक महोदय की स्वामी जी से फिर भेंट हुई, जिन की सज़ा के अब थोड़े ही दिन और बाकी रह गए थे। ज्योंही आप को मालूम हुआ कि स्वामी जी यहां हैं—"मैं उन की कोठरी की ओर बेतहाशा दौड़ पड़ा। स्वामी जी ने दोनों बाँहें फैला कर मेरा अभिवादन किया और बड़े स्नेह से मुझे गले लगाकर अपने पास बैठा लिया।"

मियाँवाली जेल में भी स्वामी जी गीता, रामायण या दर्शन पर उपदेश दिया करते थे। क़ैदियों को जिस सत्संग का शुभ अवसर और कहीं न मिल सकता वह इस जेल में हाथ आता। प्रेमियों की एक मण्डली रोज़ जमा हो जाती थी। मौलाना आसफ़ अली ने स्वामी जी से गीता रहस्य माँग कर पढा और जब कभी उन्हें कोई शंका होती स्वामी जी बड़े हर्ष से उसे समाधान कर देते थे। कभी राजनीति पर बात चल पड़ती, कभी दर्शन पर, और कभी फ़ारसी साहित्य पर। स्वामी जी फ़ारसी साहित्य के बड़े अच्छे मर्मज्ञ थे। मौलाना रूम की मसनवी से आप को बहुत प्रेम था।

मौलाना आसफ़अली का स्वास्थ्य उन दिनों कुछ अच्छा न था। शरीर में रक्त की कमी थी। चेहरा पीला पड़ गया था। स्वामी जो को उन की दशा देख कर चिन्ता हुई। वाह! कितना सच्चा वात्सल्य भाव था। खुद जेल में थे, सभी प्रकार के कष्ट सह रहे थे, पर मौलाना आसफ़ अली की यह दशा देख कर आपने उन के लिये एक दूसरी कोठरी चुन दी जिस में धूप और प्रकाश

स्वच्छन्द रूप से मिल सकता था। उन के आहार के संबंध में भी जेलर से सिफ़ारिश कर दी, जो स्वामी जी का बहुत लिहाज़ करता था। यह सद्व्यवहार था, यह सज्जनता थी, जो परिचितों को भी उन का भक्त बना देती थी।

हम आज उस उपदेश को भूले जा रहे हैं जिस का सजीव उदाहरण ऋषि श्रद्धानन्द का जीवन था। हम आज मुसलमानों को 'बरबर' कहते नहीं थकते। एक व्यक्ति की परिवर्तित मानसिक वृत्ति से उत्तेजित हो कर समस्त जाति को "वहशी" और "बरबर" और न जाने क्या क्या कह रहे हैं। पर उसी वहशी और बरबर जाति का एक व्यक्ति ऋषि का अन्त समय तक चिकित्सक था। उसी वहशी और बरबर जाति के व्यक्तियों से ऋषि की मित्रता थी। अबदुल रशीद जैसे दीवाने किस समाज, किस देश और किस जाति में नहीं हैं या नहीं थे? और अगर हमारे समाचार पत्रों का औधत्य इसी भाँति दिन दुना रात चौगुना बढ़ता रहा तो ऐसी दुर्घटनाओं की शंका भी उसी अनुपात से बढ़ती जायगी। विद्वेषात्मक भाषा और भावों का सम्पादन करके आज तक किसी धर्म सम्प्रदाय या जाति ने कीर्ति और यश नहीं पाया है और न कभी पावेगा। किसी धर्म की श्रेष्ठता उस के अनुयाइयों के सदाचार, सेवा और सद्वृत्ति में है, गालो और फक्कड़ बाज़ी में नहीं। ऋषियों को कलंकित करने वाले, निष्ठाहीन, उत्तरदायित्व हीन, विवेकहीन युवकों को जब हम धर्म के नाम पर लट्ठ लिए देखते है तो यही कहना पड़ता है कि भगवन्, इस धर्म की लाज अब तुम्हारे हाथ है, अब तुम्हीं इसकी रक्षा करना। हम मे खुद क्या क्या कमजोरियां हैं जिन के कारण हमारी यह दुर्गति हो रही है पहले उनका सुधार कोजिए। मुस्लिम इतिहास की जाँच पर ताल और मुसलिम महात्माओं की जीवन चर्या लिखने के लिए जो क्षमता, जो सहनशीलता, जो निर्पेक्षता चाहिए वह बड़े स्वाध्याय, मनन और बड़े सौहार्दय से प्राप्त होती है।

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# गुरुकुल द्वारा उत्पन्न साहित्य

साहित्य की उन्नति करना गुरुकुल के उद्देश्यों में से एक है। इस अंग की पूर्ति के लिये भी गुरुकुल की ओर से प्रयत्न हुवा है। अब तक यहां से बहुत सा साहित्य प्रकाशित हो चुका है। पाठ्य पुस्तकें प्रकाशित करने की तरफ भी गुरुकुल तथा उसके स्नातकों ने ध्यान दिया है। अब तक जो पुस्तकें

प्रकाशित हुई हैं, या शीघ्र होने वाली हैं, उनको संक्षेप से वर्णन करना उपयोगी होगा।

गुरुकुल से संस्कृत व्याकरण और साहित्य विषयक अनेक पुस्तकें प्रकाशित हुई हैं। संस्कृत का प्रायःसारा ही कोर्स गुरुकुल से निकल चुका है। प्रारम्भिक श्रेणियों में पढ़ाई जाने वाली संस्कृत प्रवेशिका, संस्कृत पाठावलि, बालनीति कथा माला, संस्कृताङ्कुर, काव्यलतिका आदि पुस्तकों के सिवाय उच्च संस्कृत पुस्तकें भी गुरुकुल से प्रकाशित हुई हैं। प्राचीन संस्कृत साहित्य में शृङ्गार रस प्रधान है। इस लिये उसे निःसङ्कोच रूप से विद्यार्थियों के हाथ में नहीं दिया जा सकता था, इस कमी को पूरा करने के लिये गुरुकुल ने विशेष रूप से प्रयत्न किया है। इसी उद्देश्य को सन्मुख रख कर हितोपदेश, पञ्चतन्त्र, रघुवंश, साहित्यदर्पण आदि पुस्तकों के संसोधित संस्करण गुरुकुल ने छपाये हैं। साथ ही महाविद्यालय विभाग में पढ़ाने के लिये 'साहित्यसुधा संग्रह' तीन भाग ( बिन्दु ) गुरुकुल प्रकाशित कर चुका है और शेष चौथा भाग भी छपने वाला है। ऋषि दयानन्द द्वारा प्रतिपादित व्याकरण की शिक्षा पद्धति को ध्यान में रख कर गुरुकुल ने अष्टाध्यायी का एक बहुत ऊँची कोटि का भाष्य प्रकाशित किया है, और एक सरल अष्टाध्यायी, महाभाष्य लिखवाया जारहा है, जो शीघ्र ही मुद्रणालय में दे दिया जावेगा। इन के सिवाय अष्टाध्यायी, महाभाष्य, मनुस्मृति, महाभारत आदि के भी गुरुकुल ने संस्करण निकाले हैं।

गुरुकुल से इतिहास, विज्ञान आदि के भी बहुत से ग्रन्थ प्रकाशित हुवे हैं। वाह्य यूनिवर्सिटियों के एफ. ए. स्टेण्डर्ड तक का उत्तम कोर्स गुरुकुल से निकल चुका है। मा० गोवर्धन जी तथा पं० महानुनि जी विद्यालंकार ने विद्यालय विभाग के लिये भौतिकी तथा रसायन शास्त्र पर ग्रन्थ लिखे हैं। और यहां के भूत पूर्व उपाध्याय प्रो० महेशचरण सिंह की 'हिन्दी केमिष्ट्री' विद्यालय विभाग के लिये विज्ञान का उत्तम ग्रन्थ है। प्रो० रामशरणदास-सक्सेना ने महाविद्यालय विभाग की दो कक्षाओं के लिये गुणात्मकविश्लेषण पर उच्च कोटि का ग्रन्थ लिखा है। यह ग्रन्थ छप चुका है। यद्यपि इन ग्रन्थों की अभी हिन्दी जगत में विक्री बहुत कम है फिर भी प्रभूत व्यय कर के वैज्ञानिक पुस्तकें प्रकाशित करने में गुरुकुल विशेष रूप से उद्योग कर रहा है।

आचार्य रामदेव जी ने भारत के प्राचीन इतिहास पर दो प्रामाणिक ग्रन्थ प्रकाशित किये हैं। हिन्दी साहित्य में इनकी बहुत कदर हुई है। पहले भाग की सात हजार प्रतियां बिक चुकी हैं और दूसरे भाग के पहले संस्करण में ३ हजार प्रतियां छपाई

गई हैं। आचार्य रामदेव जी ने पुराणों का विशेष रूप से अनुशीलन कर के 'पुराणमत पर्यालोचन' नाम का एक अन्य ग्रन्थ भी लिखा है। गुरुकुल के भूतभूर्व उपाध्याय डा० बालकृष्ण जी ने भारतीय इतिहास पर दो पुस्तकें लिखी हैं, जो अनेक शिक्षणालयों में पाठ्यपुस्तक के रूप में रखी गई हैं। उन्हो ने अर्थशास्त्र, शासन व्यवस्था आदि विषयों पर भी अनेक पुस्तकें लिखी है। गुरुकुल के भूतपूर्व उपाध्याय प्रो० साठे ने विकासवाद पर एक प्रामाणिक ग्रन्थ लिखा है जो कि गुरुकुल की तरफ से प्रकाशित किया गया है। इसी तरह प्रो० सुधाकर जी ने 'मनोविज्ञान' महत्व पूर्ण ग्रन्थ लिखा है, जिस पर कि उन्हें मङ्गला प्रसाद् पारितोषक मिल चुका है।

वैदिक साहित्य के अनुसन्धान के लिये भी गुरुकुल से बहुत उद्योग हुवा है। यहां के उपाध्याय प्रो० चन्द्रमणि जी विद्यालङ्कार ने निरुक्त का वेदार्थ दीपक भाष्य दो भागों में प्रकाशित किया है। यह भाष्य बहुत विद्वत्ता पूर्ण और प्रमाणिक है। इसी तरह उपाध्याय विश्वनाथ जी ने 'अथर्ववेद का स्वाध्याय' 'वैदिक जीवन' आदि अनेक प्रामाणिक ग्रन्थ लिखे हैं। आर्यसमाज के प्रसिद्ध वैदिक विद्वान् पं० शिवशङ्कर जी काव्यतीर्थ गुरुकुल में बहुत समय तक अध्यापक रह चुके हैं और उनकी अनेक पुस्तकें गुरुकुल से ही प्रकाशित हुई हैं। इसी तरह पं० श्रीपाद दामोदर जी सातवलेकर का गुरुकुल से घनिष्ठ सम्बन्ध है और उनकी बहुत सी पुस्तकें गुरुकुल से ही प्रकाशित हुई हैं।

गुरुकुल के स्नातकों ने हिन्दी साहित्य की उन्नति के लिये बहुत कार्य किया है। प्रत्येक चार स्नातकों में से एक ग्रन्थ लेखक है। बहुत से लेखकों के ग्रन्थ अभी मुद्रित व प्रकाशित न हुवे हैं। यदि अप्रकाशित ग्रन्थों को भी ध्यान में रखा जावे, तो प्रत्येक तीन स्नातकों में से एक ग्रन्थकार है। हम कुछ स्नातकों द्वारा लिखी प्रसिद्ध पुस्तकों की सूचि यहां पर देना पर्याप्त समझते हैं—

पं० इन्द्र जी विद्यावाचस्पति—

१ नैपोलियन बोनापार्ट
२. प्रिंस बिस्मार्क
३ महावीर गैरीबाल्डी
४. स्वर्ण देश का उद्धार (नाटक)
५ आर्यसमाज का इतिहास

प्रो. डा० प्राणनाथ जी विद्यालंकार

१. राजनीति शास्त्र
२. राष्ट्रीय आय व्यय शास्त्र
३. शासन पद्धति
४. इङ्गलैण्ड का इतिहास (दो भाग)
५. भारतीय अर्थशास्त्र
६. कौटिल्य अर्थशास्त्र

प्रो० विश्वनाथ जी विद्यालङ्कार

१. वैदिक जीवन
२. अथर्ववेद का स्वाध्याय
३ यज्ञों में पशुहिंसा

**प्रो० चन्द्रमणि विद्यालङ्कार**
१. वेदार्थदीपक निरुक्त भाष्य ( दो भाग )
२. वेदार्थ करने की विधि
३. महर्षि पतञ्जलि और तत्कालीन भारत
४. वैदिक स्वराज्य
५. जिनचरित

**पं० नन्दकिशोर जी विद्यालङ्कार**
१. पुनर्जन्म
२. वैदिक विवाह का आदर्श

**प्रो० जयचन्द्र विद्यालङ्कार**
१. जातीय शिक्षा
२. भारतीय इतिहास का भौगोलिक आधार
३ मण्डलीक काव्य

**पं० जयदेव विद्यालङ्कार**
१. चिकित्साकालिका ( अनुदित )
२. भैषज्यरत्नावली ( टीका )
३. चक्रदत्त

**पं० आत्मदेव विद्यालङ्कार**
१. स्वस्थवृत्त

**पं० जयदेव शर्मा विद्यालङ्कार**
१. पुराणमत पर्यालोचन
२. धनुर्वेद

**प्रो० सत्यव्रत सिद्धान्तालंकार**
I How to Learn Hindi
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साहित्य सुधा संग्रह ( चार भाग )

**पं० विद्याधर विद्यालङ्कार**
पवित्र पापी

**पं० अत्रिदेव विद्यालङ्कार**
प्याटावैद्यक

**पं० महामुनि विद्यालङ्कार**
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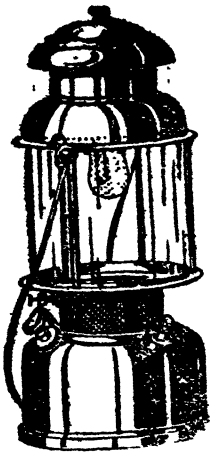
**पं० वंशीधर जी विद्यालंकार**
'मेरे फूल'

इनके सिवाय भी बहुत से स्नातकों द्वारा लिखे हुवे ग्रन्थ हैं, जो प्रकाशित हो चुके हैं। बहुत से ग्रन्थ मुद्रित हो रहे हैं, बहुत से अभी लिखे ही पड़े हैं। इस विवरण से स्नातकों द्वारा किये हुवे साहित्यिक कार्य का कुछ अनुमान लगाया जा सकता है।

स्नातकों ने बहुत से पत्रों का सम्पादन भी किया है। दैनिक विजय, दैनिक अर्जुन, प्रणवीर, सत्यवादी, मारवाड़ी, राजस्थान केसरी, प्रभात, आर्य, आर्यकुमार, आदित्य, सद्धर्म प्रचारक, दयानन्द प्रकाश, आर्यपत्र, आर्यजीवन आदि पत्रों का सम्पादन स्नातकों द्वारा होता रहा है। अन्य भी अनेक पत्रों का सम्पादन स्नातकों द्वारा होता रहा है। अन्य भी अनेक पत्रों के सम्पादकीय विभाग में स्नातक कार्य कर रहे हैं।

# रोशनी

## का

## भण्डार

हैसेग लैन्टर्न जर्मनी की बनी हुई

अपने समाज, सभा, सोसायटी, क्लब, व्यायाम-शाला तथा गृह को, अमरीका की बनी हुई निहायत उम्दा तथा मशहूर स्टौर्म किंग लैन्टर्न से सुशोभित कीजिए। यह लैन्टर्न अपनी चकाचौंध रोशनी के द्वारा रात को दिन कर देती है। उत्सवों की शोभा इस लैन्टर्न से दुगनी हो जाती। विवाह तथा त्यौहार आदि की खुशी के अवसर पर यह लालटेन घर की शोभा देने वाली उत्तम वस्तु है। इस लैन्टर्न से धुआँ नहीं होता। आँधी तूफ़ान तथा वर्षा में यह बुझ नहीं सकती।

इस में केरोसीन आयल या पैट्रौल इस्तेमाल किया जाता है।

( १ ) एक मेन्टल वाली ३५० कैण्डल पावर की स्टोर्म किंग लैन्टर्न की कीमत ३०)

( २ ) दो मैन्टल वाली ४८० कैण्डल पावर की स्टोर्म किंग लैन्टर्न की कीमत ३५)

( ३ ) एक मैन्टनल वाली ३०० कैण्डल पावर की हैसेग लैन्टर्न जर्मनी की बनी हुई की० २५)

इन लालटैनों का वजन लगभग दो सेर, ऊँचाई १२ इंच, तथा चिमनी अबरक की होती है। डाक द्वारा मंगाने से एक लालटैन पर पोस्टेज खर्च अलग।

**मैन्टलः——**

एक मैन्टल वाली लैन्टर्न के लिए मैन्टल ३॥।) फ़ी दर्ज़न, दो मैन्टल वाली लैन्टर्न के लिये मैन्टल कीमत ३) फ़ी दर्ज़न प्राइमस स्टोव नं० १०० कीमत ९) डाक व्यय पृथक्

**मिलने का पता— रविवर्मा स्टील वर्कस अम्बाला छावनी**

was saved by the indecision of the allies, who pottered round fortresses when they should have made a combined march on Paris. Prussia preferred to conquer Poland with troops that might have been conquering France. And so, while Robespierre primly presided over the grotesque and bloody pageant of the Terror, Carnot, called to office as War Minister by the Terrorists who loved him not but needed him, had time to construct the modern French Army. He is known to his grateful countrymen as 'the organiser of victory.' 'The Terror,' says the great French historian Sorel, 'contributed nothing to his victories.'

Carnot's problem was to substitute for the old army based on the caste divisions of the *ancien régime*, an army based on the equalitarian enthusiasm of the Revolution and the 'career open to talents.' Carnot's army was the rough sketch of the army of Napoleon, the army of Joffre and of Foch. He could not indeed, in the confused days of the Terror, do more than construct a very imperfect machine just able to conquer the inert Austrian and British forces opposed to it. Its defect was want of drill, discipline and science. Its merits were, first the energy of its new officers, inexperienced in war, but drawn from the best blood of the bourgeois and professional classes; before the Revolution they had been unable to obtain military commissions, but a marvellous career was now opening to them. Secondly, the numbers and zeal of the peasant soldiers, sworn to defend their new-won rights against the hated *émigrés*; they flocked to volunteer, or willingly submitted themselves to the Jacobin conscription. Of all the armies of Europe, the French alone embodied the national spirit, in spite of the horrible character of the Terrorist government and the blood feuds with which the body politic was torn.[1]

The French army, a zealous mob, officered by able civilians, could not be led to battle in the difficult formation of the long close-order line, in which the well-drilled professionals of the wars of Marlborough and Frederick the Great had manœuvred. A new formation was improvised to suit raw material. The line was abandoned for the massed column, with the best men in the van and on the flanks, and the less trustworthy in the centre to make the weight of impact. The path of the column was

[1] In 1793 the brief occupation of Toulon by the British fleet in league with French Royalists and Moderates only served to identify the Jacobin cause with that of the nation, and to elicit the genius of Bonaparte, the young captain of artillery

prepared for it by the fire of batteries brought boldly to the front, and by a thick cloud of skirmishers (*francs-tireurs*), consisting of the most energetic officers and men, who occupied any farm or point of strategic vantage, shot down the enemy's gunners and disordered his ranks. Last of all, the head of the column would appear through the smoke, the officers running in front with their cocked hats raised on their swords, officers and men together howling the Marseillaise like so many demons. At that psychological moment the 'myrmidons of the Princes,' instead of coolly concentrating the fire of their long line on the head of the column, generally turned and ran away. That was how France conquered Europe.

The revival of the column, recalling the infantry formation of the seventeenth century, was technically retrograde, but it gained such prestige from the French victories that it soon supplanted the better formation of the line in all armies save the British. Our soldiers, who practically disappeared from the battlefields of Europe between 1795 and 1806, clung to the line tactics and the severe drill necessary for their successful employment, and so it came about that when we returned to the front at Maida and the Peninsula, the concentrated volley-firing of the 'thin red line' swept away the heads of the French columns.

But in 1793-4 the British line failed to establish its supremacy over its massed opponents, mainly from lack of leadership The corruption and inefficiency which we have, in a previous chapter, noticed in all the official and institutional life of eighteenth-century England, were not wanting in the army, any more than in Parliament or the Municipalities, the Universities or the Church. Commands, high and low, went by favour and purchase, not by merit. True professional spirit and science were at their lowest ebb. In the Duke of York's army in Flanders, Colonel Wesley, a young man of twenty-five—afterwards better known as Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington—saw with disgust his brother officers 'when wine was on the table, fling aside despatches which arrived, to await such attention as they might be in a condition to give when they had finished the bottles.'[1]

[1] General Sir Robert Wilson in his Autobiography records that in this Flemish campaign cruel punishments for drunkenness were often ordered by officers who themselves had been guilty with impunity of the same offence, and had not even recovered from its effects 'The halberds were regularly erected along the lines every morning,' for floggings, 'and the

A pair of monuments within a few hundred yards of each other at the very heart of the Empire, the Nelson and Duke of York columns, commemorate the greatness of our naval triumph and of our military failure under Pitt. Nelson up aloft keeps his watch for the enemy's fleet, over the roofs of the city whose prosperity he prolonged into new centuries, and whose influence he caused to extend over the uttermost parts of the earth. No fame more noble is anywhere in the world more fittingly symbolised. 'There is but one Nelson.' Yet, as his rival apparently, there stands on a neighbouring pillar the man whom the Jacobin armies drove headlong out of Flanders and Holland. No doubt the Duke of York got his tall monument because he was George III's son. What he really deserves is a bust in some gallery of the War Office because, when he was made Commander-in-Chief after his fiasco in the Netherlands, he helped Sir Ralph Abercromby, Sir John Moore and others to reorganise a little, and to improve a good deal, the army which he had led to defeat, and which Nelson's true rival was ere long to lead to victory.

1795-1809

In the summer of 1795, after our armies had been expelled from the Netherlands, a tragic mischance further dimmed our prestige in Europe. The British fleet landed several thousand Frenchmen, many of them *émigrés* of noble family, on the Peninsula of Quiberon, with a view to encouraging a rebellion of Breton 'Chouans' against the Republic. The invaders were captured in sight of our ships, and 690 *émigrés* were subsequently massacred by order of the Paris authorities, the fall of Robespierre in 'Thermidor' the year before had been only the first step towards freeing France from methods of 'terror.'

Far the largest of our military operations in the war against the Republic was conducted in the West Indies. Although there were hardly any French troops in the islands, we lost in three years in that pestilential climate some 80,000 men, one-half dead and the rest unfitted for further service. A smaller loss spread over twice as many years, afterwards sufficed us to wrench Spain and Portugal from the grasp of Napoleon.

1793-6

The historian of the British Army who first brought to light the magnitude of this forgotten tragedy, has severely

shrieks of the sufferers made a pandemonium from which the foreigner fled with terror and astonishment at the severity of our military rule' In this particular form of cruelty our army held the bad eminence in Europe.

blamed Pitt for the waste.[1] And certainly the best chance of obtaining an early conclusion of the war would have been to launch on Paris the troops we spent in the West Indies. But even this might have failed, and the loss of the West Indies would in those days have been a fearful blow to our trade, and would have afforded the enemy bases for privateers to prey upon our commerce on the grand scale.

Pitt, for his part, never regarded England as a principal in the war on the Continent. He looked to our allies to carry on the invasion of France. He had taken for his model, not Marlborough, but his own father, Chatham, who had effectually succoured Frederick the Great with much money and a very few troops, while the British fleets and armies had harvested the French colonies in America. Indeed, they had left Chatham's son nothing but the gleanings. To our eyes, the West Indian islands for which he fought, compare poorly to the Canada that his father won. But in 1793 imperial values were different from what they are now, and the sugar and coffee islands were then of the first order of commercial importance. Pitt, in proposing the income-tax of 1798, calculated that, of the incomes enjoyed in Great Britain, those derived from the West Indies very much surpassed those derived from Ireland and from all the rest of the world outside the British Isles.

In the first two years of the war, before Spain and Holland by joining France made their colonies targets for our attack, there was nothing but the French West Indies for Pitt to take by way of war indemnity to the taxpayer. He was often thinking about that, while Burke was always thinking of putting down the French Revolution.

But, apart from all thought of gain, Pitt's attention was called to the West Indies by humanity and by the need of defending our existing interests. A social rising of negro slaves in the French islands had been stirred up by the French Revolutionists' proclamation of freedom and race equality. The French planters repudiated their allegiance to the negro-phil Republic at home, and applied to Great Britain to protect them from extirpation. The huge island of Haiti or San Domingo, part French, part Spanish, till then the wealthiest of the West Indian group, became the scene of unsurpassable horrors.

[1] 'They' [the British Ministers] 'poured their troops into these pestilent islands, in the expectation that thereby they would destroy the power of France, only to discover, when it was too late, that they had practically destroyed the British army'—FORTESCUE, iv 385.

Thence the revolt of the slaves spread to the other islands, French and English alike, not excluding Jamaica The blacks, stirred up by the agents of the French Republic, threatened the whole white race in the Archipelago. It was not a situation that Pitt could have left entirely alone. We were indeed being punished for Parliament's refusal to stop the slave-trade and mitigate the lot of the slaves in the British West Indies. If Wilberforce's advice had been taken earlier, the blacks would have been loyal to us instead of to the Jacobins. But whatever the cause of the fire, we had to put it out.

Want of medical provision and ignorance of tropical conditions caused our soldiers to die of fever by thousands, and when at last we were on the way to get the better of the situation, Spain in 1796 declared war against us and put her interest in San Domingo and other islands at the disposition of France. After many years, it all ended in the annexation by Britain of a few smaller French and Spanish islands, and the quelling of the servile revolt everywhere except in the largest area of dispute, Haiti, which remains a 'Black Republic' to this day.

Period II. *Some aspects of the War during the Interval between the two Coalitions*, 1796–8 (see p. 83).

The governing condition of this period of the war is the desertion of Great Britain by her allies. Prussia, intent on Poland, slunk first out of the Western struggle which she had been the first to provoke. Then Spain made peace, and next year warlike alliance with France, in accordance with the fears and whims of Godoy, originally a handsome young gentleman serving in the ranks of the Royal Guards, who had become the Queen's paramour, and, therefore, the King's Minister. The Queen and he had at first adopted a policy of clericalism and reaction at home, coupled with war against the French Republic. But when the war with France proved unsuccessful and ere long became unpopular, they were not ashamed to change sides completely, and become allies of the infidel and revolutionary power. Such were the irresponsible creatures supplied by the *ancien régime* to rule States, and to defend them against the young vigour of the French Republic. Last of all, Austria, driven out of Italy and threatened through the passes of the Eastern Alps by Bonaparte, bought for herself peace and the territories of the murdered Venetian Republic, at the price of consent to the Rhine frontier for France. Meanwhile,

1795

1796

1797

the Swiss and the Dutch were in the French grip, not wholly against their own will, and not without some ultimate benefit to their own antiquated institutions.

In 1793 it had been France alone against Europe; in 1797 it was England.

How much was Pitt responsible for this diplomatic catastrophe? Its underlying cause was the moral collapse of the *ancien régime* all over the Continent, when brought into contact with the new France. But, when all is said, it argued diplomatic failure on the part of Britain's statesmen in relation to their allies. We had poured out gold like water for them in subsidies, with this result! Pitt's Foreign Minister was Lord Grenville, a man of unselfish patriotism, but without imagination, and devoid of sympathy with anyone outside the governing class of his own country. To foreigners, his manners and the style of his correspondence seemed repellent, and his ignorance of their affairs extreme. Indeed, neither Grenville nor Pitt had the qualities of a William III or a Marlborough, requisite to hold together a mob of decadent princes and selfish Courts, easily scared by the first shadow of defeat.

And so, when our armies had failed and our allies had deserted, we came to the crisis of sea-power. What was it to be worth to us, with Western Europe united for our destruction under efficient leadership, and the rest of the world looking on as neutral? The limits of sea-power had been demonstrated in 1796, when Bonaparte had successfully invaded Italy from a base of supplies running along the Genoese Riviera under the guns of Nelson's ships.[1] Next year, as a result of the entry of Spain into the war against us, the Government decided to withdraw our fleet from the Mediterranean, which for nearly a year and a half remained a 'French lake.'

Jan 1797–May 1798

During this nadir of our fortunes and reputation, occurred the naval mutinies at Spithead and the Nore. Spithead was a 'strike' of loyal men, who had no other means of getting their grievances redressed. It was successful, and it probably saved England from having to pay, at a later date, a higher price for her shameful neglect of the men on whom her safety depended. The mutiny at the Nore, on the other hand, which broke out after these concessions had been promised, was deeply resented

April–June 1797

[1] It was the first time these two great men were in contact. Bonaparte erected a line of forts along the Riviera, which successfully defended his communications. Of course, most of our fleet in those parts had to attend to the French fleet in Toulon.

by all loyal sailors and citizens. Such ill-conduct never recurred in the navy, after the reforms secured at Spithead had been put in force. The mutinies were a remarkable introduction to the heroic age of British seamanship. But officers and men, country and navy, having gone through it, understood each other better. Although there was thenceforth a marked improvement in the conditions of naval service, the treatment of the sailors remained throughout the war a disgrace to the humanity and to the gratitude of English public men.

While the mutinies were going on, Duncan, with two loyal ships, kept the Dutch fleet in the Texel by a brilliant piece of bluff. When discipline had been restored, he captured nine out of the sixteen Dutchmen at Camperdown. Oct. 1797

Pitt's courage never faltered throughout these terrible months, with the Mediterranean lost, Europe lost, and Ireland certain to be lost too, if a French army of any size could land on its shores.[1] He honestly tried to get peace with France in the negotiations of Lille, but when the war party, by the *coup d'état* of Fructidor, launched France decisively on the policy of endless war abroad, in order to maintain the despotism of an odious faction at home, he resolutely shouldered the burden he could no longer hope to lay down. His management of naval affairs is not open to the criticisms levelled at his military and diplomatic performance. He chose as head of the Admiralty, Lord Spencer, who had come over to him with the Portland Whigs, and was as good for the Navy as Dundas, the Secretary of State for War, was bad for the Army. To Pitt and Spencer belongs the credit, shared with Nelson's professional chief, Admiral Jervis (Lord St. Vincent), of choosing out one of the youngest flag-officers on the list, for the epoch-making service of reconquering the Mediterranean Sea. Sept. 1797

The decision to fly the flag there again, in the face of material odds, was peculiarly Pitt's own. Spencer and Lord St. Vincent both had their doubts, and no wonder. The Spanish fleet, though scotched at St Vincent, was still in being; the French fleet was in Toulon; and the ports of France, Spain and most of Italy were closed against us. It was a bold stake, but desperate situations require hazardous remedies, as Marlborough knew when he marched on the Danube. That such a campaign was decreed and that Nelson was put in charge of it, shows that in the crisis of our fate naval affairs were in strong hands.

[1] See next chapter.

When Nelson re-entered the Mediterranean in May 1798, Bonaparte was on the point of crossing the 'French Lake' to found a French Empire in the Levant and to dominate the East. He sailed for Egypt. Nelson, ignorant of his destination, hunted for him on the face of the hazy deep and missed him by a chance. He landed and conquered Lower Egypt. But his fleet was destroyed at the mouth of the Nile by that perfection of moral, intellectual and professional qualities which we call the 'Nelson touch,' a thing new in naval war. Bonaparte, locked up in Egypt, was discredited. For want of sea communications, his attempt to conquer Turkey from Egypt failed, before no more serious opposition than Captain Sir Sidney Smith with a few British sailors and Turks on the top of the breach at Acre. The Princes of Europe who had been spell-bound by the fascination of French success, dared to move again The immediate consequence of the battle of the Nile was the Second Coalition, which, after a brief career of glory, soon went the way of the First, for it was made of the same stuff. The more lasting consequences of the Nile were British domination of the islands and waters of the Mediterranean and renewed influence along its shores, and in the world as a whole, a superiority both material and moral over the enemy fleets which enabled us to survive the Napoleonic system in Europe, and to enjoy afterwards a hundred years of safety.

Aug 1798

Period III *Some aspects of the War of the Second Coalition*, 1799–1800 (see pp. 83–84, above).

The war had now fully acquired the character which it retained until 1812, of a series of spasmodic and ill-co-ordinated efforts to prevent the domination and exploitation of the European world by France. Ever since 1794, France could have had peace and safety if she had been content to remain within her own borders, but the temptation to embark upon wars of conquest was too strong. All along her eastern frontier, from the Netherlands to Italy, lay a series of small and un-warlike States, inhabited by populations discontented with their own political and social institutions, and looking towards France of the Revolution with fear and hope mingled in about equal proportions. The strong military States, less influenced by the revolutionary philosophers, lay far away in the East, and even they were incapable of sustained effort to protect conservative interests in the West. In the Second Coalition, Russia, after

a brilliant beginning, showed herself as unreliable as Prussia in the First. England alone being in the true sense a nation, could alone be relied on.

Nor had even England the smallest intention of sending great armies to the Continent, or incurring any serious drain on her man-power. Her island position made it easy for her to keep out of the Continent for years together,[1] and yet remain in a state of war, perpetually offering alliance and money to any power who would try another fall with France. These conditions prolonged the struggle for twenty years, until the insatiable ambition of France had raised up 'nations' in Germany, Spain and Russia, to suppress, not indeed the French Revolution, but the French war-party.

The French system of conquest was predatory and selfish in intention, but in effect it was often progressive and beneficent. The Governments between Robespierre and Napoleon refused to make peace, because they dared not disband their soldiers and face bankruptcy and unpopularity at home. They maintained the armies at free quarters on foreign soil, and levied systematic contributions on the wealthier classes of the conquered lands, in order to keep alive from month to month the sick finance of France, which Pitt perpetually expected to see expire. Such considerations largely dictated the foreign policy of the French Government in relation to Holland, the Rhine country and, above all, Italy.

1795–1800

But there was another aspect to this system of predatory warfare on the part of the French. In the countries which they entered in order to rob, they presented themselves as enemies of the *ancien régime*, appealing to the forces of progress. They destroyed feudalism and clerical privilege and summoned the professional and middle class to take its proper share in the leadership of the community. Bonaparte, himself of Italian origin, formed Italian Republics, contrary to the original design of the French home authorities, who had intended to plunder Italy and barter her back to Austria in return for the Rhine frontier. Their masterful new servant developed a policy of his own, of which the effect was to evoke the spirit of the *risorgimento*, at once Liberal and Nationalist, which in two generations placed a united Italy among the free nations.

[1] Between 1795 and 1806 (Maida), the only British military expeditions in Continental Europe were an unsuccessful landing under the Duke of York in Holland in 1799, and a landing in North Germany in 1805 that did nothing at all, as Prussia refused to co-operate.

In the course of these first political experiments of his in Italy, Bonaparte noticed that the common people were strongly averse to anything approaching that persecution of the priesthood which had become part of the stock-in-trade of the Revolution. He saw that the State could shake itself free of clericalism without therefore oppressing the Catholic cult. On this and other points he conceived, from the lessons of his Italian experience, the idea of reconciling the great reforms of the Revolution with the permanent elements of the old life. This reconciliation was to prove the firmest basis of his future rule in France and in Europe.

The political aspect of French conquest condemned England, in her defence of Europe, to fight as the champion of the *ancien régime*, contrary to her main line of policy in the following century, and contrary even to her old position as the great anti-Papal power. The Pope and the leaders of the Catholic reaction became the clients abroad of the Protestant Toryism that would not allow Catholics to sit in the British Parliament. When Bonaparte was away in Egypt, the Russian general Suwarow's victories restored the *ancien régime* in Italy for a year, while Nelson, at Naples, under Lady Hamilton's influence, made England the abettor of some of the worst acts of those barbarous reactionary forces of which, in the days of Palmerston and Gladstone, she became the powerful enemy.

June 1799

The Terror, under Robespierre, had killed off many of the most promising leaders of the French Republic, and had frightened generous youth from politics to the less dangerous trade of war. The domestic government of the Directorate was the incapable tyranny of a faction which offered its subjects no compensations, material or moral, for their servitude. Now that it had lost Italy, Frenchmen began to look out for a more attractive and able despotism.

In the autumn of 1799, Bonaparte, leaving his army marooned in Egypt, stole back to France. She had learnt in his absence how much she had need of him. At the final revolutionary *journée* of Brumaire, the 'foggy month' of the Republican Calendar, itself now dated,[1] the Directorate fell at his touch like over-ripe fruit. He became nominally First Consul, really perpetual dictator, acclaimed by the great majority of Frenchmen who now only desired to be protected in the

Nov. 1799

[1] At the end of 1805, the Emperor Napoleon restored the Gregorian Calendar.

quiet enjoyment of what the Revolution had won for them. They asked for order, security and sound administration. For this they had applied to the right man, and as they felt his master hand, they gave themselves to him in an ecstasy of self-surrender.

> 'To weld the nation in a name of dread,
> And scatter carrion flies off wounds unhealed,
> The Necessitated came'

Italy was reconquered in a few weeks and the prestige of the new government established by the First Consul's sensational passage of the Alps over the Great St. Bernard, and the brief campaign of Marengo The Italian triumph, being followed by Moreau's victory of Hohenlinden in the snowy Bavarian forest, again drove Austria out of the war at the Treaty of Lunéville. Russia had already fallen off. The Second Coalition had collapsed. Western Europe was acknowledged as French, and Britain stood alone once more.

May-June 1800

Dec 1800

Feb. 1801

But for some years to come, peace had for Bonaparte victories yet more renowned than war. During the five years between Hohenlinden and Austerlitz, France carried out no military operations of the first order. But in those years she received from her master new institutions, to replace those of the *ancien régime* which the Revolution had destroyed, but for which the Jacobins and the Directorate had found no better substitute than the lawless vigour of self-appointed Committees. The Revolution now crystallised into law and order. French life is based to-day on the highly centralised Napoleonic system of local administration, of education, and of justice, and on the laws of his great Code. Even the Napoleonic settlement of Church and State survived until the twentieth century. Governments and parties might change in the nineteenth century—Bourbons, Orleanists, Second Empires, Republics, might come or go—but they all moved and had their being inside the framework of French life that the First Consul shaped, securing in a permanent and solid form the social benefits of the Revolution.

Bonaparte and the able Civil Service that he chose and inspired, worked in those five years more creatively perhaps than any set of administrators had ever worked before. They set up the machinery of the first modern State. On the example of France, the centralised States of modern Europe, particularly

the German, were afterwards modelled. Even England, with her freer life, at once more local and more personal, has been influenced by that first great engine of State efficiency.

Bonaparte seemed only to be giving France what she craved. But in his own thought he was preparing her to be his weapon of conquest. When he took her in hand, she was already the one self-conscious 'nation' on the Continent. He gave her the only modern administration in the world. Thus doubly formidable, how could she fail, under the leadership of a genius as great as Cæsar's, to conquer the antiquated incompetence of Europe? How indeed, until Europe caught from her something of her new spirit and borrowed from her something of her new machinery? Till then, England would have to hold out as best she could. But England also was strong for self-defence in the monopoly of two new things—a fleet like Nelson's and the Industrial system.

Period IV. *Some aspects of the Armed Neutrality, Dec.* 1800–*April* 1801 (see p. 84, above).

When, owing to the Irish affair, Addington replaced Pitt in February 1801, the prospect was dark indeed. Bonaparte, with Western Europe united under him, with Austria retired from the contest, had drawn the powers of the North-East into a combination against England. Russia headed Denmark, Sweden and Prussia in a League of 'Armed Neutrality.'

The Armed Neutrality was a revival of its predecessor of twenty years before. Its main object was to contest, by arms if necessary, the right of British ships to search neutrals for contraband. But there were further motives underlying the new combination. The half-crazy Czar Paul was drawn into the scheme by his admiration for Bonaparte, his fury against his late allies, his excited visions of Muscovite armies invading India and striking down the power of England; Prussia by her designs on Hanover; Denmark by her fear of Russia, everyone by a fascinated dread of France and her young master.

The strangling of the Czar Paul by the officers of his barbarian army, tired of holding their lives and properties at the mercy of a madman, might possibly have dissolved the League for a time, even without Nelson's help. But the destruction of the Danish fleet at Copenhagen, before the news of the outlandish murder had reached Denmark, produced a moral effect more profound and lasting than the death of any Czar.

March 24, 1801

April 2, 1801

Technically and humanly, Copenhagen was the finest of Nelson's campaigns. On this occasion he had many unusual difficulties to overcome: the stubborn resistance of a northern and a seafaring race; an enemy fleet fed throughout the action from the capital, and aided by the guns of its forts; shoals which entrapped three of the attacking ships, and would have ensured disaster if retreat had been attempted. And all through he had to deal with Sir Hyde Parker as his Commanding Officer, sulky and secretive when the campaign opened, and always timid, except when under the direct personal magnetism of his famous subordinate. Over all these dangers Nelson triumphed by professional science and instinct, by courage that accepted great risks open-eyed, by temper and wisdom both in personal dealings with Parker and in diplomatic dealings with the Danes after the battle was won.

If Nelson had been in supreme command, he would have masked Copenhagen instead of attacking it, and would have gone straight up the Baltic to Reval to destroy the Russian ships there, and so strike at the political mainspring of the League. On the other hand, Parker, if left to himself, would have remained in the Kattegat and would never have entered the Baltic at all, in face of the fleets of Denmark, Russia and Sweden. The decision to attack Copenhagen was a compromise between the two men, though Nelson planned and executed every detail. If the Czar Paul had lived, the overruling of Nelson by Parker in the matter of Reval might have cost England dear.

When Nelson was dragging Parker into the Baltic 'to face the odds and brave the fates,' he wrote to him on March 24th:

'Here you are, with almost the safety, certainly with the honour of England more entrusted to you than ever yet fell to the lot of any British Officer. On your decision depends whether our country shall be degraded in the eyes of Europe, or whether she shall rear her head higher than ever.'

Early that morning, all unknown to the two Admirals, the Czar Paul had been murdered, and thereby perhaps the immediate safety of England had been secured. But Nelson's words remained true. It was owing not to the death of Paul, but to Nelson's spirit and to Nelson's action that, at the cost of nearly a thousand seamen killed and wounded, England 'reared her head higher than ever.' It was because England now 'reared her head high' at sea, that she was able to survive

the accumulated perils of the Napoleonic period. Copenhagen, indeed, together with the Nile and Trafalgar, gave a triple sanction to the international creed of British naval invincibility, which carried us through the nineteenth century with security unchallenged. When, in our own day, England was again in danger, these memories, sunk deep into the world's consciousness, did much to paralyse German naval initiative, and to foster, against the newer German *réclame*, the old belief that our hold on the sea could never be loosened. Nelson's victories have proved, both in space and in time, more far-reaching than those of Napoleon himself.[1]

Nearly a year passed after Copenhagen before Addington was able to bring to an end the negotiations for the highly unsatisfactory Treaty of Amiens, in which the First Consul scored most of the points. The only important event of that last year of war was the reduction of Bonaparte's old army, marooned in Egypt. The spirited operations on the shore near Alexandria cost us the fine old soldier, Sir Ralph Abercromby, killed in the hour of victory. The conduct of the British troops and their terrible volley-firing surprised the French. Such was the outcome of recent reforms and of a spirit in the Army that had not been noticeable in Flanders or the West Indies. Abercromby's last order, as he was being carried dying off the field,

1802

1801

[1] The following is the first-hand evidence for the most famous of all Nelson stories It is from the narrative of General Stewart, on board Nelson's flagship, the *Elephant*, at Copenhagen

'When the signal No 39 was made [by Sir Hyde Parker] the Signal Lieutenant reported it to Lord Nelson He continued his walk and did not appear to take notice of it The lieutenant meeting his lordship at the next turn asked " whether he should repeat it " ? Lord Nelson answered " No, acknowledge it ! " [viz acknowledge it to Parker To " repeat " it would be to hand it on as an order to the ships under Nelson's command] On the officer returning to the poop, his lordship called after him : " Is No 16 [for Close Action] still hoisted ? " The lieutenant answering in the affirmative, Lord Nelson said · " Mind you keep it so " He now walked the deck considerably agitated, which was always known by his moving the stump of his right arm After a turn or two, he said to me, in a quick manner · " Do you know what's shown on board the Commander-in-Chief ? No. 39 ! " On asking him what that meant, he answered " Why, to leave off action ! " " Leave off action ! " he repeated, and then added, with a shrug, " Now damn me if I do ! " He also observed, I believe to Captain Foley, " You know, Foley, I have only one eye—I have a right to be blind sometimes " And then, with an archness peculiar to his character, putting the glass to his blind eye, he exclaimed " I really do not see the signal "

'This remarkable signal was, therefore, only acknowledged on board the *Elephant*, not repeated '

breathed that new spirit and is worthy to be remembered with Sir Philip Sidney's refusal of the cup of water: 'What is it you are placing under my head?' he asked. 'Only a soldier's blanket,' was the reply. 'Only a soldier's blanket! A soldier's blanket is of great consequence; you must send me the name of the soldier, that it may be returned to him.'

Having seen the French out of Egypt we had no wish to stay there ourselves. We had already one Eastern Empire in India, and the route to it in those days lay, not by the Suez Canal still undug, but by six months' sail round the Cape of Good Hope. The Cape, though given back to Holland at the Treaty of Amiens, was taken again for good in 1806, largely to secure the route to India from the attacks of France and her vassals.[1]

## CHAPTER VI

Ireland, 1782–1800—Grattan—The United Irishmen—The 'ninety-eight'—The Union—End of Pitt's long Ministry—India under Cornwallis and Wellesley

THROUGHOUT the war with the French Republic, England had been hampered by her 'broken arm.'

Few countries of the *ancien régime* had been more actively misgoverned than Ireland. In the seventeenth century the natural leaders of the Catholic Celts had been destroyed as a class, and their lands given to a garrison of alien landlords. The priests had stepped into the vacant place prepared for them by Protestant statesmanship, as leaders of the oppressed and friendless peasantry. In the latter half of the eighteenth century, the fiercer parts of the Penal Laws against Catholics, unsuited to the spirit of a latitudinarian age, became obsolete and were repealed. But Protestant ascendancy remained unimpaired. The gates of political power were still closed on the Catholic, and the peasant tilled the soil to pay tithes to an alien Church, and rent to an alien squirearchy.

In such circumstances, it might have been expected that

[1] It is an interesting fact that 2000 Indian sepoys were sent to Egypt to help Abercromby to fight the French there They arrived just too late for the battle of Alexandria This occurred seventy seven years before the immense excitement caused by Lord Beaconsfield bringing 7000 Indian troops as far as Malta, for a possible Russian war

the Churches of the Protestant Minority would have been closely united at heart with each other and with Great Britain. But such was not the case. The Presbyterians, the strongest body in Protestant Ulster, were, until 1780, excluded by the Test Act from political power and from all the privileges of the governing oligarchy. Meanwhile the whole body of the inhabitants of Ireland were treated as economic helots by the British Parliament. Irish industries, mainly Protestant, were crushed out by laws dictated by English commercial jealousy. Many thousands of Ulster Protestants had sought refuge in North America, and found there revenge on the country that had so ill repaid their services.

The Saxon re-conquest under William III broke the spirit of the native Irish for three generations During the Marlborough wars and the British rebellions of 1715 and 1745, the enemies of England could make nothing out of Ireland's apathetic despair. Only in the last quarter of the century did she begin to feel 'fire in her ashes.'

The national revolt originated among Protestants. It was they who first called on Irishmen, irrespective of creed, to unite against English commercial tyranny and against the political and religious despotism of the clique in Dublin Castle who ruled in the name of England. This movement, though popular among the fierce Presbyterians of the North, found its leader in the temperate and enlightened genius of Grattan If liberal statesmanship from Westminster had met him half-way, the Irish problem might have been started on the road to solution before the Catholics had become disloyal, before the Orange Lodges had been founded and before the fires of fanaticism had been kindled on both sides. Irish history from 1782 to 1801 is the history of England's first failure to know her appointed hour.

1778–1782 During the war of the American Revolution, 'England's difficulty had been Ireland's opportunity.' The defence of Ireland against France had been undertaken by an army of Volunteers, at first entirely Protestants, but enthusiastically supported by the Catholics. Under the leadership of Grattan, the Volunteers exacted from England the abolition of Ireland's commercial disabilities, and the nominal independence of her Parliament from English control. She thus secured free markets for her goods, but she did not in fact secure self-government. For the oligarchy in Dublin Castle, nominated from

Westminster, continued to govern the island and to manipulate the Dublin Parliament through its rotten boroughs. The patriots saw that only a Reform Bill could secure the independence even of Protestant Ireland. And the Catholic majority was still excluded from voting or sitting in the national Parliament.

Any time in the decade following 1782, a Reform Bill, Catholic Emancipation, and the payment of the Catholic priests by the Government would have diverted the whole history of Ireland into happier channels. The attitude of eighteenth-century latitudinarianism still prevailed.[1] The control exercised by the Catholic priest over the laity was comparatively lax and he had not yet taken to politics Politically, the two creeds were divided only by the fragile barrier of Catholic disabilities. The island was not yet cleft in two by Orangeism and Catholic disloyalty. The popular movement was towards Grattan's reconciliation of creeds and races in a common Irish patriotism. It was against this reconciliation that Dublin Castle plotted successfully, and Pitt, though he more nearly agreed with Grattan, allowed the plot to succeed. It proved impossible for the head of the Tory and Royalist party in England to carry out a policy of reform and emancipation in Ireland.

In 1793 a step was taken in the right direction, when the Irish Parliament repealed another batch of the Penal Laws and gave the electoral vote to the Catholics, who were still however prevented from sitting in Parliament. The concession was too small, and came too late, for the French Revolution was on the point of evoking fiercer passions and wilder hopes.

Yet the first effect of the heightening of passion by the events in France was not to set creed against creed. The 'United Irishmen,' as their name implied, sought to combine all creeds. The Republicanism of their first leaders was a blend of new American and French, with old Puritan ideals. Their hatred of England tended at least to Irish unity, which concessions in the spirit of Grattan might still have guided back into the paths of loyalty and peace.

At this stage, when all hung in the balance, occurred the decisive episode of Lord Fitzwilliam. That nobleman, one of the Portland Whigs who had recently rallied to Pitt's Government, held strongly Liberal views about Ireland. He was sent there as Viceroy without a clear previous understanding

Jan.–March 1795

[1] Wesley had not had much success with his mission in Ireland. But the Catholics had come in crowds to listen to him!

as to the policy he should pursue. If Pitt had been negligent, Fitzwilliam was rash. He began to clear out the 'Castle gang' from the Government posts which they monopolised, and expressed himself in favour of immediate Catholic Emancipation. This policy, however right it may have been, was not that of the home government. Fitzwilliam was recalled, and his recall was held by the Catholics and the United Irishmen to signify that the constitutional channel to reform was closed. Submission or rebellion were the alternatives offered.

For the next three years, the drift to rebellion was gradual, through anarchy and agrarian crime. And before rebellion came to a head, the breach between the two creeds had been reopened. In parts of Ulster, where Protestants and Catholics tilled their farms side by side, mutual outrages began, and in the absence of any controlling force, degenerated into a state of local warfare of a peculiarly horrible kind. It was now that the Orange Lodges were founded to combat the Catholic 'Defenders.' England could not send the troops to keep order —they were dying of fever in the West Indies—so Government was fain to employ as umpires the Protestant Yeomanry and Orangemen, who were parties to the quarrel. This shocking necessity favoured the policy of the 'Castle' and of those whose object it was to foster the religious strife, on the principle of *divide et impera*. The Viceroy, Lord Cornwallis, who held enlightened views, wrote in September 1798 'Religious animosities increase, and, I am sorry to say, are encouraged by the foolish violence of all the principal persons who have been in the habit of governing this island.'

Dec. 1796

The French greatly added to the trouble. Their fleet, carrying Hoche and 15,000 soldiers, appeared in Bantry Bay, but failed to land. If they had landed, there was no force sufficient to prevent their conquest of the island[1] It was the French promises, and the apparent likelihood of their fulfilment, that wedded the leaders of the United Irishmen, Wolfe Tone and Lord Edward Fitzgerald, to the fatal policy of waging a Republican war on the British Empire. They hoped by that means to unite the creeds, but in fact they divided them afresh by a blood-feud that revived the fast fading traditions of Cromwell and the Boyne.

[1] In Aug-Sept 1798, after the Rebellion had been put down, a small force of about a thousand French landed, routed an immensely superior force of militia at the 'Castlebar races,' and were at length reduced by forces ten times their number

The danger to the ungarrisoned island from French invasion rallied to Government all Protestants who were not serious in their hatred of the British connection. Fear of French conquest inspired the panic-stricken cruelties of the Protestant Yeomanry, to whom was entrusted the task of disarming the Catholic peasants. The search for arms was conducted by flogging, torture, murder and loot. Sir Ralph Abercromby, commanding the British forces in Ireland, officially denounced their cruelty and indiscipline. In this way the passively disloyal districts of the South were goaded into the Rebellion of 1798.

The 'ninety-eight' was a local religious rising led by priests. This character, and the murders and atrocities that stained it, rallied the last Presbyterian farmers from the cause of United Ireland to the 'Orange' tradition The sentimental feud that still divides Ireland had come into being as the result of these events, arousing from sleep old memories and instincts. The storming of the rebel camp at Vinegar Hill was the decisive action of the brief and irregular war. June 1798

The prostration that followed the 'ninety-eight' offered one last opportunity to peacemakers. Pitt now applied himself to the main problems of Ireland, which he had so long neglected. His great design was a Parliamentary union of the two islands, accompanied by Catholic Emancipation (that is, the admission of Catholics to sit in Parliament), the commutation of tithes and the payment of the Irish priests. It could scarcely have been a permanent solution of the Irish question, but it might have been the best way to repair provisionally the terrible mischief of the last half-dozen years. But what he actually accomplished, the destruction of the Irish Parliament without the smallest concession to the Catholics, left matters worse than before.

1800 The Union was carried, partly by buying the borough-owners of the Dublin Parliament, partly by securing the acquiescence of the Catholics with the promise of their emancipation to follow. It never occurred to Pitt to find out in advance whether he would be in a position to redeem this pledge which his agents were allowed to make. He never consulted George III beforehand, or seriously tried to overcome his resistance when he found, too late, that his master was violently opposed to Catholic Emancipation. Pitt salved his own conscience by resigning in favour of his anti-Catholic friend, Addington. But then, in a fit of generosity at other Feb. 1801

people's expense, he took the fatal step of promising the half-mad King that he would never move the Catholic question again so long as the King lived. The age of chivalry was not dead. George's wishes mattered more than the wishes of Ireland, and his health more than the health of the whole Empire.

The net result of these transactions was that the Catholic body in Ireland regarded themselves as the victims of a fraud. The position in which they were left by the Union was without hope, because the British Parliament and people were more obstinately opposed to Catholic Emancipation than the Irish had been. George III had taken what was, in England, the popular line. The Tories, in the generation after Pitt's death, found in 'No-Popery' the best antidote to their own increasing unpopularity, and a fine election cry against Whigs and Radicals. So the Union, instead of being the road to Emancipation, put it off till the Greek Calends. It might yet be extorted, but it would not be conceded.

Pitt had also designed another measure which, at that epoch, would have done as much as Catholic Emancipation itself to remove Irish disloyalty. He had intended to give a Government grant to the priests. The bishops in those days were ready to accept the arrangement, and it would have established a relation between the priesthood and the Government which might have gone far to alter the trend of Irish affairs. But Pitt abandoned this part also of his plan. The Irish Catholic world found itself once more as completely isolated as it had been in the middle of the eighteenth century. Presbyterian sympathy had curdled into Orange hatred. Government promises had been broken. Nothing more was to be hoped from Protestants or from Englishmen. At the Union the Catholics were barred out of the new Constitution to shift for themselves. These conditions nursed into active life that peculiar blend of Irish Catholicism and Irish democracy, profoundly antagonistic to England, which remained for the next hundred years the governing fact of Irish politics. Yet its two great leaders in the nineteenth century—O'Connell and Parnell—were both men of a certain moderation, prepared to come to terms with England inside the bounds of the British Empire. It was not until the German War of our own day engendered passions and policies as heated as those bred by the War of the French Revolution, that the militant Republicanism of Wolfe Tone and the United Irishmen was revived on an extensive scale.

While the First Consul, at the glowing furnace of his brain, was forging the framework of modern France, a few hundred Englishmen, out of their practical experience, were more slowly doing the like for modern India. One, indeed, of these Englishmen, Richard, Marquis Wellesley, elder brother of Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington, had in him a touch of the Napoleonic that considerably quickened the pace.

As a consequence of Pitt's Indian legislation,[1] his two great Governors-General, Lords Cornwallis and Wellesley, had many advantages over their predecessor, Warren Hastings He had been hampered by the Council in Calcutta. They held absolute authority in the Company's territories. Hastings had been dependent on the timid commercialism of the Directors at home, and on the whims of a Parliament only half responsible for India and therefore more concerned to criticise than to help. Cornwallis and Wellesley were strengthened by the firm and intelligent support of Pitt and Dundas, representing Parliament and overruling the Directors

Cornwallis completed the internal work of Hastings, bringing order out of chaos, and fixing the taxation and administration of Bengal as the example for all provinces subsequently acquired. Under Cornwallis and his successors there grew up in British territory a sense, novel in India, of security from outside attack and from the grosser forms of domestic oppression. In the epoch when this was all that we had to give, it was enough to make our rule welcome to people to whom the yet more seductive idea of self-government was unknown either in theory or experience. Western education and Western ideas had not yet begun to penetrate.

1786–93

The unforeseen and unintended union, in a permanent political relation, of two distant and dissimilar branches of the human family, was becoming an accomplished fact. It was initiated by men who, unlike the Anglo-Indians of later times, were divided by six months' voyage from their mother country, had few home ties, got little home news, and who in many cases had not European wives and saw but little European society. Their sports were in the jungle rather than on the polo ground and the tennis-court. For daily interests and for human intercourse they were forced into relation with the Indians, and in the political conditions of that epoch there were many with whom they had to deal as equals. One famous British Resident

[1] See pp 49–50, above.

at a native Court married the niece of the ruler to whom he was accredited. Doubtless there were inferior men like Jos Sedley, but the better type of Anglo-Indian in the first decades of the century studied India closely and to good purpose, because he was fixed there in isolation from his own country, and with nothing else to do.

Although the extension of the Pax Britannica throughout all Hindoostan was a work only completed shortly before the Mutiny, the decisive steps in the process of expansion were taken in the last years of Pitt's life The device, occasionally adopted by Clive and Warren Hastings, of 'subsidiary treaties' with protected native States, was turned by Wellesley into a permanent and universally applicable policy for securing the British position in India.

1798-1805 During Wellesley's Governor-Generalship the system of 'subsidiary treaties' was developed on these lines:—a ruler whom the British Government guaranteed against attack by his neighbours, would make a money payment, and the English in return would raise, train and command an equivalent number of sepoys to defend him, while he kept the internal administration of the State in his own hands. The leading instance of this system was Hyderabad, which still remains a 'native State.' Hyderabad was being ground to pieces between its warlike neighbours. On the south was Mysore, governed by the fanatical Moslem Sultan, Tippoo, while to the north and west lay the Hindoo chiefs of the Maratha confederacy.[1] The defeat of these two common enemies of Hyderabad and of Britain was the great work of Marquis Wellesley, which left England the paramount power in the Peninsula.

1799 After the death of England's bitterest foe, 'Tippoo Sahib,' sabre in hand, at the storming of his capital Seringapatam, the remnant of Mysore, stripped of its outlying territories, was given back to the original Hindoo dynasty, and is a 'native State' to-day.

Both Tippoo and the Maratha chiefs were lured to destruction by hopes of French aid. The arrival of Bonaparte in Egypt, confessedly as a half-way house to India, excited in the more ambitious of the Moslem and Hindoo warriors the expectation of driving the English into the sea. French officers drilled their armies in the European fashion, and helped them to obtain an efficient artillery. The Marathas ceased to rely on

[1] See maps, pp 310-311, below

their natural strength, the swarms of mounted spearmen, apt in guerilla warfare, who had ridden ravaging over all India between the banks of the Indus and the fortifications of Calcutta and Madras. In this later epoch they put their trust in an army on the European model. Whether this change did most to increase or diminish their ultimate power of resistance to the British, is a question which it is hard to determine. The new force was more formidable for the conquest of other native States, and could put up a much stouter resistance before being defeated by General Sir Arthur Wellesley at battles like Assaye. But it was hampered in its movements by artillery and by the requirements of regular troops, and when it was once overthrown and dispersed, could not be replaced as easily as the 'Maratha hordes' of old.[1] In spite of the European fashion of their armies, the Marathas were conquered. The strife between the warrior chiefs of their confederacy, like Holkar and Sindia, helped the Wellesley brothers in the difficult task of bringing Central India under British control with small forces, operating over immense tracts of territory before the days of the railway.

1803

The great Governor-General had the impatience and the autocratic temper that often accompanies real genius not quite of the first order—an impatience that combined with his 'cross-bench' views to disable him, after his return to Europe in 1806, from rendering public services worthy of his Indian achievements.[2] When, during his Governor-Generalship, the Directors used to protest against Wellesley's policy and the fresh wars in which it involved the Company, he would write home in his letters to Ministers of the 'pack of narrow-minded old women' in 'the most loathsome den of the India House.'

Pitt had supported his friend's forward policy, though not wholly without misgiving. But after Wellesley's return to Europe, which coincided with Pitt's death, there was a period of retrogression. Again, as in the years preceding his arrival

[1] Sir Alfred Lyall, in condemning the change in Maratha and Sikh military methods, points out that if the Boers and Afghans, in their wars with the British Empire, had abandoned their native tactics, and had attempted to meet us with armies trained on the European model, their resistance would have been less protracted and formidable How far these analogies are applicable to the cases of the Marathas and Sikhs I have not sufficient knowledge to determine Authorities differ in opinion

[2] Wellesley's best work, after his return to Europe, was his impartial administration of Ireland as Viceroy, 1821–8. He died in 1842, after having held office in Grey's Reform Bill Ministry.

in India, an attempt was made to limit the area and obligations of the subsidiary treaties. But whenever the cautious policy of the Directors was given a trial, experience soon proved it to be impossible. In a country where, to use Wellington's phrase, 'no such thing as a frontier really existed,' we could not, with the best will in the world, obtain peace and security even for our own territories, until we had brought every State in the Peninsula into a fixed relation to our power, acknowledged as paramount.

## CHAPTER VII

The Napoleonic struggle, I, 1803-1807—British parties—The war renewed—The Trafalgar campaign—Deaths of Pitt and Fox—Their successors—Tilsit—Napoleon and Nationality

THE Napoleonic war (1803–15) that followed the brief interval of the Peace of Amiens, was for us a war waged in self-defence, to prevent the systematic subordination of Europe to a vigorous military despotism sworn to our destruction. A few months at the Foreign Office in 1806 and an attempt to treat with our adversary for peace, made this clear even to Fox, who had been till then singularly blind to the real character of Bonaparte. But the Whigs were only enthusiastic for the war by fits and starts. The honour of beating Napoleon fell as clearly to the Tories, as the honour of beating Louis XIV had fallen to the Whigs.

From 1793 to 1830 the Whigs were almost as powerless in Opposition as the Tories had been under the first two kings of the House of Hanover. They were not only in a miserable minority in Parliament, but in the country they were no longer at the head of any powerful popular movement. During the last years of the eighteenth century, Fox and Grey had continued to protest against Pitt's coercion bills and the suppression of press and platform, and to introduce motions for Reform, culminating in Charles Grey's plan for household suffrage, for which unpopular proposal they mustered 91 votes in the House of Commons, while in the Lords the Foxites could be counted on the fingers of two hands. These hundred gentlemen, who foregathered at the most fashionable club in London, were able to profess democracy in the days of its darkest disrepute, just because they themselves were so unquestionably aristo-

1797

crats. Neither their constituents, when they had any, nor the world of parsons and squires, still less the middle class, could exert over them political or social pressure, or counteract the influence of Brooks's. They continued to regard omnipotent Toryism as unfashionable, and Pitt's new peerage as slightly vulgar.[1]

1797-1801

After nailing the flag of Reform to the mast, the Whigs proceeded to desert the ship. Grey's Reform motion was followed by his 'secession' from Parliament, in which he induced Fox to join. The motive was mingled indolence and despair The denizens of Brooks's Club retired to their country homes to forget the ills of the world in the best of company, living and dead—Charles Fox, the Greek and Latin writers, and the English and Italian poets. Conscious that they had little support in the country and that that little was silenced by Pitt's gagging bills, they regarded their work in Parliament as useless They failed to consider that if liberty of speech had been put down everywhere else, it was all the more incumbent on them to make the voice of liberty heard in the only place where she was allowed to speak. The full reporting of Parliamentary debates in the newspapers, which had recently been established as a most valuable part of constitutional custom, had been left untouched by the anti-Jacobin repression. But during several important years the Opposition, by absenting themselves from Parliament, failed to turn to account this one remaining check on governmental tyranny. It was during the 'secession' of the Whigs that Englishmen were kept in prison for years without trial, on the principle of the old French *lettres de cachet*. During the same period Pitt would, but for Wilberforce's personal remonstrance on behalf of the Dissenters, have seriously modified the Act of Toleration.[2] No printer dared to publish even the most moderate Reform pamphlet. And these years of blackest eclipse of our domestic liberties in England were the years of the Irish tragedy [3]

1801

With the opening of the new century, the Foxites crept

[1] Pitt was said to have introduced into our Constitution the anti-aristocratic principle that 'everyone who had ten thousand a year ought to be a Peer' ! The possession of a couple of rotten boroughs established an equally good claim

[2] See p 53, above

[3] Even during their secession the Foxite Whigs came up to Parliament to protest against the maladministration that brought on the 'ninety-eight,' and against the Act of Union.

back one by one to their places in Parliament. On Pitt's resignation, personal issues broke up the anti-Jacobin phalanx into a number of conflicting factions. The value of the Foxites rose, as possible allies among a number of mutually hostile Tory groups. There was some relaxation in the persecution of liberal opinion in the country. Pitt's successor, Addington, was too weak in Parliament to keep people in prison without trial. And Reform pamphlets were again occasionally to be seen on the bookstalls.

Nevertheless, the Reform movement as a serious issue had been suppressed for years to come. England had reached what Fox called 'the euthanasia of politics,' entire apathy on domestic questions and acquiescence in the existing regime. This was perpetuated by the concentration of the national thought on the Napoleonic struggle.

March 1802

At the end of the war with the French Republic, such was the desire for peace that the Treaty of Amiens, though highly advantageous to France, was greeted with enthusiasm in England, before its implications were understood. When the first official representative of Bonaparte arrived in London, his carriage was drawn through the streets by a crowd cheering for peace. Not only Fox but many who had kindled to Burke's alarms, now swarmed over to France in the Dover packet, stared in good-natured wonder at the military pomps of Paris and waited round corners to catch a glimpse of the First Consul. There was no race hatred of the French. The crusading wrath of 1793 had died out. The 'French cannibals' had fought surprisingly fair, and the war had left us no bitter memories. The English were ready to accept the new form of French government on equal terms.

But the First Consul soon made it clear that he had not come into the world to live on equal terms with anyone. By his reading of the Treaty of Amiens, we were to be excluded from all further interference on the Continent, while he was to be at liberty to push on annexation after annexation in Italy, Switzerland, Holland, and to parcel out the lands beyond the Rhine among his obsequious vassals, the German princes. We on the other hand regarded the Treaty of Amiens as fixing the utmost limits of his power, at the dangerously large latitude of the Netherlands and the Rhine. We had agreed to a settlement of Europe which we thought it our business to see

observed, while he held that we had retired beaten from high politics, to console ourselves with the pursuits of a nation of shopkeepers. When Addington protested, Napoleon was merely contemptuous, for Englishmen had set foreigners the example of despising their own Prime Minister. With Pitt in office, there would have been little chance of avoiding war; with Addington there was none.

After one year, the peace of Amiens came to an end. We were bound, even at the price of war, to resist the absorption of Europe by Napoleon. But it was a point of dispute whether we were wise to make our protest by refusing to give up Malta to a neutral in accordance with the treaty we had signed, since we could with our sea-power have easily controlled the fate of the island in case of war breaking out. The quarrel, on the main causes of which we were in the right, was brought to a head by the First Consul on the issue of Malta in the spring of 1803. A carefully staged scene of the kind he loved, when he angrily interpellated the British Ambassador, Lord Whitworth, at Josephine's evening party, announced to the world that a struggle to the death was coming on between the lord of the land and the lords of the sea.

For the first two years of the war, Napoleon had no enemy but Britain. His Grand Army was for the time 'the Army of England,' camped on the cliffs of Boulogne, ready to be shipped across the Channel. There had been no such fear in our island since the Armada. In tardy obedience to the popular voice, Addington was replaced by Pitt. But the ideal wish for a coalition of national defence was frustrated by George III, whose refusal to admit Fox prevented the Whigs and Grenvillites from joining the administration, in spite of Fox's generous entreaties to his friends to go in without him. The whole awful burden was thrown back upon Pitt, already sinking to the grave. The King's motives for refusing Fox were personal and narrow, yet it may be doubted whether in fact Pitt would have shared real power with anyone, or whether Dictatorship in war-time is best exercised by two Consuls. Would Fox have agreed to the main feature of Pitt's policy, the negotiating of the Third Coalition which drew Russia and Austria into the field? Fox attacked it in Opposition, and always maintained that the outcome, which laid Eastern Europe at Napoleon's feet, fully justified his predictions. It is at least

May 1804

possible that he would have refused to agree to it if he had been in Office

But before the Third Coalition came upon the scene, the naval campaign had settled the practicability of the invasion of England. It is called in history the 'campaign of Trafalgar,' but its strategic result had been reached three months before the battle

The French had five-and-thirty ships of the line, divided between Brest, Toulon and Rochefort, besides fifteen Spaniards in Ferrol and Cadiz after Spain had joined the war in March 1805. If several of these detachments could get out and unite, they might hold the Channel long enough for a part at least of the Grand Army to cross, and do what damage it could in England. That their command of the sea would be more than local and temporary was most improbable.[1]

Close off each of the ports where the enemy ships lay, a detachment of British men-of-war beat up and down in all weathers, performing, though under different conditions, the function that the Grand Fleet performed at Scapa Flow during our own war: they lay between the world and military conquest. The watch off Brest was the more easily kept because the home base was near at hand. The post of endurance and difficulty was the watch off Toulon, based merely on the roadsteads of Sardinia; that was Nelson's post for two years of unrelieved service Finally, Villeneuve had his chance and slipped out from Toulon, leaving Nelson ignorant where he had gone. He had gone to the West Indies, picking up six Spanish ships on the way. In the West Indies, according to Napoleon's plan, Villeneuve was to meet the Brest fleet, destroy the British interests in the sugar islands, and return to hold the Channel for the passage of the Grand Army. But the Brest fleet remained locked up, and it was Nelson who crossed the Atlantic, not on certain information of Villeneuve's course, but on a bold calculation of probabilities.

March 30, 1805

The Nile and Trafalgar campaigns have the same general character, though the arena of the one was the Mediterranean, of the other the broad Atlantic. In both we have the first success of the enemy's fleet in getting away undetected, the pursuit and search so long baffled, the agonising uncertainty

[1] The recent authoritative works of Corbett and Fortescue throw doubt, if not ridicule, on the actual preparations for transport and the chances of invasion on the grand scale.

made good by calculation, energy and persistence, and the crowning victory at last. But whereas in 1798 the initial evasion enabled Bonaparte to land and conquer Egypt, in 1805 Nelson crossed the Atlantic so close on the heels of his enemy that Villeneuve had no time to capture our colonies and destroy our shipping.[1] He escaped back to Europe only just ahead of his hunter, who missed the French by going to Gibraltar while they headed for North Spain. There Villeneuve fought an indecisive action with Calder's fleet watching off that coast, and ran to ground in the Spanish harbours.

Thus by the end of July the strategic campaign of the ocean was finished, and the scheme of invasion, for whatever it may have been worth, was dead. Yet the remainder of the year was to be occupied by a series of military and naval operations as famous as any in the history of war.

In August the world learnt of the existence of the Third Coalition against France. The armies of Russia and Austria, paid by Pitt at the annual rate of twelve pounds ten shillings a man, were moving against Napoleon, who had recently crowned himself Emperor of France. His answer to the new league came quick as the flash of a sword out of its scabbard. While the Russians and Austrians were dawdling up to their points of concentration, the Grand Army was hurried across Europe from Boulogne to the Danube, and on October 20, the Austrian vanguard capitulated at Ulm. Next morning, off Cape Trafalgar, twenty-seven British ships of the line were bearing down in two columns on thirty-three French and Spaniards Abandoning his usual policy of caution, the enemy had come out of Cadiz to give battle in a fit of desperation, which greatly lightened the burden of the next ten years' war to England. Ere sunset, eighteen great ships had struck their colours and the rest were in full flight,—the British seamen were working with a will to save as many as possible of the enemy out of the sea and off the burning ships,—and Nelson was lying dead in the cockpit of the *Victory*.

1805

Oct 21

On Lord Mayor's Day, the Prime Minister was received in the Guildhall with the gratitude due to the man who had furnished Nelson with the means and the authority to save the

Nov. 9

[1] The anxiety in the City at the presence of the French fleet and army in the West Indies on this occasion, reminds us what a big part those islands were of British interests, and helps to explain why Pitt had sent half the army there in the previous war. See p. 88, above

British Empire. 'England,' said Pitt, 'has saved herself by her exertions, and will, as I trust, save Europe by her example.' This speech, the best and shortest ever made on an official occasion, acquired in a few weeks a deeper meaning. At Austerlitz, in distant Moravia, at the battle of the Three Emperors, Napoleon laid low the combined armies of Russia and Austria. Before Christmas the Third Coalition was no more, and Europe was at the feet of the conqueror.

Dec. 2

When the news of the battle and of the armistice reached Pitt, his face took on the 'Austerlitz look.' He knew that, at the best, England was doomed to ten years' war against the Continent. His exhausted frame, no longer stimulated by immediate hope, ceased to struggle against the malady that wasted it. On January 23 he died. His last words and thoughts did not concern his own soul or his private affections: 'My country! How I leave my country!'

1806

He left her in desperate straits, amid the ruins of those dynastic alliances by which he had three times striven in vain to make head against the French nation. He left her shorn of her ancient freedom of speech and thought, and that harmony of classes that had once distinguished 'merry England.' He left her with her foot on Ireland prostrate and chained. But he left her recovered from the dishonour and weakness of the state in which he had found her a quarter of a century before. He left her with Canada and India so established that they would not go the way of the lost Colonies. He left her able and willing to defy the conqueror of Europe when all others bowed beneath the yoke. He left her victor at sea, freshly crowned with laurels that have proved immortal. And if in the coming era, Englishmen were divided class from class by new and bitter griefs, they had also a new bond of fraternity in the sound of Nelson's name.

The next year was marked by the fall of Prussia. For a whole decade she had kept out of the conflict, digesting Poland. In 1805, when her interference might have been decisive against French ambitions in Germany, Pitt had offered her every aid and inducement to join the Third Coalition. Only one thing he had refused to do, to barter away George III's beloved Hanover, the bait with which Napoleon dazzled the covetous imagination of the Court of Berlin. In the vain hope of deciding the hesitations and tergiversations of Prussia by a

display of present aid, Pitt had landed a British army on the North German coast, but it had to be hastily withdrawn after Austerlitz.

At the beginning of the year 1806, Frederick William of Prussia, bribed by the offer of Hanover, turned towards alliance with Napoleon, and obediently excluded all British ships from the ports of his dominions We were actually in a state of war with Prussia, when her king changed his mind once more and flung his country unaided into the struggle against France. He had been overborne by the movement against French domination of Germany, which Napoleon's execution of the patriotic bookseller, Palm, had done much to arouse. So rapidly did events now move that the British envoy who hastened out to make peace with Prussia, was met as he drove inland from the port of landing by the tide of fugitives from Jena! There was no question this time of Prussia having been pushed and paid by England to enter the war. Fox and Grenville, in their Ministry of All-the-Talents, had only too completely abandoned Pitt's policy of Coalitions and subsidies which had sent so many dynasties to their doom.

Oct. 1806

The efficiency of Frederick the Great's small and barbarous kingdom of serfs and junkers had depended on the energies and genius of the sovereign. When the King happened to be a fool as well as a knave, Prussia merely afforded another example of the effete *ancien régime*. From the eclipse that she underwent after Jena, she emerged in six years' time as a self-conscious national State with a modern army and a modern bureaucracy. She had been reformed by Stein, Scharnhorst and Hardenberg, who sought, in an adoption of the new French institutions and principles, the means of combating the new France.

1806–1812

The Foxite Whigs, on returning to Parliament in 1801 at the end of their ill-advised 'secession,' saw that domestic politics were dead and that it was useless to attempt to revive them. They kept silence on Reform, without renouncing it. The ranks of Pitt's former party being broken into a number of hostile factions by his retirement, the Foxites entered into alliance with the Tory group led by Lord Grenville, at first out of common contempt for Addington's Ministry, afterwards on the basis of common agreement in favour of Catholic Emancipation. For one year, and one year only, immediately after

Feb. 1806 to March 1807 Pitt's death, the Whigs held office in the famous Ministry of All-the-Talents, in coalition with the Grenville group and with Addington and his followers. This brief and partial interlude in the long regime of anti-Jacobinism was of notable service to the Empire and to the world, because Fox and his friends insisted on the passage of the Bill abolishing the slave-trade, about which Pitt had grown half-hearted in his later years. Abolition had sharply divided the Tory ranks, but when once it was on the Statute Book, the anti-slavery men in the subsequent Tory Ministries, especially those of the evangelical 'sect,' put down the slave-trade by a vigorous use of the British navy; and, in the Treaties of Vienna and afterwards, pressed earnestly and with some measure of success to bring the Powers of the Holy Alliance into line with England on this question. The real abolition of the slave-trade on the high seas, and the theoretical ban placed upon it in the as yet unpenetrated Dark Continent, prepared the way for the abolition of slavery itself, and saved the tropics, in the coming era of their commercial exploitation by Europe, from becoming a vast slave-farm.

But All-the-Talents added little to the fighting strength of the nation, especially after their loss of Fox, who died in office, (Sept. 1806) a late convert by experience to the impossibility of making peace with Napoleon His last words were that he 'died happy.' And, in spite of all, he had lived happy, and spread happiness around him like a wind blowing from the hills. He had loved life too well to be a perfect statesman, but he had brought human life and love with him into the political world, and since he passed out of it, though it has been dignified by equal genius and higher virtue, it has never again been made Shakespearean by such a kind, grand, human creature.

The circumstances attending the fall of the Ministry of All-the-Talents, six months after the death of Fox, gave fresh proof of the power of the Crown. Though no longer able, as in the days of Bute and North, to form Cabinets and Parliamentary majorities out of his own creatures, George III could still exert authority as umpire between existing parties. He dismissed Lords Grenville and Grey because they had proposed (March 1807) to admit Roman Catholic officers into the British army, and because, when he had forced them to withdraw that Jacobinical measure, they had refused the promise he demanded of them, never again to moot Catholic relief in any form. A powerful

Minister like Pitt, with a stable majority of his own in the House, could maintain himself against the Crown, though even Pitt had accepted the royal veto on the introduction of vital measures.[1] But the group-system to which parliamentary life had been reduced in the first years of the nineteenth century, afforded to George III and his successor a field where they were able to choose their own Ministers from among the group-leaders of the day. The power of the Crown remained at this mean level until the great Reform Bill made the people of England and Scotland arbiters of their own destiny. That measure very soon placed the Crown in its present position in the Constitution. Burke and Fox had desired to reduce George III to the position afterwards held by Queen Victoria, but had failed because the alternative to the Crown was not then the people but only the aristocracy.

From 1807 to 1830 the Whigs were excluded from office, partly by the will of the Crown, partly by their own instinct against allying themselves with anti-Reformers They steadily refused to join any Ministry except on the basis of Catholic Emancipation being made a Government measure. As the Catholic claims were extremely unpopular in our Protestant island, there was not much temptation to Tories like Canning and Castlereagh, who theoretically believed in Emancipation, to make serious efforts on its behalf. So it was left to Ireland eventually to extort for herself what England was never willing to grant. 1828-9

Although the permanent exclusion of the Whigs and Grenvillites was a result arrived at on purely domestic grounds, it probably helped to a better directed prosecution of the war. All-the-Talents had had no more success abroad than Pitt, and its leading members afterwards went wrong in Opposition about Wellington and the Peninsula. On the other hand, their Tory successors, Perceval, Lord Liverpool and Lord Castlereagh conducted the European war with great military and diplomatic success. It is indeed remarkable that the group of English statesmen who actually beat Napoleon were regarded by contemporaries and by posterity with something akin to contempt.

[1] In this epoch the royal veto was not exercised openly against Bills that had passed both Houses, but privately to prevent beforehand the introduction of Ministerial measures This practice became so much a custom of the Constitution under George III and IV that Grey himself in 1830-1, allowed that he could not introduce the Reform Bill till William IV had agreed to the whole of it.

They must have been giants indeed not to be dwarfed by the inevitable comparison with their great foreign antagonist and with their great predecessors, Fox and Pitt. They soon quarrelled with their most brilliant colleague, George Canning. And the reactionary and purely negative policy upon which they insisted at home even after Napoleon's fall, at a time when the underswell of the tide was veering round towards progress and liberty, exposed them to the angry ridicule of the younger generation, led by Brougham, Byron and the Reverend Sydney Smith.

Castlereagh, unlike his principal colleagues, had the gifts of a brilliant man of action. So had Canning, with wit and eloquence added. They were looked on as the young disciples on whom Pitt's mantle had fallen. If the two had held together as colleagues in the long Tory Ministry, it could scarcely have attained its reputation for dullness. Unfortunately the Dioscuri could not abide one another. A quarrel culminated in the scandal of a duel. The world sympathised with Castlereagh. Canning's brilliant and potentially liberal genius remained unemployed during the years when the fate of Europe was being decided. 'My political allegiance,' he told his constituents in 1812, 'is buried in the grave of Pitt.' It was Castlereagh's fate to be associated in history and literature with Perceval, Liverpool and Addington, now become Lord Sidmouth.

1809

But Canning, before he left the Ministry, found time to perform one act of moral daring, which, whether right or wrong, bears the imprint of genius.

Napoleon, after the first check to the pace of his European conquests on the bloodstained snows of Eylau, had heavily defeated the Russian army at the battle of Friedland. East Prussia and Poland, up to the Russian border, were at his feet. The young Czar Alexander, whose mutable fancies were one after another to play so great a part in history, now determined to give peace to Europe by entering into alliance with Napoleon at Tilsit. There, upon a raft on the Niemen, the Emperors of West and East agreed on the division of the world. Prussia was cut down to a small German principality. England was to be forced to accept the new settlement. If she remained obdurately at war, she must be reduced by the Continental System for cutting off her trade, which had been proclaimed the year before by Napoleon's Berlin Decree. Alexander undertook to enforce the prohibition of British trade in his vast dominions. And it was secretly agreed that the Scandinavian

Feb. 1807

June 1807

July 1807

Longmans Green & Co London New York, Bombay, Calcutta & Madras.

Powers and Portugal were, if necessary, to be compelled to close their ports, and to use their fleets against Britain.

Canning, as foreign secretary, got wind of the great conspiracy from secret agents, and what he did not know he shrewdly guessed. He sent an overwhelming military and naval force to demand of the Danes their alliance, and leave to hold their fleet in pawn The Danes resisted, Copenhagen was bombarded from the land side, and their warships, which otherwise would have gone to Napoleon, were carried off to England.

It seemed hard to justify such a stroke against a Power that was not even in a state of 'armed neutrality' against us, as it had been at the time of Nelson's similar attack on Copenhagen six years before. Canning's action gave us a bad name in Europe, while the secret clauses of Tilsit were unknown, and while people were seeking an excuse to themselves for their submission to French tyranny. But Napoleon's proceedings in Portugal and Spain shortly turned the moral scales heavily against him, and did much to exonerate Canning retrospectively for seizing hold of a weapon before Napoleon's outstretched hand could be laid upon it.

After Tilsit, Napoleon was master of the whole Continent in the same sense that England in the following generation was master of all India. In the Europe of 1808 every State had been brought into a defined relation to the paramount power, by annexation, by vassalage, or by alliance on terms of submission In no country had national feeling as yet been fused against French overlordship, though the anger in Germany at the execution of Palm was prologue to the omen coming on. At the beginning of 1808 the principle of nationality still worked, perhaps, less against France than in her favour. In Poland 'the Grand Duchy of Warsaw,' torn from Prussia, and erected into a Napoleonic State, fully revived but only half satisfied Polish aspirations to nationhood. In Italy, Napoleon's anti-Austrian and anti-Papal regime proved the nursery of Italian patriotism.

Everywhere the old world was being rejuvenated on 'French principles,' identified with the dynamic force of Napoleon's personality. Modern bureaucracy in place of old municipal and feudal inefficiency , in law, the ideas of the *Code Napoléon* ; in education and thought, the influence of scientific standards, civic and military, instead of clerical obscurantism ;

in every walk of life the career open to talents—these things were thrust upon Western Europe by the direct action of French governors, while in Prussia serfdom was abolished and the Universities and the Army were modernised by Prussian statesmen who saw the need to imitate France or be for ever fallen.

The ascendancy of France, since the days of Louis XIV, in letters, science and life, had prepared men's minds for acceptance of her political supremacy. It was not the French generals alone who had conquered Europe. Napoleon created an able bureaucracy, the Proconsuls of France in Europe, very different from the robber ruffians of the Directorate. They gave men a new and higher standard of government. Their limitations were set by the patriotic narrowness of the French mind: they lacked sympathy with the races over whom they bore rule. Only their Italo-Corsican master could, in his own interest, rise to the idea of an international Cæsarism.

Gradually, between 1808 and 1813, Europe's sense of the benefits of this system waned before the growing sense of its burdens. These were mainly due to Napoleon's failure to give peace to the world he had created, a failure traceable partly to his own temperament, partly to the continued resistance of England.

As time went on, the conscription grew more and more unpopular: 'the blood tax' was a new burden in Italy and many other countries, although by our terrible modern standards the Napoleonic demand on Europe's young manhood seems small indeed. War taxation and the deprivation of trade, in accordance with his Continental System against England, pressed ever more heavily on the subject peoples of the Empire. Peace, permanence and prosperity retreated further and further into the distance as the years went by. England's resistance unexpectedly continued and drew Napoleon on into more and more distant schemes of conquest in Spain and Russia, into ever stricter prohibitions against trade It seemed that he must conquer and starve the whole world in order to starve and conquer the islanders. As he grew older the burden told on his nature and deepened its faults; he grew ever more harsh, exacting, sudden; he could not leave things alone; he must always be reshuffling the provinces of Europe, pulling up and redistributing his own political creations. The impression grew that his work was always in hot flux, that it would never set cold and solid. Permanence and rest seemed

alien to his genius, and it was for permanence and rest that Europe sighed.

These discontents took the form of a new sense of nationhood, rendering French rule odious, in Holland, Germany and Eastern Europe, and to some extent even in Italy. In France herself they became operative in the political parties of the new Liberalism and the old Reaction. But as yet opposition could find no means of public expression. Politics, journalism, literature had less freedom under the Empire than under the Bourbons of the recent past or of the near future. 'Napoleon's dominion,' said Ugo Foscolo, 'was like a July day in Egypt—all clear, brilliant and blazing; but all silent—not a voice heard, the stillness of the grave.'

## CHAPTER VIII

The Napoleonic struggle, II, 1808–15—Wellington and the Peninsular War—The commercial struggle and the blockade—Leipzig and Waterloo—Castlereagh and the resettlement of Europe

National sentiment, that destroyed Napoleon's cosmopolitan empire, was first brought to a head against him by his attempt to subject the Iberian Peninsula to his direct control. He believed it necessary, if England was to be starved out, to stop British trade with Portugal and its great dependency of Brazil, and to make more secure the enforcement of the Continental System along the coasts of Spain and the Spanish American colonies. He had begun in 1807 by sending Junot to conquer hostile Portugal. Next year, when his armies under this pretext had occupied friendly Spain, he committed the worst crime and error of his career: he compelled the Spanish Royal family to abdicate and proclaimed his brother Joseph, King of Spain.

1808

This act of vulgar ruffianism on a scale as gigantic as the Partitions of Poland, would, if it had proved successful, have corrupted the West of Europe as surely as the Partitions corrupted the East. But the vengeance on Napoleon was direct and speedy. The Spanish people, whom the ex-Jacobin had left out of his calculations, rose on the French armies cantooned throughout the Peninsula and actually compelled one of them to surrender at Baylen. Baylen was the beginning of Napoleon's downfall. It began the long drain on his Grand Army for the

July 1808

irritating necessity of garrisoning every Spanish town and patrolling every Spanish road. And it was the first example to Europe of the national spirit rising against his power. The peoples were being goaded into self-conscious nationhood alike by French propaganda and by French tyranny. The ideas of 1789 had aroused throughout Europe a desire for self-determination which Napoleon outraged at every turn. It was the peoples who overthrew him, though it was the princes who reaped the benefit of his fall.

The world, just when it had begun to accept Napoleon as inevitable, was startled into a new train of thought by the success of the Spanish revolt, plainly resulting from its popular and national character. Deserted by their contemptible princes, grandees and officials, the common people, in each several province and town, had fallen on the Frenchmen and the traitors. The improvised local Juntas, in which the strength of the movement lay, grouped themselves into a loose national organisation under a central Junta; and in 1810 a Cortes or Parliament was elected. The Spanish rising had, in fact, two aspects, both of them popular. On the one hand the peasants were being urged on by the priests and monks against the infidel French; on the other hand the Cortes was the herald of liberal constitutionalism in despotic and reactionary Spain. It was only after the French had been expelled that these forces came into violent conflict.

In England the news of the rising was received with enthusiasm by all sections, and checked a growing agitation for peace. The Whigs called on the Government to send help to a people struggling to be free; the business men, whose warehouses were choked with goods which the new factory system enabled them to produce but which Napoleon forbade them to sell, found a new Eldorado in the markets of Spanish America[1]; while patriots, gloomily watching the fortunes of the war, saw that friendly hands had opened a gate in the hostile fortress of Europe, through which not only our goods but our armies could enter at last.

July 1808

Sir Arthur Wellesley, of Maratha fame, led the first small British force of 9000 men to the Peninsula. His immediate object was to clear the French out of Portugal, an operation

[1] The Cortes soon afterwards tried to close South America again to foreign goods, thereby causing fresh distress in England, and sowing the seeds of much subsequent British enthusiasm for the cause of South American independence. See p 210, below

Aug. 1808 on which his victory at Vimiero put the seal. He was supplanted on the field of battle by superior officers coming out from England with more troops. By the Convention of Cintra they permitted Junot to evacuate Portugal with his plunder. The British public was furious with the generals, including Wellesley, though he was not in fact responsible for the terms, and would probably have captured the whole of Junot's army if he had not been superseded.

During the winter, while Wellesley remained in England under a cloud, a British army of 30,000 men was operating in the Peninsula under Sir John Moore Napoleon himself, at the head of 250,000 French, was engaged in putting down the Dec 1808 Spanish rising Moore's daring advance into the heart of the country to threaten Napoleon's flank and rear, drew him off the Spaniards and saved Lisbon and Cadiz, and thereby perhaps the whole movement. By his retreat to Corunna through the winter mountains, Moore, at the cost of 5000 stragglers, saved his main body from the eager pursuit of Napoleon, who, having failed in his *coup de théâtre* of capturing a British army, returned to Paris and never again crossed the Pyrenees. Soult came up with the English forces reconstituted at Corunna. The action fought there to cover their embarkation was brilliantly successful, but Sir John Moore was killed by a cannon-ball and buried on the foreign shore. Jan. 1809

On the return home of Moore's force came the real crisis of the Peninsular War as far as England was concerned,—a moral and political crisis. The discouragement was great The British public, having expected from its new allies things beyond measure, was beyond measure disillusioned The Spaniards had indeed failed for all purposes, military and political, except guerilla warfare, and it was not yet understood how much guerilla warfare might mean in Spain. Our own army, though victorious in battle, had been forced by overwhelming numbers to re-embark. Sir John Moore himself had written that it would no longer be possible to hold Lisbon. To pessimists, Napoleon again seemed invincible on land. Most of the Whigs changed their minds and clamoured for the abandonment of the Spanish adventure as hopeless. But the Government continued to supply the Juntas with arms and money, sent back a British force to Portugal and placed Wellesley in command, in spite of his recent unpopularity. These decisions were not a little due to the personal influence which the young

general had obtained over Castlereagh, and to a less extent over his rival Canning, who was still in the Cabinet. The policy of Wellington,[1] adhered to by successive Tory Governments through four dark and difficult years, proved the key to victory in the world contest. After the failure of the Walcheren expedition, designed to take Antwerp, but ending in the death of four thousand of our soldiers in the fever-laden swamps of the Dutch island, the Cabinet concentrated British military effort on the Peninsular War.

1809

Wellington's campaigns of 1809–11 were actions to defend Portugal as his base, varied by raids into Spain that fostered the guerilla war in that country. Sometimes, as in the Talavera campaign of 1809, the chief event of the year was the raid into Spain, rendered possible by Austria's rebellion against Napoleon; while in 1810, after Austria had been suppressed at Wagram, Wellington's defence of Portugal was for a while confined to the famous lines of Torres Vedras which he constructed across the peninsula of Lisbon. But until in 1812 the quarrel with Russia seriously drained the French forces in Spain, Wellington could do no more than keep the war alive. The French in the Peninsula sometimes outnumbered the British by nearly ten to one, but out of some 300,000 men it was seldom that so many as 70,000 were available to crush the British and those Portuguese regiments that our officers had trained to stand fire as regular troops. The spear-head of the Napoleonic army of occupation was small in comparison with its shaft, because the Spanish guerillas saw to it that no city and no province could be left without a French garrison, on pain of an immediate revolt. Whatever their failings as regular troops, whatever their deficiency in political and military leadership, the Spaniards waged on the invader an unceasing partisan warfare such as Napoleon encountered in no other land.

The Peninsular War, indeed, had two very different aspects, the one immortalised in Napier's dignified and romantic history; the other in Goya's grim etchings of 'Los Desastres de la Guerra.' The British officer and the Spanish civilian each recorded the aspect that presented itself to his countrymen. As between French and English the war was a display of rival valour by two chivalrous nations. French and English prisoners

[1] Sir Arthur Wellesley was made Lord Wellington for his services in 1809 (Douro and Talavera), Marquis for Salamanca in 1812, and Duke in 1814. Marlborough, who enjoyed more Court favour, had been made Duke in 1702, before his great victories.

were treated as the Black Prince and Du Guesclin treated the knights they captured; nor was the spirit of mutual admiration and courtesy confined to the officers of the two armies. Very different were the features of the war waged between the Spanish guerillas and the French invader:—men sawed up alive and impaled on stakes; massacre, rape and torture; all the most bestial passions let loose by hatred and by fear.

In the midst of such scenes as these, it was fortunate that Wellington was at once a great humanitarian and a great disciplinarian. The first quality would have availed little without the second. Unlike Nelson he had no wish to be loved by his men. But he abominated the waste and cruelty of war, and kept it within its strictest limits. He revived and fixed the high traditions of the British Army in many things, and not least in respect for person and property. He once angrily defined 'booty' as 'what you can lay your bloody hand upon, and keep.' When he first took over the command there was much drunkenness, desertion and looting, in a land flowing with wine; but by strenuous efforts he established a very different state of things, save on the few occasions when after the storm of cities like Badajos, whole regiments ran amok for days together. When the other armies of Europe were a terror alike to friend and foe, he showed the world an army paying its way even on hostile territory, a protection rather than a burden to the astonished inhabitants.[1]

Wellington and the school of officers who served under him abroad, did as much as Nelson and his captains to raise the reputation of their country and their service. Only in one respect their system fell short. The common soldiers were, like the common sailors, treated too much like serfs, too little like citizens under arms. But in this the services only reflected the attitude towards the 'lower orders' then prevalent in civilian life. Nor must it be forgotten that the system of army recruitment filled the ranks with some of the roughest types. Wellington with his naked sincerity of thought and speech, which gives a value to all his sayings, even to those which represent his prejudices, declared that his men were 'the scum of the earth, enlisted for drink.' It was not the view of some

[1] In a remote valley of the Pyrenees, in 1905, I met a French peasant who was much interested on discovering I was an Englishman, because he said the English troops in passing down the valley in Napoleon's time, had paid for a cow twice what it was worth! The sensation created in the valley had lived in oral tradition for close on a century.

of his best officers, including the historian of the war who recorded the 'strength and majesty' with which the British soldier fought. Perhaps, too, the Duke never asked himself if the finest spirits in the country would be drawn to enlist, when by so doing they rendered themselves liable, among other things, to the terrible and degrading torture of the military floggings. But he always maintained that without corporal punishment he could not have fashioned the rough customers of which his force was actually composed into the best disciplined and least criminal of all the armies who swarmed over France in 1814.

Whatever may have been the defects of its qualities, our army was the best fighting instrument in Europe, now that at last it had got efficient leadership. Owing to its superiority in discipline, fire-drill and steadiness, the British could venture to oppose their thin line to the French column of attack.[1] Our volley-firing was excellent, and being delivered from a broad front could stop the phalanx of the Old Guard itself. Wellington, on the eve of sailing for the Peninsula in 1808, had foretold to Croker what would happen when the line was fairly pitted against the column. 'If what I hear of the French system of manœuvres be true, I think it a false one as against steady troops. I suspect all the continental armies were more than half beaten before the battle was begun.' This had already been demonstrated on a small scale in the otherwise unimportant British victory at Maida in South Italy in 1806. The use of the line against the column proved the secret of our success in Spain, and finally at Waterloo. But the superiority of our fire would not have availed for the defeat of France, without Wellington's genius, less original and daring than his rival, he was less prone to make mistakes, especially in tactics, than the Napoleon of later years

In Wellington's campaigns the regimental traditions of the British Army attained that peculiar force and quality, which survived to pull us through the Crimea, although the staff and army organisation grievously deteriorated during the long peace. And it was again the regimental traditions and the Peninsular memories that sent the British Army across the sea in 1914 with the inherited belief that it could not be beaten in the end.

Meanwhile the navy, which had no serious fighting to expect after Trafalgar, was busily employed in blockading the

[1] See p 86, above.

Continent. Napoleon had challenged us to a war of mutual starvation, by the 'Continental System' which he devised against our commerce. It was embodied in a series of Decrees of which the most famous were issued from Berlin in 1806 and Milan in 1807. Neutrals and allies as well as subjects were forbidden by him to trade with Britain or her colonies, and all ships and goods that had touched at our ports were rendered subject to confiscation. Our Government replied in a series of Orders in Council, of which the first was issued in January 1807 by the Ministry of All-the-Talents. But the full development of the policy became identified with the later Tory Cabinet of Spencer Perceval. The Orders in Council declared all the countries that enforced Napoleon's Decrees to be in a state of blockade, and instituted a rigorous search of neutral ships to prevent them from trading with our enemies.

Since we held the seas, our system was most acutely felt by the transoceanic neutrals. And since Napoleon held the land, his inveterate war on tea and coffee, sugar and cotton, was most resented in Russia, Scandinavia and Germany, where men had to live without goods from oversea as the price of peace with France. It is therefore no wonder that by 1812 England was at war with the United States and Napoleon with Russia.

As the daily bread of men and women far from the scene of action became more and more affected by the war, the question of the 'home front,' as we should now call it, grew acute, both for Napoleon as ruler of Europe, and for the British Cabinet. To Napoleon the catastrophe of the 'home front' came with the rebellion first of Russia and then of Germany and Scandinavia, unwilling to bear the deprivations of his Continental System in the absence of any patriotic motives for endurance.

In England the sufferings of the working-class during the Industrial Revolution were increased by the uncertainty of employment in supplying a world whose markets were perpetually opening and shutting according to the vagaries of diplomacy and war. Meanwhile the price of bread rose beyond the means of many of the wage-earners. The bulk of the population craved for peace. But discontent, though deep, was not formidable. Though there might be riots and machine-breaking, the men had in the end no choice but to work on the masters' terms or to starve outright. They were so little organised, so deeply trodden down into economic and political servitude, that their views could do little to help or hinder the

conduct of the war. The Cabinet made no concessions to them of any kind during the Napoleonic struggle, a remarkable contrast to the domestic and industrial policy of 1914–18

As to the class which the Government itself represented, the landlords and the clergy, they were patriotic enough and had, moreover, no great temptation to demand peace. For them the war meant the rise of taxation indeed, but also the rise of rents and tithes with the price of corn. And for them it meant very little else. The blood tax was a light one on all classes, for many years there was no fighting on land, and even the seven years of the Peninsular War cost less than 40,000 British dead. At no period had the upper class been wealthier, or happier, or more engrossed in the life of its pleasant country houses. No young lady of Miss Austen's acquaintance, waiting eagerly for the forthcoming volume of Scott or Byron, seems ever to have asked what Mr. Thorpe or Mr. Tom Bertram was doing during the Great War!

If the war was a source of increasing revenue to the landlords and of prolonged calamity to the working-men, to the middling orders of society it was a gamble, that made one man a profiteer and another a bankrupt. As a whole ' the nation of shopkeepers ' longed for peace to bring security, to open the European markets once for all, and to reduce taxation But they had no thought of surrender to Bonaparte. Many of the wealthier—the bankers, the merchants and the monied men—shared the Tory politics of ' the quality,' to whose society they were occasionally admitted But many a manufacturer of the new type, himself or his father sprung from the working-class, more often than not a Dissenter, his thoughts engrossed by the factory he had built on the bank of some Pennine stream, hated the aristocracy and dumbly resented the war as something from the glory and interest of which he was excluded Such men were making the new wealth of England, but they had no part or lot in her government, and were jealous of the haughty class that excluded them. They felt equally little sympathy with the real victims of the war, their own employees—as little almost as the landlords and farmers felt with the pauperised and starving peasants whose labour filled their pockets so full. It was a hard world of sharply divided interests, with no sense of national brotherhood, save occasionally in face of the foreign foe.

Since the business men wavered between approval and disapproval of the war, according as victory seemed to draw near,

or ruin stared them in the face, it was in 1811 that Napoleon came nearest to starving England out and wearing down her resolution to conquer. But at that supreme crisis a sound instinct taught the middle class in its deep distress to agitate not for peace but for the withdrawal of the Orders in Council. The Orders were denounced by public opinion on the ground that they were involving us in a quarrel with the United States, the best of our few remaining customers. The movement, originating in the ports and manufacturing districts, was brought to bear on the House of Commons through the powerful energy of Henry Brougham, and it ended by imposing its will on the Government When the accident of Perceval's assassination in the lobby by a lunatic removed the Prime Minister who was personally associated with the policy, the Orders in Council were allowed to drop. But the concession came too late to prevent the outbreak of war with the United States [1] If Napoleon's Continental System had been still holding firm, the consequences might have been fatal to us. But Russia and Sweden had thrown off the yoke, and we had won the race of starvation by a neck.

May 1812

It was not so much the Orders in Council which had beaten Napoleon's economic campaign, as the productiveness of the new machinery and the factory system, and the monopoly of trade which, thanks to the navy, we enjoyed with America and the tropics.

In the winter of 1811–12 Napoleon was preparing to invade Russia. His army in the Peninsula, so far from being recruited by fresh drafts, had to send away some of its best regiments, and the Poles were marched from Spain to Moscow on a campaign that was to decide the tragic fate of their country for a hundred years to come.

Wellington, therefore, was in a position to attempt something more than another raid; the time for the liberating conquest was at hand. Far surpassing the generals opposing him both as strategist and tactician, he prepared his way for a permanent advance out of Portugal into Spain by capturing, early in the year, the frontier fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos, before the French armies could manage to interfere. In the summer he destroyed Marmont's army at Salamanca. The position in the whole Peninsula was changed by this

July 1812

[1] See pp 175-177, below, for the events of the war

victory in the north-west; not only was Madrid liberated, but Soult was obliged to evacuate the South of Spain, whither the French were never again able to penetrate. At the price of the surrender of the South, Soult's vigour brought about such a concentration of French armies that Madrid was recaptured, and in the autumn Wellington, having failed at the siege of Burgos, had to fall back once more on Portugal, with the game only half won.

During the winter came the news of the retreat from Moscow. The year 1813 was to see Napoleon's struggle to retain hold of Central Europe, in face of the revolt of the German nation, headed by Prussia and aided by the armies of Russia, Sweden, and after a while of Austria. The issue, that hung uncertain for many months, would have been very different if Napoleon had had with him in Germany the 200,000 veterans who were locked up in Spain for his sins of five years before.

Yet even these 200,000 did not suffice to hold their own against the British and Spaniards. King Joseph was hustled out of Northern Spain by a series of able manœuvres, and routed at Vitoria with the loss of all his artillery, military stores and chest. In forty days, starting from Portugal, Wellington had driven over the Pyrenees the enemies' main army and the whole paraphernalia of the usurper's government. It was a resounding catastrophe, and had its effect on hesitating nations and statesmen in the struggle for Central Europe, where the scales of war and diplomacy were still held even. In August Austria joined the allies. Napoleon alone still failed to read the signs of the times, and refused to make advantageous terms for himself and France while he still might. In October the issue was decided by the three days' Armageddon in the plains of Leipzig in Saxony. Central Europe was released, and the French fled back to the Rhine as rapidly as they had done a century before, after the battle of Blenheim.

May 22 to July 1, 1813

On the Spanish frontier, the fortresses of Pampeluna and San Sebastian prevented the victors from penetrating into France in the summer of 1813 at the heels of King Joseph's stripped and demoralised army. The breathing space afforded by the two sieges gave time for the reconstitution of the French forces under Soult, placed too late in supreme command. Then came the last trial of strength in the passes of the Pyrenees, between two veteran armies at the height of military efficiency, and each under splendid leadership. Soult nearly

succeeded in relieving Pampeluna, through Roncesvalles, but was foiled by the quickness of Wellington and the stubbornness of his troops. At length, after the fall of the fortresses, the British advance began again, through mountain floods and snowstorms. One after another Soult's defences were forced on the precipitous heights between the Bidassoa and the Nivelle, and finally on the Nive, the gate of entrance to the plains of France. The art of war, as it was known at the end of that warlike age, touched its perfection in that last push over the Pyrenees,

Oct to Dec 1813

> 'Followed up in valley and glen
> With blare of bugle, clamour of men,
> Roll of cannon and clash of arms,
> And England pouring on her foes.
> Such a war had such a close.'

Oct. 1813

Meanwhile the battle of Leipzig had at one stroke secured the independence of Germany as far as the Rhine. But the fate of Western Europe had yet to be decided. The results of Austerlitz and Jena had been cancelled, but the boundaries of the Treaty of Amiens were still possible. Great, even in eclipse, was the prestige of France and Napoleon The allies had not thought out their war-aims in Western Europe and were bitterly quarrelling over the districts already recovered in the East. Their counsels were so confused that, a few weeks after Leipzig the Austrian Metternich, with the hasty concurrence of the Czar Alexander and of young Lord Aberdeen, the British representative on the spot, actually offered the Rhine frontier to Napoleon. The infatuated man hesitated to accept peace even on these terms, and the opportunity passed away.

Nov 1813

Alarmed by this and other signs of allied vacillation and want of concerted policy, the British Cabinet, at the new year, sent its strong man, Lord Castlereagh, to the Continent to take charge of the whole situation. His first business was to hold together the alliance as a fighting machine, until the conditions indispensable to Britain's security had been won. These conditions, as laid down by the British Ministers, included the acceptance by the Powers of our definition of the rules of sea-warfare; the liberation of Holland and Belgium from French control; and if possible the reduction of France to her 'ancient limits' of 1789, instead of her 'natural frontier' of the Rhine. If security could thus be obtained, Great Britain was willing

to be generous as regards the restitution of many of the colonies that she had taken from the French and their allies. Our Ministers hoped for the restoration of the Bourbons; but they were not yet at the beginning of 1814 prepared to carry on the war to obtain the dethronement of Napoleon, much as they desired that final security for a permanent peace

Such was British policy in January 1814, when Castlereagh came to the Continent to give it effect. The whole programme was eventually realised, as the outcome of the storms and chances of the next two years, in which the military and diplomatic action of Wellington and Castlereagh were decisive factors.

In 1813 and 1814 Castlereagh played the part that William III and Marlborough had played more than a hundred years before, in holding together an alliance of jealous, selfish, weak-kneed States and princes, by a vigour of character and singleness of purpose that held Metternich, the Czar and the King of Prussia on the common track until the goal was reached. It is quite possible that, but for the lead taken by Castlereagh in the allied counsels, France would never have been reduced to her ancient limits, nor Napoleon dethroned.

The first great step towards a European settlement was the crossing of the Rhine by the allied armies, and the successful invasion of France, culminating in the capture of Paris and the abdication of Bonaparte. This outcome was uncertain till the very last moment. It was partly due to Castlereagh's reconstitution of the Alliance and his insistence on fighting until the 'ancient limits' were won, partly to Napoleon's unwillingness to accept a peace that would leave France any smaller than she had been when he first became responsible for her fortunes. His wonderful victories with inadequate means in defence of the invaded country confirmed him in this unyielding mood, till it was too late to save either his capital or his throne. During these decisive weeks a large part of his available force was still engaged in the South, opposing Wellington's invasion. With rare sacrifice of personal ambition to humanity and policy, the Duke had saved the French population from outrage by sending home the Spanish army from the frontier. The battle of Toulouse was fought after Napoleon's fall, but before the news had reached either Wellington or Soult.

Feb.-April 1814

April 10, 1814

For nearly a year Elba contained Napoleon, while the Congress was sitting at Vienna. In theory, all the governments of

Europe were parties to the Congress. Actually the 'big four,' as we should now call them—England, Russia, Austria, Prussia—reserved all important decisions to themselves alone.

Meanwhile her 'ancient frontiers' had been assigned to conquered France, and the Bourbons had been restored, partly by the allies, partly by the French people The policy of Louis XVIII was half constitutional, half reactionary, but wholly anti-militarist. The main social changes of the Revolution were tacitly accepted in the new France. The framework of administration and government that Bonaparte had constructed was taken over by his successors, but his system was improved upon by the novelties of a partially free press, and the beginnings of a parliamentary constitution.

French boundaries having been settled beforehand, it was intended to exclude France from sharing at Vienna in the more complicated task of dividing up the rest of Europe. But when Castlereagh, left to himself, failed to compose the quarrels of Russia, Prussia and Austria, the astute Talleyrand, acting as the representative of Bourbon France, seized the occasion to assert his country's place with the 'big four' in these discussions. Castlereagh was fain to welcome him as fellow-moderator. The small countries and princes, on whose behalf Talleyrand had up till then claimed to speak, having served his turn, were now left without a champion, and their interests were mercilessly sacrificed whenever they did not coincide with those of the Great Powers.

The two questions which so nearly involved the allies in a fresh war among themselves, were Saxony and Poland Prussia wanted all Saxony, and Russia wanted all Poland. The Czar Alexander, now in his 'liberal' phase, dreamed of a reunited and liberated Polish kingdom as a *dépendance* of the Russian crown, with a separate Polish constitution [1] He was opposed by Prussia and Austria, who wanted a divided and enslaved Poland. Castlereagh, fearful of Russian power, preferred their scheme at any rate to the Czar's. Eventually Alexander had to cede portions of the spoil to the two other claimants, but he managed to retain the lion's share of the Polish territory. As might have been foreseen by anyone but the visionary Alexander, the Polish constitution proved an

[1] Exactly a hundred years later this scheme was revived as the first programme of the allies against Germany

impossible bed-fellow for the Russian autocracy, and ere long disappeared.

Prussia's claims on the whole of Saxony were enforced in the most aggressive manner, till Castlereagh took the bold step of forming an alliance with France and Austria to resist these pretensions, if necessary, by war. Having thus brought Prussia to reason, he hastened to compensate her with two-fifths of Saxony itself, and with Cologne and other extensive territories on both sides of the Rhine. The aggression of France in Central Europe, ten years before and twenty years before, had been largely due to the absence of any nucleus of opposition along her eastern border. The small, weak States scattered along the course of the Rhine had neither national tradition nor military power They had become a half-willing prey to the propagandist armies of the Republic, and had formed for Napoleon the obsequious Confederation of the Rhine After this experience it was not unnatural that England should in 1815 assist Prussia to become the champion of the Fatherland in the 'Watch on the Rhine' against France. The gentler and more liberal civilisation of Western Germany, having proved its own incompetence in self-defence, was subjected to the despotic and military ideals of Berlin. Under Napoleon the West of Europe had unwisely tried to conquer and hold down the East: the East was now rolling back upon the West, not altogether to the advantage of civilisation.

Jan 1815

Castlereagh also endeavoured to strengthen the guard of Europe along the French frontier at two other points, by uniting Belgium to Holland and Genoa to Piedmont. The first of these policies broke down in 1830. But the aggrandisement of the Italian frontier State of Piedmont in the long run helped to make it the nucleus of a Liberal kingdom of all Italy. Castlereagh, who had no sympathy with the Italian Liberals of his day, did not foresee any such outcome to his policy, for Piedmont was then a reactionary State. But the later development of Victor Emmanuel's kingdom was all of a piece with Castlereagh's scheme of erecting barriers against French aggression in Italy, and justified, in result if not in intention, the annexation of the former territory of the oligarchical republic of Genoa to the Piedmontese monarchy. But in 1814 and for many years afterwards the treatment of Genoa was a stone of offence to all Liberal critics of the Treaties of Vienna. And it was to Austrian domination in Italy that Castlereagh

mainly looked for security against the return of French armies into the plain of the Po.

On March 1, 1815, Napoleon returned from Elba and the 'Hundred Days' began It will always be a point of controversy how far his lightning restoration was the act of the French nation, how far of the army alone. But the British Government had no time to institute nice inquiries. It had to decide at once. When Napoleon, speaking once more from the Tuileries, offered to become a constitutional monarch, and to live at peace with Europe on the terms of the treaties of 1814, there were risks in treating him as an outlaw. For if the French people were prepared to fight to the death to prevent his deposition, the Allies, who had a few weeks back so nearly come to blows among themselves, would certainly not hold together for another protracted struggle. Judging by past experience, England would soon find herself deserted, and be back again in the isolated position she had so often occupied in the course of the late war. If, on the other hand, the return from Elba was the work of the soldiers alone, a victory by Wellington would settle the affair

The British Ministers declared themselves ready to wage war so long as Napoleon remained on the throne of France. This bold decision was attacked by the Whig leaders, but it was justified by the event Probably the speed and completeness of the triumph at Waterloo had much to do with the acceptance by the French people of ordeal by a single battle. When the feelings are divided, it is the event that counts. France was not wholly for the Bourbons or wholly for Napoleon, but she was wholly for a settled government.

June 18, 1815

Wellington's victory was even more remarkable than it seemed. For Napoleon's army largely consisted of veterans brought back from their prisons in Eastern Europe, while the victors who bore the brunt of their attack were a relatively small number of British recruits, taking the place of our Peninsular regiments not yet returned from the wretched war in America.[1] Our raw troops stood the long and terrible ordeal, because of their confidence in the Duke, and because he

[1] At Waterloo Wellington had 27,000 British (of whom 7000 were killed or wounded) and about 40,000 foreigners, some good, some worthless Napoleon had on the field 74,000 French and a great superiority of guns The arrival of Blucher turned the weight of numbers against the French, but not till the evening

appeared again and again to take charge at the critical point and the critical moment, at great risk to himself and at the cost of nearly all his staff. Next day, in Brussels, he said to his gossip Creevey, 'It has been a damned nice thing,—the nearest run thing you ever saw in your life. . . . By God, I don't think it would have done if I had not been there'

The brilliant strategy with which Napoleon had opened the campaign, nearly drove asunder the British and Prussian armies. His failure was due to his strategical errors of the last three days, his great inferiority to Wellington as a tactician on the field of battle, the mistakes of several of his subordinate commanders, the superiority of our line formation and volley-firing, and the determined energy with which old Blücher brought up his Prussians after Napoleon had written them off as in full retreat.

A political element should be added to the causes of French defeat,—the indiscipline and self-distrust of the newly levied army of veterans. It had scarcely had time to be brigaded; men and officers did not know their immediate chiefs, or, if they did, distrusted their loyalty. The pure Napoleonic zeal was found only in the ranks. The higher the officers, the more strongly they felt the desire for peace, and the greater their misgiving as to the issue of a new war against Europe. Never did the French show greater courage than on that day, but it was ill directed. Officers dashed their troops forward at the wrong moment for fear of being suspected of treason. Finally, at the sunset hour, the panic cry of *Nous sommes trahis* gave to the military defeat a completeness that was essentially political, but which for a hundred years deceived the world as to the power of endurance and resistance in the armies of France

The reputation of England and Wellington was immensely enhanced by the campaign. The Peninsula had been the greatest of 'side-shows.' But Waterloo broke the neck of the war and dethroned Napoleon in a day.

Prussia shared with England in the prestige of Waterloo. But she threw away the opportunities of her position by an uncouth desire for revenge on France, by military brutalities to the population, and by a policy of demanding the dismemberment of the French provinces, beginning with Alsace-Lorraine and the north-eastern frontier. British public opinion also was for the moment much inflamed against France after the

F 2

Hundred Days, and our Cabinet was shaken in its generous policy. But the Czar Alexander remained a friend of Bourbon France, while Castlereagh and Wellington, disgusted with the behaviour of the Prussian army of occupation, stood firm for the policy of 'security not revenge,' which they finally succeeded in inducing the Cabinet to support. Their scorn of popular opinion and its moods, whether in the City or the clubs, was on this occasion most serviceable to Europe. Indeed, although the defects of the settlement of 1815 resulted from its being made by irresponsible monarchs and anti-popular statesmen, its merits in relation to the treatment of France were owing not a little to the absence of all democratic control in the critical treaty-making months that follow the end of a great war, while popular passions are still at blood-heat.

So the British soldier and the British statesman prevented the dismemberment of France, and handed back the French colonies, with the trifling exceptions of Mauritius, Tobago and St. Lucia. But while they scorned revenge, they insisted on security. They took a leading part in the formation of a new alliance pledged to prevent by arms the return of Napoleon. France had to pay a moderate indemnity, and while it was being paid a portion of her territory was occupied for three years by allied troops under the command of Wellington.

1815–18

The European Alliance to prevent the return of Napoleon or any of his family to the throne was largely the work of Castlereagh. But he refused to let England be a party to another treaty, which the idealist Czar induced his 'brothers' of Austria and Prussia to sign. By the Treaty of the Holy Alliance, each of God's self-appointed viceregents solemnly undertook to regulate his home and foreign policy according to the principles of the Christian religion, 'namely, the precepts of justice, Christian charity and peace,' since 'the three allied Princes look on themselves as merely delegated by Providence to govern the three branches of one family, namely, Austria, Prussia and Russia' To Castlereagh, all this was 'a piece of sublime mysticism and nonsense.' Indeed, his objections to the Holy Alliance of 1815 were not those of a Liberal, but of an unsentimental Englishman. Nor, as Minister of a constitutional State, had he any intention of allowing the Prince Regent to sign treaties on his personal account, as if it were he who directed the policy of Britain. At the time that Castlereagh

Sept 1815

first took objection to the treaty, the principles of the Christian religion invoked in the document meant nothing in particular. It was only later that they came to be interpreted by the signatories to mean despotism and obscurantism, as Alexander passed out of his liberal phase and fell under the influence of Metternich.

A more practical 'Holy Alliance' which Castlereagh urged with partial success upon the Congress, was world-wide co-operation to put down the slave-trade. The English people, divided on so much else, were now united in a passionate enthusiasm for this particular use of our maritime powers. On this point the Evangelicals had at length captured the Tory party, where the slave-trade had once found many friends.

The new Colonial Empire that was to replace the lost American colonies was slowly rising It has already been shown how the war hastened the growth of our power in India. Canada and Australia were little affected by the Napoleonic struggle or by the treaties that ended it.[1] But we had to decide in 1815 how many of the colonies and ports of call all over the world, then in our hands as prizes of war, we intended permanently to retain In that generation stations and ports of call were more highly valued by our statesmen than colonies. So Malta was kept; and Mauritius; and the Cape of Good Hope as the key of the route to India, though it turned out later to be a very large colony in disguise. Dutch Ceylon, too, was kept as an appendix to India; and Danish Heligoland, which had proved a most useful centre for smuggling goods into Germany during our fight with the Napoleonic embargo.

But on the whole we were generous in our restorations France and Denmark got back their most valuable islands. Holland, to whom we had assigned the doubtful boon of Belgium, lost indeed the Cape and Ceylon, but we paid her three million sterling for what is now British Guiana, where before the war British planters had lived under the Dutch flag. Above all, we restored to Holland her wealthy empire in the East Indies: Java was given back to the Dutch in 1815, and shortly afterwards we ceded to them our ports and interests in Sumatra. It was the more remarkable because the brief period of our occupation had been signalised by the work of one of the greatest and best servants our Empire ever possessed, Sir Stamford Raffles. He was perhaps the first European

[1] See pp. 175–177, below, for Canada and the American war of 1812–4.

who successfully brought modern humanitarian and scientific methods to bear on the improvement of the natives and their lot. Finally, in 1824, the trading station of Singapore was all that Britain chose to retain of Raffles' legacy in the Malay Archipelago—until in the following generation an equally remarkable man, 'Rajah' Brooke of Sarawak, without official aid, won northern Borneo by sheer force of personality and by the best British methods of treating native races.

The greatest gains with which Britain emerged from the war did not appear in the treaties. There were the unrivalled supremacy of our navy and of our mercantile marine; the reputation of having been the only Power that consistently withstood Napoleon; the possession of a Parliamentary system now more than ever the envy of 'less happier lands' since the relative failure of 'French principles' of liberty. With these advantages we faced the coming era.

The policy embodied in the treaties of 1815 was, in some of its chief aspects, generous and wise. It prevented a war of revenge by France, and it gave security to the British Empire for a hundred years; on both counts the policy of Castlereagh had been the decisive factor. The defect of the settlement, destined to imperil Britain once more when the wheel had come full circle, was its entire neglect of the craving of the European peoples for nationality and for freedom. While France secured the rudiments of constitutional government under the 'charter,' of which Talleyrand and the strange Czar Alexander had been the chief advocates, Germans, Italians and Spaniards were thrust back under the crudest forms of reactionary despotism, and the populations of Poland, Belgium, Italy and Germany were treated as mere assets and counters in bargains over the personal claims of alien sovereigns. It will always be open to controversy how far this was inevitable in view of the attitude of the Prussian, Austrian and Russian governments; or how far England might have made a stand on the lines of Canning's policy a few years later, if it had not been for the ultra-Tory doctrines of the Cabinet. It is certain that Castlereagh, not from negligence but on a consistent line of policy, in this respect did practically nothing. But it is more than doubtful whether he could have done anything if he had tried. Britain was not the lord of the land, but of the ocean, and where Prussia, Russia and Austria were agreed, they were

in a position to impose their will on Central and most of Western Europe. That was the price that Europe paid for the overthrow of Napoleon.

Closely connected with this first defect in the settlement was another. The new distribution of territory fostered the undue growth in the European polity of the three Eastern despotisms, who would certainly be able to overpower German popular liberties and might some day be too strong for France and England combined Not only were popular wishes absolutely ignored, but even the principle of 'legitimacy'—that is to say, the restoration of states and sovereigns as they had been before 1789—was adhered to only where it suited Russia, Prussia and Austria. Wherever the province in question was coveted by one of the Great Powers, historical claims were pleaded in vain. The kingdom of Poland, as it had existed in 1792, was not accounted 'legitimate' in 1814. Part of the kingdom of Saxony and the prince bishoprics of the Rhine were given to Prussia. The Republic of Venice and its Adriatic seaboard went to Austria. On the other hand, since the Temporal Power of the Pope over Central Italy suited Austria's game, it was restored, as if the eighteenth century had come back again. Protestant England set her seal to the arrangement, for the overthrow of which she was destined forty-five years later to hold the ring as an enthusiastic assistant.

The net result was that Russia, Prussia and Austria were left with the chief power on the Continent, even if France and England for a while longer held the intellectual lead. This eastern and despotic predominance proved fatal to continental liberties in 1848–9, was recognised as the unwritten law of Europe after 1870, and caused the war of 1914 and its consequences But again we may ask, how could Castlereagh have endeavoured, after Napoleon was conquered, to go back on the promises by which alone Russia, Austria and Prussia had been induced to carry through the war of liberation? Indeed, by what possible means could he have resisted their will on the continent of Europe?

Thus the merits of the great settlement associated with the names of Wellington and Castlereagh gave Britain security which she used for a hundred years of progress in liberty and high civilisation, while the defects of the same settlement, for which also they were in part though in small degree responsible, set a date to that happiness in the end.

# CHAPTER IX

The Industrial Revolution—Rural enclosures and Speenhamland—Urban: machines and factories—Coal and iron—Cotton and wool—Material and moral influences on the new society—Popular education—The Mechanics

THE disciples of Burke and Eldon, with unconscious irony, daily proclaimed their aversion to change of every sort. They failed to understand that they themselves were living in the midst of a revolution more profound than that which drew all their thoughts across the Channel. Nor did they lift a finger to check its headlong course.

Since it was the destiny of the human race that the commonest methods of bread-winning and production were to undergo changes incomparably more rapid than those of any previous age, there must in any case have been terrible suffering while the life of a whole people was being thus uprooted. But the misery in England, necessarily great, was increased by the political and intellectual atmosphere of the period in which the change began, just as it was greatly mitigated by the more humane politics and more liberal thought of the middle and later nineteenth century.

When George III ascended the throne on the eve of the Industrial Revolution, the English labourer was in most cases a countryman. He enjoyed not a few of the amenities of the pleasant old-world life, and often some personal independence, and some opportunity of bettering his position. For a variety of reasons, real wages had been fairly good in the first part of the eighteenth century. The labourers and the small farmers had reason for the traditional pride that they felt as 'free-born Englishmen,' and they appear to have looked up to the gentry, more often than not, without envy or resentment. This happy state of society did once in some sort exist, although at the time when anti-Jacobin writers invoked it as an ideal to rally Britons against the republican doctrines, it was passing into the land of dreams, yielding place to the grim realities of Cobbett's England.

The 'labouring poor' in the eighteenth century had enjoyed many privileges, but they had lacked political power. This weakness proved their undoing alike in town and country, when the world of old custom, which had so long afforded them a partial shelter, was destroyed by the Industrial Revolution.

When the common, the cow, the garden, the strips of corn land, the cottage industries, and the good wages of the early Georgian period disappeared together, the poor had no means of demanding analogous benefits under any new system. They had neither the influence nor the knowledge to plead so as to be heard, either before Parliament, or before their more immediate lords, the Justices of the Peace.

The wealthy classes then enjoyed, to a degree seldom paralleled in our history, a monopoly of every form of power. They had done more to earn and deserve it than any continental *noblesse*, but it was excessive. Because their position was unchallenged, they fell unconsciously and almost innocently into the habit of considering all national and economic problems in terms consonant with their own interest.

The effective political economy of this period that guided the action of Parliament, of the Justices of the Peace, of the new millowners, and of the enclosing landlords, was a selection and exaggeration of those parts of Adam Smith, Malthus and Ricardo which suited the acquisition of wealth by the wealthy, and a quiet ignoring of the other doctrines of those eminent philosophers.[1] Such is the way in which any class, high or low, rich or poor, is sure to treat political economy, where it is not checked by the presence in the controversial arena of other classes in a position to make their side of the question heard.

In the days of Pitt and Castlereagh, the average respectable man sincerely believed that Malthus had shown poverty to be inevitable for the majority of mankind on account of the natural increase of population; that the object of labour was not, as had formerly been thought, to supply a comfortable subsistence to the producers in the village community, but to turn out the greatest possible quantity of goods and so increase the nation's wealth; that this could best be achieved by freeing agriculture

[1] Thus Adam Smith was opposed to protective duties and to State interference against labourers' combinations. Malthus favoured factory Acts and national education. He and Ricardo both favoured Parliamentary reform, and both took part in the movement for the repeal of Pitt's Combination Acts against Trade Unions. Neither of them really preached the dogmatic despair about the possibility of bettering the condition of the working classes, which was supposed to be their comfortable doctrine for the well-to do. McCulloch, with his wages fund theory in the next generation, made their doctrines more rigid and inhuman, his was the 'dismal science' indeed.—(Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, published 1776. Rev. T. R. Malthus' *Essay on Population*, 1798 (revised edition, 1803). Ricardo's *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*, 1817. McCulloch's *Essay on the Rate of Wages*, 1826.)

and industry from obsolete rights and customs; that common wastes and communal tillage must be abolished, together with apprenticeship and all forms of regulation of industry. It was held that the attempt of the State through the magistrates to settle wages fairly between employer and workman was an antiquated absurdity, because it was impossible to interfere with the inexorable economic laws which alone fixed what the wage must be; that for the same reason combinations of workmen to raise wages must be punished as crimes, more especially as they were politically dangerous and Jacobinical; that on the other hand the masters, who alone understood the needs of an industry, could properly consult together as to what wages it could bear; that it was impossible for the State to interfere in any respect with the bargains that a master made with a workman, either as regards the hours, pay or conditions of his own or his children's labour, and finally, that if the working classes obtained power they would use it to burn more ricks, smash more machinery, and destroy society like the French Jacobins.

Much of this creed was common ground between Whigs and Tories. The Foxite Whigs were indeed ready to enfranchise the middle classes, and to allow the poor to hold political meetings, but they failed to comprehend the economic and social realities below.[1] So, too, this same one-sided philosophy satisfied, during the Napoleonic war, both the unenfranchised millowners and the landlord governors of the Empire. The Corn Law of 1815 brought the first serious discord, for while the landlords were persuaded that corn must be kept artificially at eighty shillings a quarter or the State would perish, the master manufacturers thought that this was a gross interference with trade. So began the rift between upper and middle class, which gradually widened into such a chasm that labour from below was able to thrust through its head.

We have already indicated[2] the nature of the revolution in agriculture which between 1760 and 1840 transformed so much land from wastes and open fields to the chess-board of

[1] Lord Holland, indeed, opposed Pitt's Combination Laws against Trade Unions, and a dozen years later Byron and he in 1812 spoke up for the Luddites, when Byron told the House of Lords in his maiden speech. 'I have been in some of the most oppressed provinces of Turkey, but never under the most despotic of infidel governments did I behold such squalid wretchedness as I have seen since my return in the very heart of a Christian country'

[2] Pp 6–8, above.

hedge and ditch that we know so well to-day. These changes were effected under the leadership of 'improving landlords.' Such a one was Coke of Norfolk, George III's enemy and, in Norfolk, one might say rival, with his Holkham sheepshearings, famous over two hemispheres. He reigned from the beginning of the American Revolution to the premiership of Peel, spent half a million on his estate, transformed it from something little better than a rabbit-warren into one of the most productive districts of England, and raised his rental from £2,200 to £20,000 a year. He was adored by all classes in the countryside, for he had made their fortunes. His life was a mixture of the patriarchal and the progressive—old English of the best

During the half-century that followed the accession of George III, our country led the world in the scientific progress of agriculture, largely because the grandees of that period, besides being men of high education and experience in great affairs, loved their country homes and the company of their rural neighbours, and depended on their estates for their vast incomes.

They invested much capital in the improvement of land, and were amply rewarded by rents that often rose during the Napoleonic wars to four or five times what they had been in the former generation

The mouthpiece and inspirer of these men in the hey-day of their agricultural zeal was Arthur Young, at once the practical and literary leader of English country life during the period of its revolution. His patriotic idealism drew him into a crusade against the waste lands; he saw that, if properly enclosed and cultivated, they would yield far more than the gains made by the poor of the neighbourhood whose cattle wandered by right over these commons. He was no less zealous against the great open-field of the midland village with its hundreds of tiny strips [1]; he desired to see it hedged round into a score of fair-sized fields under farmers with enterprise and capital. Communal tillage was an anachronism, monstrously perpetuating into the age of enlightenment the methods by which Piers the Ploughman had toiled on the manors of John of Gaunt.

Young saw his dreams realised. In whole districts the very landscape was changed according to his desire. The break-up of the old cautious peasant life helped the population to increase

[1] See p 6, above

at a pace unknown during the long centuries of 'subsistence agriculture.' The enclosures helped England, by producing more corn and wealth, to survive the economic struggle with Napoleon. But unfortunately they had also another effect, which their chief author in the latter part of his life had the humanity to recognise and the manhood to proclaim. In 1801, Arthur Young wrote to tell his fellow-countrymen that: 'By nineteen out of twenty Enclosure Bills the poor are injured and most grossly'

Enclosure on a great scale was absolutely necessary in order to increase corn production and to keep pace with the changes in industry. But the method adopted from 1760 to 1840 was too uniform and paid too little regard to social consequences. Enclosure of open fields and common wastes, which meant the disappearance of innumerable small rights and properties, was during this period conducted by a long series of private Acts of Parliament, promoted by local landlords and passed by two Houses composed almost entirely of that same class. The compensation given to the dispossessed commoner or small holder was too often inadequate, usually taking the form of a little money; the recipient had seldom any chance of setting up again as a farmer under the new system, where considerable capital was required, if only for the necessary fencing.[1]

The legislators saw nothing but the good side of what they did. The new fashion of economic and political thought no longer judged things by the old criterion of rearing independent families, but by the aggregate national wealth. The doctrine not only attracted philosophers and patriots, but suited the game-preserving lords and squires, who rejoiced in the disappearance of the independent classes, the yeoman freeholder and the small cottar on the edge of the common, because the countryside was thus rid of rebels to feudal authority, and actual or potential poachers Indeed, by the time the social consequences of the movement began to be plain, the anti-Jacobin feeling of the new age openly welcomed the enclosure of common land as a means of keeping the people in their place. The use of common land by labourers 'operates upon the mind as a sort of independence,' we read in Mr. Bishton's Report on Shropshire sent to the Board of Agriculture in 1794: but when the remaining commons are enclosed, then

[1] See p 425, below, Appendix, *Enclosures of Land* (b)

'that subordination of the lower ranks of society, which in the present times is much wanted, would be hereby considerably secured.' The labourers, who are to be housed in cottages supplied by their employers, will then work every day instead of idling about on their own patches, and their children, who are now growing up wild, lazy and vicious will be 'taught to read and put out to labour early.' Mr. Bishton and many others believed, from their own personal observation, that the economic as well as the moral condition of the squatter on the common would be improved if he was turned off it and given no choice but to work as a farm hand.

Not only the squatter on the common, but the small yeoman disappeared, even out of regions like Kent and Devon, where enclosure had taken place in former centuries in a manner compatible with small farming. Undoubtedly more corn had to be grown, and could be best grown on large farms. But the movement in that direction was too universal and uniform, even from the standpoint of production. While the large farm was best for corn, on the other hand poultry and livestock were best reared and sold by the small farmer and by his wife, who took the eggs, butter and pigs to market, or supplied geese and turkeys to the great towns. The big farmers would not be bothered with these things; they produced corn on the grand scale and thought of nothing else. Under the impetus of Napoleonic prices they took the plough over lands quite unsuitable for corn. When the fall in the price of corn came, they had too often no other string to their bow.

The enclosures had increased the food supply and the national wealth; but the increased wealth had gone chiefly in rent to the landlord, in tithe to the parson, and to the pocket of the more fortunate of the big farmers.[1] The lower middle class had become poor, and the poor had become paupers. Agricultural progress had been so handled as to bring disaster to the working agriculturist. This would have been avoided

[1] Cobbett thus describes the change of manners and style of living that accompanied the increased wealth of the tenant farmer. 'The English farmer has, of late years, become a totally different character. A fox-hunting horse; polished boots, a spanking trot to market, a "get out of the way or by G—d I'll ride over you" to every poor devil upon the road, wine at his dinner; a servant (and sometimes in *livery*) to wait at his table, a painted lady for a wife, sons aping the young squires and lords, a house crammed up with sofas, pianos and all sorts of fooleries.' Of course much of this had its good as well as its bad side, though Cobbett could see nothing but the bad.

by leaving a larger number of small holders, and by enforcing the payment of a living wage by the farmer instead of throwing the farm hands as paupers upon the rates.

The pauperisation of rural England, the long-drawn-out disaster with which the nineteenth century opened, can only in part be ascribed to the mistakes accompanying the necessary enclosure of the land. It was equally due to the decadence of the cottage industries[1] As textile and other trades were year by year gathered round the new machinery and the new factories, the corresponding industries disappeared out of cottage after cottage and village after village, at the very time when efforts were being made in so many districts to convert common waste land and small holdings into large farms The small yeoman or labourer, losing sometimes his own sources of income, sometimes those of his wife and children, and sometimes losing both together, was left in helpless dependence on the big farmer, who, just because the rural proletariat had nothing now to live on but the farm wage, was able to cut that wage down to the starvation rate.

At this crisis in the fortunes of the poor, prices rushed up; the harvests from 1792 to 1813 were exceptionally bad; the French wars interfered with the importation of corn; food was at famine prices. The population increased with a rapidity hitherto unknown. Many went off to the new factories and helped to lower industrial wage rates. Some went to the New World, though the great tide of emigration only came in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Enough of them remained on the country-side to prevent a rise of wages there, and even to create a danger that multitudes would perish of inanition

The danger of wholesale death by famine, with which rural England was faced in 1795, was averted by a remedy that perpetrated and increased the evils of the time,—the famous poor-rate in aid of wages. In May of that year the magistrates of Berkshire were summoned to meet at Speenhamland[2] for the expressed object of fixing and enforcing a living wage for the county, in relation to the price of bread. It would no doubt

[1] In some districts the disappearance of the cottage industries was the principal or only cause why the small yeomen sold their farms, because they could no longer make two ends meet (Wordsworth's *Description of the Lakes,* ed 1823, pp 47, 85–86)

[2] Speenhamland seldom figures in modern maps, it is the northern part of Newbury

have been hard to carry out during the period of violent price fluctuations between 1795 and 1815, but in principle this was the true remedy. If it had been adopted for Berkshire and for all England, it might have diverted our modern social history at its source into happier channels. It was the course pointed out by ancient custom and existing law. Unfortunately the magistrates, who had come to Speenhamland for this good purpose, were there persuaded not to enforce the raising of wages, but to supplement wages instead out of the parish rates. They drew up and published a scale, by which every poor and industrious person should receive from the parish enough to make up the deficiency of his wages to 3*s.* a week for himself, and for every other member of his family 1*s.* 6*d.* a week, when the loaf cost a shilling. As the loaf rose higher the dole was to rise with it. This convenient scale, vulgarly known as the 'Speenhamland Act,' was adopted by the magistrates in county after county, till, except in some of the northern shires, the labourers of all England were pauperised. 'Speenhamland' became a governing fact of English life until the Poor Law of 1834.

The result was that agricultural wages were kept unduly low. As the burden of maintaining the employee had been taken over by the parish and as labour was plentiful, the farmer had no motive to pay a higher wage. And the principle of supplementing wages out of rates, while it kept down wages, destroyed the self-respect of the labourer, by making pauperism the shameless rule instead of the shameful exception. The net result of the enclosures and of Speenhamland was that the labourer had small economic motive for industry, sobriety, independence or thrift. The employee of the big farmer was often compelled to become a pauper; and to maintain him the small, independent man was crushed by the exactions of the poor-rate. In every way it was made as hard as possible for the poor to be self-supporting. Enclosure had helped to put an end to the old methods of livelihood which once had been schools of modest virtue. Arthur Young, awakened to the evils that had accompanied the success of his own policy, thus summarises the philosophy of the alehouse bench when the new century opened: 'If I am sober, shall I have land for a cow? If I am frugal, shall I have half an acre of potatoes? You offer no motives. Bring me another pot.'

The rapid increase of the population, so much deplored at

this time by the disciples of Malthus, has been very generally ascribed first to the enclosures, and then to Speenhamland. In the days of 'subsistence agriculture,' the English peasants had been 'small men,' but each with a standard to maintain. The rustic lover had prudently waited before marrying till he could tell his bride of 'a pig put up in a stye,' or some other basis for the family budget. And the small farmer, if he employed labour at all, preferred to hire young unmarried people who slept in the farm and shared his table. But under the new system all was changed. The big farmer put his labourers into hovels of their own, where now the Speenhamland Poor Law secured them eighteen pence a week for every child they brought into the world. Even the mother of a family of illegitimate children was offered, as such, a better income then the worker in the field.

These conditions, and the corresponding conditions of factory life with its child labour, have been held largely to account for the sudden increase in a population which, so far as we know, had grown only very gradually since the Norman Conquest. Yet, although the new social regime, as compared to the old, may have tended to encourage parents to bring children into the world, the fact remains that the great increase of population in the later years of George III was due not to a rising birth-rate but to a falling death-rate. In spite of all the acute miseries of the period, the average length of life was greater than in days before the industrial revolution. Vital statistics seem to indicate that the improvement in medical efficiency, resulting in the control of smallpox, scurvy, infant mortality and common diseases of the poor, counterbalanced the accompanying evils of industrial change at least on the purely material side of life.[1]

When hope and self-respect had fled, crime made his seat on the hearth. In the era of Waterloo rick-burning was a common form of vengeance that often had the secret sympathy of the whole village, while highway robbery and thieving in barns were resorted to with dreadful frequency as a means of subsistence. But the particular crime most deeply resented and most severely punished by legislators and magistrates was regarded by the bulk of the population as no crime at all: to the man whom society had made a pauper *malgré lui*, it must

[1] Griffith, *Population in the Age of Malthus*, Mrs George, *London Life in the Eighteenth Century*, *Ec Hist Review*, April 1935, p 68.

often have seemed that to snare hares and net partridges at risk to his personal safety was the most honourable part of the grim and sordid life in which he strove against fate to find food for wife and child. Poaching brought a gleam of romance and joyous living into the life of the disinherited peasant—

'Oh, 'tis my delight, on a shining night, in the season of the year.'

The game laws, severe when George III came to the throne, were still having fresh rigours added to them when he died. These later laws ascribed transportation for a long term of years even to the poacher carrying nothing more formidable than a net. Some indeed of the poachers were professional ruffians, coming armed from a distance and reckless of human life. The woods at midnight resounded with volleys when gentlemen and their servants, in parties of a dozen or twenty, were grappling with the banditti, man to man. It was in these years that the harsh spirit of the age introduced a new terror into the English woodland, the 'mantrap,' with its crocodile teeth, and the yet deadlier 'spring-gun,' lurking in the undergrowth and murdering not only the poacher, for whom they were meant, but the gamekeeper or the innocent neutral.

Partly because they slew and maimed at random, partly because legislators were beginning to think more humanely, these engines of refurbished feudalism were made illegal in 1827. But the poaching war still raged on, and in the next three years there were over 8,500 convictions under the game laws. Poaching diminished just in proportion as the game laws were softened down to the Victorian level of humanity and justice.

The agricultural revolution of George III's reign had been, for the labourer, a tragedy. But the part of villain need not be ascribed to the landlords.

'In tragic life, God wot,
No villain need be'

can apply as well to public as to private matters. It is true that the landlords' rents went up two, three and fourfold during the Napoleonic wars. But that was largely because they had invested their money in improving their estates. It was not the mere rack-rent of the unimproving Irish landlord of the same period. It was return on capital, well invested in an industry which enabled the island to increase its population,

in days when food could not be imported largely from abroad. Such was one aspect of the enclosures. And if the rents went up, so did war-taxation and the poor-rate. Speenhamland was a bad policy, but it was to a large extent a self-imposed levy on landlords to prevent the poor from dying of starvation.

The Corn Law of 1815, prohibiting the import of corn till the price of wheat stood above eighty shillings a quarter—a terrible price in the money values of that day—was indeed a great mistake, but Huskisson did not think so at the time. It was an almost inevitable outcome of the landowning monopoly of the legislature. Any other class with a like political monopoly would have been equally self-regarding. In the panic created by the sudden fall of corn prices after the war, farmers threw up their farms in multitudes, and became bankrupts and village paupers. The landlords themselves, who had unwisely launched out into expenses on the expectation of perpetual high prices, had often mortgaged their estates, and were now in great difficulties. Although rents were not reduced as much or as quickly as they should have been, they had fallen in 1816 it was believed by as much as nine millions. The collapse of prices in 1814–6 was more rapid and terrifying than the agricultural depression of 1875 and the following years. In spite of the great increase of rents during the Napoleonic war, landlords were probably nothing like so substantially prosperous as their grandchildren in 1875–80. And so, having the means, as they imagined, of saving themselves and the country with them, they passed the Corn Law of 1815 with the best intentions and the worst results.

Meanwhile, step by step with the rural revolution, advanced the urban revolution, similar in principle and in spirit, and at the outset similar in its social consequences. Just as the old theory of subsistence agriculture, associated with ancient rights, small properties and communal tillage, was being replaced by a new habit of mind that looked for the greatest net productivity of the national soil, on a basis of unfettered individual farming on the large scale—so in the towns the old theory of a 'limited' and 'well-regulated' trade, based on the local monopoly of a chartered few, subjecting themselves to a common set of rules about trade and apprenticeship, was being gradually abandoned for the new principle of open world-competition wherein all traders who could muster the capital

and enterprise were invited to buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest, and to hire their labour wherever they liked and on what conditions each could secure The change, in town as well as country, caused a wide cleavage of sympathy and of interest between classes which had previously shared, each in its degree, the common advantages of a fixed system of life and work; now that everyone scrambled for himself, the rich became richer and the poor poorer, and the law instead of attempting to redress the balance interfered heavily on the side of the employer. Such at least was the first phase of the new civilisation in England.

A new civilisation, not only for England but ultimately for all mankind, was implicit in the substitution of scientific machinery for handwork. The Greek scientists of the Alexandrine age, the contemporaries of Archimedes and of Euclid, had failed to apply their discoveries to industry on the big scale. Perhaps this failure was due to the contempt with which the high-souled philosophy of Hellas regarded the industrial arts conducted by slave labour; perhaps the great change was prevented by the disturbed and warlike state of the Mediterranean world during those three hundred years between Alexander and Augustus, when Greek science was in its most advanced state. In any case it was left to the peaceful, cultivated but commercially minded England of the generation that followed Newton's death, to harness philosophic thought and experiment to the commonest needs of daily life. The great English inventors negotiated the alliance of science and business.

The social and intellectual conditions of the England of that day would not have been enough to initiate the industrial revolution without the presence on the spot of coal and iron. Both had long been known and used, but they had not yet been used together. The British iron industry had flourished since primeval times in the weald of Surrey and Sussex, where lonely 'hammer ponds' still recall the vanished day. From times before the Phœnician traders came to Britain, down to the time of the elder Pitt, ironmasters had been feeding their furnaces from the local forests. So long as wood remained the only fuel, the output of iron or steel was necessarily small, and so long as it remained small there could be no age of machinery. But in the middle of the eighteenth century, just when the English woodland was giving out, and the iron industry was

beginning to leave our shores for the Scandinavian and North American forests, methods were devised to apply coal to the smelting process. This discovery led, by a chain of closely interrelated developments, to the whole urban revolution.

Iron-smelting moved to the North and Midlands to be near the coal. As the demand for coal grew, steam-engines, invented by James Watt in the early years of George III, were used to pump water from the mines. More iron, the result of more coal, in turn made it possible to produce more steam-engines, and men looked round for other ways to employ them, whether in locomotion or manufacture In Watt's own lifetime his steam-engines were applied to the cotton industry. Already the need for more coal had produced not only steam-engines but English canals, and many years later it produced the steam railways. Brindley's first canal and Stephenson's first locomotive were both made to carry coal from the pit's mouth.

1761
1825

It was characteristic of England, as opposed to the France of the *ancien régime*, that some of our nobility took an active part in these developments. The Duke of Bridgewater employed Brindley and invested his own capital in the first canals. There were great noblemen who were also great coalowners, working their own mines, and thereby becoming in due course still greater noblemen.

On the other hand, the changes in cotton and wool that followed hard on the changes in iron and coal were not patronised by the aristocracy, or even to any great extent by the merchant capitalists. The textile revolution was the work of a wholly new order of men, risen from the ranks by their energy in seizing the opportunities of the new industrial situation. A workman who had toiled at the hand-loom in his own cottage might borrow £100 to start as a small employer with the new machines. The more enterprising of the vanishing class of yeomen invested the price of their ancestral farms in a like venture. Such are the origins of not a few families who became honourably famous in the nineteenth century.

The first generation of these men had the defects as well as the merits of pioneers. A common type of 'millowner' in the days of the younger Pitt was a hard-bitten North-country working-man, of no education and great force of character, taking little stock of his social or political relations with the outer world, allowing neither leisure nor recreation to himself

or to his hands, but managing somehow to convert the original £100 that he borrowed into a solvent 'mill,' the prison-house of children, the hidden reef on which Napoleon's empire struck. As a rule, he bothered his head equally little about the children he employed and the foreign war in which he was to be a decisive factor—except in so far as they made or marred his own fortunes.

By the time the war came to an end, men and their manners were changing. A millowner of the second generation had been born and bred a bourgeois, but of a new and enterprising type. With more education and wider outlook than his grim old father, the young man looked about him for the uses, obligations and privileges of wealth, as they were understood in that generation. He cast an eye on the world of gentry and clergy around him, with the result sometimes of alliance, more often of mutual repulsion As likely as not he became a Unitarian, to express his intellectual and social independence, while his workmen sought simple salvation as Baptists or Wesleyans. As a young man, he believed in Mr. Brougham, slavery abolition and the 'march of mind,' hated Church Rates, Orders in Council, Income Tax and Corn Laws, and read the *Edinburgh Review.* His coming battle with the Tory borough-owners and landlords, delayed by the long struggle with Napoleon, was a thing as inevitable as the feud with his own workmen that he had inherited from his father. But his war on two fronts never degenerated into class-war pure and simple; with its constant regroupings, cross-currents, conversions and compromises, it was the destined method of evolution for the political and intellectual life of the new Britain.

The cotton industry, though not absolutely created by the new machinery, derived thence almost its whole importance. Between the accession of George III and the passing of the Reform Bill its output increased a hundred-fold. Already by 1806 cotton was said to supply a third of the total British exports. The industry was concentrated in South and Central Lancashire, because the port of Liverpool was convenient to a trade depending on the import of raw cotton and the export of the manufactured article; because there it was near cheap coal; and because the climate of the damp Atlantic seaboard is peculiarly suitable to fine spinning.

The first mills, worked by water-power, were established on the upper reaches of the Pennine streams. But throughout

the long war with France, Watt's steam-engines were replacing water-power, and the industry was carried on by altogether more modern methods. This meant a change from small to large mills, real capitalist employers, great assemblies of working-people and an increase in the proportion of skilled mechanics,—circumstances all of which prepared the way for improved conditions of life in the future. The employees, now accumulated in one mill by hundreds instead of by scores, could not long fail to combine for economic and political action. The new type of large millowner had a secure financial position, more education and sometimes more enlightenment. Individuals of this class introduced factory conditions which inspectors in a later time could enforce as standards. And when the age of Factory Acts came, it was easier to inspect properly one big mill than many small ones.

If the cotton industry showed England the way into some of the worst miseries of the industrial revolution, it also showed the way out, because it passed most rapidly through the period of semi-capitalised and half-organised industry, with its mean cruelties, into full-blown capitalism where the workpeople, the masters and the State could readily take stock of each other

But before the age of Factory Acts, the condition of women and children in both small and big mills was as a rule very wretched. Mothers and children worked from twelve to fifteen hours a day under insanitary conditions, without either the amenities of life which had sweetened and relieved the tedium of family work in the cottage, or the conditions which make factory life attractive to many women to-day. The discipline of the early factories was like the discipline of a prison. Small children were often cruelly treated to keep them awake during the long hours, which shortened their lives or undermined their health.

The men were in little better case. Often out of employment, they were forced to sell their wives and children into the slavery of the mills, while they themselves degenerated in squalid idleness. The hand-loom weavers had flourished until the early years of the nineteenth century, weaving the increased product of the new spinning mills. But the coming of the power-loom destroyed their prosperity; their wages fell, they went on to the rates as paupers, and drank the dregs of misery, until after long years their old-world employment altogether disappeared.

The older branch of the textile industry, wool, was more widely spread over the island than its younger and half-foreign sister, cotton. But its chief centre remained in the dales of the West Riding of Yorkshire. Wool was subject to the same general conditions of employment as cotton, and underwent in the end the same kind of transformation. But the change came more slowly in wool. Although the spinning-jenny had in the last years of the eighteenth century gone far to destroy the spinning of wool by women and children in rural cottages, the power-loom was introduced for the weaving of worsted and wool several decades later than for cotton. In the early years of the century, therefore, the woollen weavers suffered little from the introduction of machinery, although the fluctuations of trade caused them much distress.

Coal-mining was an ancient industry, but its development in the age of 'iron and coal' was prodigious, and a large part of the population now worked underground Women were used there as beasts of burden, and children worked in the dark, sometimes for fourteen hours.[1] The men laboured under conditions that showed but little regard for health or human life. In Durham and Northumberland it was not the custom before 1815 to hold inquests on the victims of the innumerable accidents. Payment was not on a cash basis, owing to the 'truck' system, and the oppression by the 'putties' or sub-contractors for labour. These things and the condition of the miners' cottages, which were generally owned by their employers, too often rendered the life of the miner of a hundred years ago 'brutish, nasty and brief.'

If things were thus in the great textile and mining industries, they were no better in shops and smaller businesses where the new semi-capitalised industry was breaking up the old apprentice system and the 'regulated' trade. Indeed in many small or less highly organised concerns, where Trade Unionism failed to take root, 'truck' payments and 'sweated' wages and hours continued till the end of the nineteenth century, though they were worse when it began.

[1] As late as 1842 the Royal Commission on Mines, that first threw light on the life of underground England, brought out such facts as these from a Lancashire woman 'I have a belt round my waist and a chain passing between my legs, and I go on my hands and feet. The water comes up to my clog tops, and I have seen it over my thighs I have drawn till I have the skin off me The belt and chain is worse when we are in the family way' It was also shown that children under five worked alone in the darkness.

The new urban proletariat was swelled in numbers and depressed in standard of life by constant arrivals of fresh swarms of impoverished rustics, driven by stress of famine from the English and the Irish country-side. Any attempt of workmen to combine for a living wage consonant with the rise of prices was illegal under Pitt's Combination Acts (1799). And though the law was frequently violated by the men it was frequently enforced by the Justices of the Peace. However little some of the magistrates who were squires might sympathise with the new class of millowner, they saw their duty in keeping down the 'Jacobinism' of the lower orders. But in fact they were thus preparing for 'Jacobinism' a powerful revival.

After the Tom Paine movement had been suppressed, the workmen in the early years of the nineteenth century had no political ambition. But they petitioned Parliament during the Napoleonic wars that a living wage should be enforced in accordance with existing statutes; such patriarchal protection by the authorities would seem the corollary of Pitt's laws that prevented the workmen from attempting to raise wages for themselves. But the answer of Parliament in 1813 was to repeal the assessment clauses of the Elizabethan Statutes for the enforcement of which the workmen were asking Assessment of wages was condemned on the principle of non-interference proclaimed by the new political economy. *Laissez faire* was always invoked against the workman but never on his behalf, as was proved once more when in 1815 the price of bread was artificially raised by the Corn Law. It was this unfair political dealing at every turn that drove the masses of workmen now collected together in the great staple industries to renew their interest in politics.

The Tory panacea for unrest had been proclaimed in 1795 by Bishop Horsley when he said that 'the mass of the people had nothing to do with the laws but to obey them.' During the next twenty years the laws had almost invariably been used to make the mass of the people worse off. That was why the workmen, led by Cobbett and Hunt, began to demand the vote, before the middle classes had been stirred to a like demand. That was why Peterloo followed hard on Waterloo.

Before tracing the political history of the new era, it remains to notice some of the moral and intellectual influences to which men and women were subjected, when, uprooted

from the pieties and associations of the old rural life, they drifted to the new factories to find work.

First they had to be housed, if only in the private and temporary interest of the employer. Consideration for the public and forethought for the future were absent from the planning of the new town. The man for the employer's purpose was the jerry-builder, who designed the outward aspect of the new civilisation. Street after street sprang up, each more ugly, narrow and insanitary than the last. They were barracks for cheap labour, not homes for citizens.

Citizens, indeed, the workmen were not. They had no word in the government of England, and no civic position in the local area which they had come to inhabit. If they happened to be lodged within a chartered town, they lived under a close corporation and its municipal magistrates. If they were outside such precincts, they were under the rural Justices of the Peace and the antiquarian relics of the Court Leet. Neither urban nor rural authorities were called upon to provide for health, lighting, decency or education in a new factory quarter. They were content to quell riots and to arrest trade unionists, seditionists, deists, frame-breakers and other criminals.

The municipal corruption of the eighteenth century had lost the civic traditions and the public spirit of mediæval corporate life. The sudden growth of the new factory quarters hardly disturbed the complacency of the long inactive oligarchs, who were so well accustomed to neglect their old duties that they were not likely to attend to the new.

It is perhaps the greatest of our national misfortunes that the modern English town arose too rapidly and with too little regulation, either sanitary or æsthetic. The bodily and spiritual health of future generations was injured in advance. A type of city was allowed to grow up which it was fatally easy to imitate as the model for the whole industrial development of the new century, until the great majority of Englishmen were dwellers in mean streets, 'divorced from nature but unreclaimed by art.' When, indeed, in the course of the nineteenth century, local government was made to attend to its duties, by being subjected partly to democratic election and partly to an elaborate system of central control, large provision was made for health, convenience and education. But ugliness remained a quality of the modern city, accepted by the public conscience in spite of Ruskin and his successors. It has yet to be dislodged

Working-class life, a hundred years ago, divided between the gloom of these dreary quarters and the harsh discipline of the workshop, was uncheered by the many interests that now relieve the lot of the town dweller. Few of the workmen or their wives could read; the children had the factory and the slum, but not the school or the playground; holiday excursions and popular entertainments were rare, except some sporting events of a low type, such as setting on men, women or animals to fight In the vacant misery of such a life, two rival sources of consolation, drink and religion, strove for the souls of men. The annals of drink are much the same in all ages, though worst in ages of degradation. But the particular form that religion then took among the workmen, influenced the course of political and social history.

The Established Church in that era scarcely paid more attention to the new slums than did the other constituted authorities. What Church expansion there was, took place chiefly at the expense of the taxpayer, who was compelled in 1818 to contribute a million pounds to build a hundred new churches. The beneficed clergy, many of whom were active magistrates, were suspect to the workmen as ' black dragoons ' of the possessing classes. But many of the more self-respecting of the new proletariat found in the Baptist or Wesleyan chapel the opportunity for the development of talents and the gratification of instincts that were denied expression elsewhere. The close and enthusiastic study of the Bible educated the imagination more nobly than it is educated in our age of magazines, novelettes and newspapers. And in the chapel life workingmen first learnt to speak and to organise, to persuade and to trust their fellows. Much effort that soon afterwards went into political, trade union and co-operative activities, was then devoted to the chapel community. It was in Little Bethel that many of the working-class leaders were trained In a world made almost intolerable by avarice and oppression, here was a refuge where men and things were taken up aloft and judged by spiritual and moral standards that forbade either revenge or despair.

The Wesleyans, unlike the Baptists, were originally conservative in their political associations, owing to the views of their founder, a Church of England clergyman. Wesley's religion could not indeed induce the workman of the new era to accept the conditions of his helotage, but it worked against

violence and helped to develop many of the moral qualities and sober aspirations which have often distinguished the labour movement of England from that of the Continent.

The Radical 'infidelity' of the Peterloo era was a rival to Dissent, but like Dissent it nursed aspirations in the working-class for better things. Before the French Revolution, unorthodox views had been common among the aristocracy of England, and indeed our free-thinking writers had given the original stimulus to the more formidable anti-clericalism of France. But in the days of Middleton, David Hume, Gibbon and their upper-class patrons, the middle and working classes were orthodox Churchmen or Dissenters, or else were too ignorant to have any views on religion. With the publication of Tom Paine's *Age of Reason* (1794–6), a popularly written attack on miraculous religion from the point of view of ethical deism, the philosophic appeal to the people was fairly launched, and was associated with radicalism in politics owing to its author's burning reputation.

Partly on account of Paine's two-fronted attack against Church and State together, a strong religious reaction set in among the upper class under the combined influence of anti-Jacobinism and Evangelical religion. Only Fox, Lord Holland and others of the high Whigs remained untouched by the movement, handing on in their party the tradition of a quiet and gentlemanly scepticism, half aristocratic, half liberal, wholly anti-ecclesiastical. Meanwhile the triumphant Tories were setting the law in motion against the propagators of Paine's doctrines, political and religious. *The Rights of Man* and *The Age of Reason*, after selling for a short while in thousands, were driven out of circulation before the century ended.

The two movements associated with Paine went on underground, and after Waterloo reappeared openly together among the northern factory hands. The leaders of the new radicalism, whose chief demand was universal suffrage, were nearly all either Deists or Dissenters. The Dissenting preachers were under the protection of Wilberforce and the Evangelical Churchmen, now powerful in the Tory party. But the blasphemy laws were refurbished, and a fresh war of prosecutions, fines and imprisonments was waged against Radical publishers of deistic works, particularly the reprinters of Paine. The genuine horror felt by the respectable classes for a 'radical' was much increased by the supposition that he was also an 'infidel.'

In this connection Richard Carlile suffered and achieved more for the liberty of the Press than any other Englishman of the nineteenth century. He and his like bore the brunt of this early struggle, which secured immunity for those who published unorthodox works. Thanks to these sturdy predecessors, the decorous and well-to-do philosophers of the Victorian era were able without fear of the law to write whatever they thought about the relation of science and literature to dogmatic belief.

1819–1825

If the real meaning of the Industrial Revolution and the break-up of the apprentice system had been understood, men would have seen that education was no longer a luxury for the few, but a necessity for all members of the new society. Generations were to pass before this idea was acted upon by the State, as a corollary of the working-class enfranchisement of 1867. The first effect of the Industrial Revolution, and the misery and unrest that it caused among the poor, was to render education suspect as 'Jacobinical.' This notion was still prevalent in Parliament in 1807; the House of Commons took the compulsory element out of the Bill by which Whitbread[1] proposed, somewhat on the Scottish model, to establish parish schools in England out of the rates. In the Lords the Bill, thus mutilated, was introduced by Lord Holland, but was rejected without a division, on the complaint of the Archbishop of Canterbury that it did not leave enough power to the clergy.[2]

But there was a counter-current setting towards a better future for education; and it gained ground as the French Revolution slowly receded into the background of men's consciousness. At the head of the new movement were the Quakers,

[1] Whitbread understood the social question better than the other Whig leaders He moved to have a living wage enforced He and Lord Holland were often peculiarly right about social questions

[2] In the Commons debate, Mr Giddy, afterwards President of the Royal Society under the name of Gilbert, said · ' However specious in theory the project might be of giving education to the labouring classes of the poor, it would be prejudicial to their morals and happiness , it would teach them to despise their lot in life, instead of making them good servants in agriculture or other laborious employments , instead of teaching them subordination, it would render them fractious and refractory, as was evident in the manufacturing counties , it would enable them to read seditious pamphlets, vicious books, and publications against Christianity , it would render them insolent to their superiors , and in a few years the legislature would find it necessary to direct the strong arm of power towards them '

This represented an attitude towards popular education very general among gentry and farmers

ever ready with the purse; the more intelligent Whig leaders —Holland, Whitbread, Brougham; the Radical philosophers headed by Bentham; the few educated leaders of the workman, Owen and Place, and, in a separate group, the Evangelical Churchmen with their desire to promote among the humblest the personal study of the Bible. All these assisted to provide voluntary education since public funds were not available. More conservative educationalists, who dreaded lest a learned peasantry would turn Jacobin or desert agriculture for clerical professions, were appeased by the arrangement that only reading, and not writing, should be taught in the Sunday schools, now rapidly on the increase.

But, during the Peninsular War, the foundation of day-schools and the propagation of the dangerous art of writing received a fresh impulse. For some years past the Quaker Lancaster, partly helped by the ideas of the Churchman Bell, his future rival, had been working out a cheap education based on the 'monitorial system of instruction.' Lancaster's early efforts led to the formation of the 'British and Foreign School Society' under Dissenting and Whig patronage, on the basis of undenominational Bible-teaching; while the Churchmen, partly to counter Lancaster's early efforts, had founded the 'National Society for the Education of the Poor according to the Principles of the Church of England.'

The claim of the Church to control the spending of any public funds that might be devoted to education was in accordance with her privileged position in the law and theory of that time, but it was naturally resisted by many indignant laymen and Dissenters. The result was that all chance of public money going to education was put off to the Greek Calends. But religious rivalry, so disastrous in the legislative sphere, had a healthy effect on private benefaction, 'British' and 'National' schools multiplied, and the Church began to pull ahead, especially in rural districts. In 1818 as many as 600,000 children out of two million were attending schools of some sort. In the year of the Reform Bill, when Bell died, there were as many as 12,000 'National' schools.[1] But the

[1] Cobbett, anxious to disprove that learning to read the Bible was a sufficient cure for the misery of the poor, wrote in 1816 with his usual terse exaggeration. 'It is notorious that where one person could read and write a hundred years ago, fifty persons can now read and write; it is notorious that, where one Bible was printed a hundred years ago, a hundred Bibles and perhaps a thousand Bibles are now printed, it is notorious that within

'monitorial system of instruction,' though it made it easy to set up schools cheaply, gave very poor results. The master kept order while certain children whom he had instructed before school-hours imparted their newly acquired knowledge to the others by rote. This was at least better than nothing. But in the great factory districts, especially London and Lancashire, the employment of children in mills and workshops prevented them from receiving education of any kind, and made illiteracy common in parts of England where it should have been most rare.

The cause of Adult Education received its first stimulus from the Industrial Revolution in the desire of mechanics for general scientific knowledge, and the willingness of the more intelligent part of the middle class to help to supply their demand. It was a movement partly professional and utilitarian, partly intellectual and ideal. Disinterested scientific curiosity was strong among the better class of workmen in the North. From 1823 onwards Mechanics' Institutes, begun in Scotland by Dr. Birkbeck, spread through industrial England. The flame was fanned by the bellows of Henry Brougham's organising and advertising genius, in the period of his greatest public service, when he stood for the real 'Opposition' in Parliament and country, pointing to

'The young time with the life ahead.'

Self-satisfied classical scholars like Peacock might laugh at the 'learned friend' and his 'steam-intellect society,' but the new world could not live wholly on classical scholarship carefully locked away from common use in the close ecclesiastical corporations of the Oxford and Cambridge of that day. Nor, in an age that needed first and foremost to be converted to see the need for education, was there so much harm in a 'semi-Solomon' from Scotland, irrepressible in zeal as a propagandist and not afraid of making a fool of himself before the learned if he could help the ignorant to learn.

The success of these democratic Mechanics' Institutes, with an annual subscription of a guinea, reminds us that there was one section of the working men, the engineers and

the last twenty years schools of all sorts for the poor have increased a hundred-fold, it is notorious that where one man was hanged in England, fifty men are now hanged, it is notorious that where one person was a pauper when Pitt became minister, there are now more than twenty persons paupers'—*Political Register*, Sept. 7, 1816.

mechanics, who had already gained more than they lost by the Industrial Revolution.[1]

Of that Revolution, the men who made and mended the machines were indeed the bodyguard. They were usually better paid than their fellow-workmen, they were on the average more intelligent, and they often took the lead in educational and political movements. They were less looked down upon by the employers, who had to consult them and to bow to their technical knowledge. They were in the forefront of progress and invention, and rejoiced in the sense of leading the new age. Such workmen were the Stephensons of Tyneside; there was nothing 'middle class' about the origins of the man who invented the locomotive, after having taught himself to read at the age of seventeen.

It is indeed easier to reconstruct the early history of the coal-miners and textile hands, than that of the mechanics and engineers, because the latter were scattered up and down the country. But any picture of the earliest and worst stage of the Industrial Revolution is too black if it omits the life of the mechanics The motto of the coming age was 'self-help,' a doctrine that left behind many of the weaker and less fortunate; but at least there were from the first other classes besides employers and middlemen who reaped a large share of its benefits, and who grew to a larger manhood under the moral and intellectual stimulus of the individualist doctrine.

## CHAPTER X

'Macadamising'—Highways and horses—Hunting, shooting, boxing—Sports and athletics—Public Schools—The Army and the nation—Canada and the American War of 1812—Castlereagh's American policy, 1817–18

It has been pointed out in an early chapter [2] that the way for the Industrial Revolution had been prepared by an improvement in roads. About 1750, private Turnpike Companies with Parliamentary powers began on a large scale to perform

[1] In March 1824 Place describes his joy at seeing 'from 800 to 900 clean, respectable-looking mechanics paying most marked attention' to a lecture on chemistry. That year the *Mechanics' Magazine* sold 16,000 copies and 1500 workmen subscribed a guinea to the London Institute.

[2] Pp 8–10 above.

the neglected duties of the parish authorities, who had from time immemorial been charged in vain with the maintenance of the highways. The Turnpikes did so well that wheeled traffic began to oust the pack-horse, and distant markets were opened up, rendering possible a new economic regime. Half a century later, business men were becoming increasingly impatient of the continued badness of many of the roads. Transport was the life-blood of the new agriculture and of the new industry, and although heavy goods could on certain routes go part of their journey by the new canals, there were as yet no railways.

John Loudon Macadam was a public-spirited Scottish gentleman, living in the west of England, who devoted his energies to the improvement of English roads during the first thirty years of the nineteenth century. He invented and applied a method of solidifying the road with hard, small stone, in which the hopeful part of the public saw the secret of new markets, wider activities and unbounded wealth. 'Macadamising' was not only, in its literal sense, a practical work of great public utility; it became the symbol of all progress, and was metaphorically used in common parlance for any aspects of the new age where improved and uniform scientific methods were in demand. The fact that the word suggested Scotland made it specially appropriate in the days of Brougham and the Edinburgh philosophers.

The Board of Agriculture, anxious to bring the produce of the new farming to the new urban markets, supported Macadam in his endeavours to combine and reform the innumerable and largely inefficient Turnpike Trusts of the day. Backed by public opinion, this policy had a great measure of success. It is remarkable that local government was not, at this period, chosen as the machinery of road reform: the Parish had failed because it was too small an area for the purpose,—and the time for effective and popular County administration was still far distant.

The Post Office rivalled the Board of Agriculture in its zeal for the improvement of roads. It was indeed a change, prophetic of much in the new century, that two public departments should take the initiative in schemes for the public welfare. The Post Office employed the engineer, Thomas Telford, a Scottish shepherd's son, to construct the road to Holyhead. The *pontifex maximus*, as Telford was called, to the wonder of

the world threw an iron suspension bridge across the Menai Straits to Anglesey. It was the crowning performance of a new movement in bridge-building which made use of the abundant iron produced by the coal furnaces. Telford, besides making canals and aqueducts in England, had made many roads in his native land, which proved even more useful than his most famous achievement, the Caledonian Canal. The combined result of Telford's roads and Scott's romances was that tourists and sportsmen poured every summer into the Highlands.

1819–25

1822

When Macadam and Telford had covered the island with a network of hard, smooth roads, trimly-built stage-coaches galloped where their heavy predecessors had crawled. The coach had its brief day of glory and perfection,—from those proud summer mornings when, hung with laurels, it left behind the news of fresh victories in Spain, as it careered without a halt through cheering villages, to the time when its daily message on the fortunes of the Reform Bill was no less eagerly awaited by assembled multitudes, staring down the road for its coming. When Sir Walter Scott was a young man, the coaches still crawled; when he died, they were on the point of being eclipsed, at the height of their speed and glory, by the steam-engine. But during that one generation, the inn-yard whence they started was the microcosm of the national life. And the 'coaching days,' from Waterloo to *Pickwick*, still stand in popular imagination for the last era of 'old England,' jovial, self-reliant, matter-of-fact, but still as full of romance, colour, character and incident as the world of Chaucer's pilgrims who rode so slowly along the green tracks so many centuries before.

Until the coming of the railway, the macadamised roads made the horse more than ever the cynosure of English eyes. To ride him had been the chief delight for centuries; to drive him was now no less desired The aspiration of youth was to sit beside the mail-coachman on the box, or to keep a gig and bowl along the highroad among the post-chaises.[1] The breed of horses was improved to meet the new opportunities for speed that Macadam had created.

On the hunting-field, as on the road, the breed of horses had altered with the pace. Though hunting has survived coaching, we still look back on that period as the great days

[1] Thomas Carlyle devised the word 'gigmanity' for 'respectability,' because at Thurtell's trial one of the witnesses said 'he was a very respectable man he kept a gig.'

when the red coat, not of the soldier, ruled in the island that Wellington had saved. During the eighteenth century, fox-hunting had expelled stag-hunting, and had itself gradually expanded from a sedate watching of the hounds from horse-back on the village common and inside a gentleman's own estate, to a break-neck gallop across the county, which, having been largely cleared of its bogs and woodlands, presented the hedges and channelled watercourses of the new enclosures under the cheerful aspect of innumerable 'jumps.' The Pytchley under Lord Althorp set the standard of Shire hunting; many country gentlemen in the Midlands shut up their own houses for the season and came with their families to live at Pytchley.

Shooting had, during the preceding century, entirely replaced hawking. The change induced an insatiate demand for more birds and hares, and ever stricter preservation of wild animals in a famishing country-side. Artificial pheasant-breeding and battues were only beginning to come in, and it was not yet common to drive the birds. To shoot pheasants, partridges or grouse over dogs was the ordinary day's business, involving hard exercise, field-craft, and Spartan habits. It was a fine sport, and helped to inspire the class that then set the mode in everything from poetry to pugilism, with an intimate love and knowledge of woodland, hedgerow and moor, and a strong preference for country over town life which is too seldom found in the leaders of fashion in any age or land.

Indirectly, therefore, the passion for shooting game did much for what was best in our civilisation. But it was unfortunately connected, as fox-hunting was not, with the poaching war and all manner of unneighbourliness. The legislation affecting 'game' was exclusive and selfish, not only towards the poor but towards everyone except an aristocratic few. It was illegal for anyone to buy or sell game,—with the result that prices obtainable by poachers were much increased; and it was illegal for anyone who was not a squire or a squire's eldest son to kill game even at the invitation of the owner.[1] This incon-

[1] In 1822 a farmer coursed a hare on his own farm by leave of his landlord The gamekeepers of the neighbouring landlord, the Duke of Buckingham, had him up before their master as magistrate, who in his own house and on his own keepers' evidence, convicted him Such churlish separation of the interests of neighbour sportsmen was unknown in the traditions of the fox-hunting community For this reason, perhaps, there are many hunting-songs, and songs of fishing, cricket and football, but I have never heard of an English shooting-song The 'Lincolnshire Poacher's' song suggests that game-preserving is alien to the muse !

venient law was indeed sometimes evaded by a process known as 'deputation.' And it was abolished by the Whig legislators of 1831, in spite of the opposition of the Duke of Wellington, who was convinced that these extraordinary restrictions were the only means of keeping game in the country-side. The event proved that he was too pessimistic.

It was characteristic of the early years of the century that, although savage punishments were meted out to poachers if they were poor men, 'gentleman poachers' used to shoot with impunity over other people's estates in the open day, deceiving the gamekeepers by elaborate artifices or barefaced lying, and in some cases by threats of violence.

In all sports save those connected with 'game,' the upper class appeared as the patrons of the popular enthusiasm, pleased to share a common emotion which did much to unite a deeply divided society, and to keep its hereditary leaders popular as sportsmen, if they were ceasing always to please as politicians. Coaching, horse-racing, fox-hunting, boxing, cock-fighting, furnished the hourly thoughts of multitudes. The prize-ring in its 'most high and palmy state' was thus described by that soul of chivalry and honour, Lord Althorp, speaking in his old age to a friend:

'He said his conviction of the advantages of boxing was so strong, that he had been seriously considering whether it was not a duty he owed to the public to go and attend every prize-fight which took place. In his opinion cases of stabbing arose from the manly habit of boxing having been discouraged. He gave us an account of prize-fights he had attended, how he had seen Mendoza knocked down for the first five or six rounds by Humphreys, and seeming almost beat, till the Jews got their money on; when, a hint being given him, he began in earnest and soon turned the tables He described a fight between Gully and the Chicken. How he rode down to Brick-hill,—how he was loitering about the inn-door, when a barouche-and-four drove up with Lord Byron and a party, and Jackson the trainer,—how they all dined together, and how pleasant it had been. Then the fight next day, the men stripping, the intense excitement, the sparring, then the first round, the attitude of the men,—it was really worthy of Homer.'

The professional prize-ring, as Althorp here indicates, had two aspects. Some of the champions whom it bred were as

fine Englishmen as ever stepped, but it was no more a school of virtue than the race-course, and indeed it eventually lost patronage because it was so dishonestly conducted.

Outside the prize-ring, men and boys were in the habit of settling their differences with their fists. It was a national custom of which everyone was proud, and it united and equalised all classes. The coachman could challenge his fare, if he 'handled his fives well.' The more aristocratic and bloody custom of the duel, disapproved as impious by Evangelicals, and as foolish and wrong by the rising middle class, was gradually dying out among gentlemen, who had long ceased to wear swords, and many of whom had not even learnt to fence. Duelling by pistol had none of the artistic interest and antique romance of the foils, 'the immortal passado! the punto reverso! the hay!' To pit human life on the vagaries of a bullet offended the common-sense spirit of the age, although there was a curiously large number of such encounters between eminent statesmen,—Pitt against Tierney, Canning against Castlereagh, and Wellington against Lord Winchilsea as late as 1829.

Boxing helped the duel to die out by substituting another field of honour, suited to a more democratic age. Keats as a schoolboy was more devoted to pugilism than to poetry, and when he grew to manhood attacked and defeated a butcher whom he found ill-treating an animal. In 1825 the Hon. F. A. Cooper, a brother of the future philanthropist Lord Shaftesbury, was killed at the age of fourteen in a two hours' fight of sixty rounds with another Eton boy, a nephew of the Marquis of Londonderry, a large part of the school looking on. Young swells about town would figure as popular heroes by knocking down at fisticuffs the last generation of old-fashioned watchmen, and carrying off their rattles and staves as trophies,— before the advent of Sir Robert Peel's 'police' made such pranks unsafe. Strong self-will and eccentricity were the qualities admired in that age of individualism. The leaders of sporting and fashionable circles sought to be eccentric and were not afraid to be literary,—from Lord Byron and Lord Barrymore down to Thurtell, the murderer, who talked and acted as if he were always on the stage.

1829

1824

Thurtell's murder of Weir was the event that created most popular interest between the Queen's trial and the Reform Bill. Because he was a 'sporting character,' of strong personality, well known in boxing and theatrical circles, Thurtell's vogue

with a large public survived the proof that he had committed a peculiarly horrid murder of a man he suspected of having cheated him at cards. After his execution, children were known to write as their copy-book exercises the amazing sentiment : 'Thurtell was a murdered man.' Sir Walter Scott, who had too much sense to take this view, collected the popular literature of the trial as assiduously as the minstrelsy of the Border.[1]

While interest in 'sporting events and characters' was almost universal, organised games and athletics did not play what we should now consider a large part in the life of the ordinary Englishman, or even of the English schoolboy. Cricket had been for the last hundred years slowly rising to its local fame on the village green. Football, though a far older game in various primitive forms, had not yet obtained its modern rules or its modern popularity. The upper class public schools, whence the passion for organised athletics afterwards spread to the adult democracy, were not yet dominated by cricket and football, nor were the exuberant energies of boyhood channelled off into athletic routine.

In the ill-regulated boarding-houses to which a certain number of the upper class were bold enough to entrust their sons, some boys used their ample leisure, which was larger then than now, for scholarship, promiscuous reading and poetic or botanic rambles in the country; but among the normal features of public school life were fighting, bullying, poaching, rough practical joking, drunkenness, gambling and disorder of every sort, with no monitorial system to keep them within bounds. The masters lived apart from the boys, whom they regarded as their 'natural enemies,' and generally treated as such in the matter of flogging. Public school 'rebellions' had on more than one occasion to be suppressed by the military forces of the Crown !

The beginning of reform in upper class boarding-schools was at Rugby, during the head mastership of Dr. Thomas Arnold. The example which Rugby set to other such schools led to improved discipline and humaner life, secured partly on a closer relation of the masters to their pupils, and partly on self-government among the boys through selected monitors or prefects. But it would not be accurate to ascribe to Arnold's

1828–1842

[1] The best account of Thurtell, outside the records of the trial, is at the end of chapter xxiv of Borrow's *Lavengro*, a book that breathes the spirit of that period of strong and eccentric characters.

own wishes the undue predominance of athletics, which by the end of the century had become the bane of the reformed public school, as well as the means of spreading the athletic gospel to other grades of society, and to humbler schools where a modicum of organised athletics has been of untold value. Arnold did nothing directly for athletics at Rugby. He only put a stop to certain other ways in which boys spent their time decidedly less well. For the rest he occasionally ' stood on the touch-line and looked pleased.' Compulsory athletics and the glorified athlete were not in his scheme of things. But the spread of Rugby football, which dates from his era, and of Public School and University athletics in all their subsequent extent and influence, came as a natural development, as soon as boys and men turned away in boredom and disapproval from pugilism, rowdyism, dog and cock fighting, and other ' sporting events ' in which their fathers had delighted in the age of Byron.

The public schools of the Waterloo era had either to be reformed or to give place to some entirely new system that could pass muster with a more humane and critical age. The improvements effected by Dr. Arnold met the case. And if reform had stopped where its originator intended, it might all have been pure gain. But in later years the leisure and initiative of the individual boy were increasingly sacrificed to meet the demands of the athletic time-table, with the organised mass-opinion of the boys and often of the masters to enforce obedience to a stereotyped ideal of games and ' good form.'

It may well be that this was one among many causes why after two generations of ' steady progress,' although the average perhaps rose, genius and strong individual characters were less common at the end of the nineteenth century than they had been in pre-reform days. An examination of the facts will show that the great men of letters, science and politics who made the fame and fortune of the early and middle Victorian age, had been brought up with more variety and freedom, either at home, or at day schools, or in small academies or grammar schools, or else in the unreformed public schools, where the wheat and tares were for better and worse allowed to grow up, each in their own way, until the harvest.

One thing that boisterous old England decisively was not —it was not militarist. The race that had conquered on the

fields of the Peninsula and Waterloo had martial instincts but not military ideals. Foreign observers, coming over at the peace from a Continent that had just exchanged the rule of French for the rule of German officers, were struck with the absence of military display in the victor island, and the absence of military habits of thought even among the dominant aristocracy. That aristocracy consisted of rural squires, some of them with a turn for books, and nearly all of them with a turn for sport, administration and politics. Their younger sons supplied the Church, the Army and the Navy.[1] The English gentry had on these terms proved far better able to stand up for their order than the French *noblesse*, who had lost all during the very years when the English squires were gaining more land, and more power over the land, at the expense of the peasantry. But the English squires established their power not, like the Prussian Junkers, by identifying their class with the Army and the Army with the State, but by taking the lead in politics, justice, administration, agriculture, sport, and in the patronage of art and letters, as well as by fighting their country's battles on land and sea.

The tradition of the Tory squires was anti-militarist, beginning with the reaction against Cromwell and continuing through the Whig wars against Louis XIV. The original Tories had made a favourite of the Navy as against the Army. And so in these later wars, which were pre-eminently Tory wars, all classes and parties were agreed in regarding the Army not as the master of the State, but as one of its servants.

It was a fact of historic importance that England's greatest soldier was the least militaristic of men. His example was effective in perpetuating the custom of getting into mufti at the earliest possible moment off duty, a practice which has fostered the peculiarly English idea that an army officer is only a gentleman engaged on a special public service. After Waterloo, Wellington covered the operation of disarmament with the shield of his unrivalled authority.[2] When the Duke of York died in 1827, he could not be given a military funeral,

[1] At the peace a considerable number of officers passed straight into the Church, very few into business The salaried Civil Service was then a small affair

[2] Towards the end of his life he constantly complained to Ministers, and not without reason, of the smallness of the Army But he himself had done much to let it become small in an epoch when heavy military expenditure would have been more dangerous than unpreparedness, since there was little against which to prepare.

because, as Wellington reported, there were not enough troops in England to bury a field-marshal! The Tories at home, like the Holy Alliance abroad, stood for 'peace and order.' 'Order' was sometimes a euphemism for oppression, but 'peace' really meant 'peace.' And the Tory peace was used to reduce armaments and so to get rid of a large portion of the taxes, with the unpopularity and distress that they implied. Before the creation of an effective police, the military force maintained was barely enough to secure public tranquillity in time of riot. The general belief that it would be incapable of putting down a determined rising of the middle and lower classes together did much towards the peaceable solution of the crisis of 1832.

Wellington was a typical Tory. He wished England to be governed by her gentlemen, not by her generals. This attitude on his part did much to secure the peaceful development of our institutions in a new age with which he was in many respects out of sympathy.

The plantation of Upper Canada by loyalist refugees from the revolted Colonies had led Pitt to divide this new English-speaking province from Lower Canada with its French-Catholic civilisation, and at the same time to establish in both provinces the rudiments of Parliamentary institutions, though not yet responsible self-government.[1]

It was the best arrangement for both parts of Canada at that stage of their development. But it implied a difficult period of transition, with friction between an executive still nominated by the Crown and a legislative with as little power as an early Stuart Parliament The official class, sent out by the inefficient Colonial Office of the day as a result of party jobs or personal favour, was justly unpopular in all the Colonies, which were made the dumping ground for worn-out general officers, and cousins of peers with boroughs Canada was no exception to this bad rule. The French Canadians complained that they had no representatives among the officials, who, whether English or Canadian born, spent their time in trying to turn the Governor against the French majority. The English-speaking Canadians found the same officials corrupt and snobbish, a pinchbeck aristocracy, keeping itself loftily apart from a democratic community of backwoodsmen which thoroughly despised them in return. The governors them-

[1] See pp 56–59 above, and map there.

selves had too often lost the 'Carleton touch' of confidence in the people.

But in spite of all this, Carleton and the two Pitts had built on the rock, and when the flood came in 1812 the house stood firm.

1812–1815

The war between Great Britain and the United States was the result of a dispute over two questions arising out of our conduct of the war with Napoleon: the enforcement of the Orders in Council restricting neutral commerce with the Continent, and the search of American vessels for deserters from the British Navy. On both counts there was much to be said for and against both sides. It was a case for compromise, and war or peace really depended on the mutual goodwill of the disputants. Unfortunately neither Government deserved well of posterity. The Tory Cabinet shared the aristocratic contempt felt by their party for the federation of rebel States, which had arisen by defying George III, and which was expected speedily to demonstrate by its dissolution the impracticable nature of democracy. On the other side, President Madison catered for an equally unintelligent anti-British tradition, against which President Washington had striven with success when faced by a similar crisis in 1793. But it was of good augury for the future that the British middle classes, led by Brougham, made their first appearance in nineteenth-century politics by compelling the Government to withdraw the Orders in Council, so as to avoid war with America[1] Unfortunately the concession came just too late, for that week America had declared war. It was equally of good omen that the war was unpopular in New England. In 1814 the Northern States began to talk of secession if peace were not made. Although it was the merchants and sailors of New England who suffered from the grievances on the high seas that were the pretext of the war, yet it was New England that protested against the war policy of the Southern democrats.[2]

The pacificism of New York and Massachusetts, the states that could have made the earliest and most formidable attack on Canada if they had been so minded, saved us from a

[1] See p 130 above

[2] In congress, Josiah Quincy spoke of the invasion of Canada as 'a cruel, wanton, senseless and wicked attack upon an unoffending people, bound to us by ties of blood and good neighbourhood, undertaken for the punishment over their shoulders of another people, 3000 miles away, by young politicians to whom reason, justice, pity were nothing, revenge everything'

desperate strait. When war broke out there were only 4500 regular troops in the whole of Canada. The French Canadians, though they had no wish to be swallowed up in the United States, disliked British rule. And in Upper Canada itself, alongside of the United Empire Loyalists, there was a large recent immigration of men from over the border whose emotional allegiance was uncertain. Never before or since has the independence of Canada been in greater danger than in the summer of 1812.

Fortunately there was a man capable of meeting the crisis. Isaac Brock, the very best type of British soldier, then acting both as Governor and General in Upper Canada, determined to take the offensive as the likeliest means to rouse a national spirit. He captured Detroit with a force inferior in numbers to the enemy. Though he was killed in battle two months later, his bold policy and the ability and success with which he had carried it through, had put both Anglo-Saxons and French on their mettle, and encouraged them to hold out in the following year when the Americans pushed into Canada in much greater force. This middle period of the war included a series of naval actions on the Great Lakes, in which the superior numbers of the American ships gave them the upper hand. But the conquest of Canada failed. After the first fall of Napoleon, the Peninsular troops were hurried across the Atlantic and all danger passed away.

Aug 1812

1813

1814

Meanwhile, on the open sea, the frigates of the small American Navy had unexpected successes in single combats with British ships of their own size. The lords of the ocean were so seriously annoyed by these reverses that when the tide turned and the *Chesapeake* was defeated in June 1813 by H.M.S. *Shannon* outside Boston harbour, the event won a place in song and history out of all proportion to its importance. The net result of the naval war was that the American mercantile marine suffered very severely, but a tradition of mutual respect was established between the two English-speaking navies that in later years developed into friendship.

The last stage of the war had better have been omitted. Various points of the American seaboard were attacked by our regular forces from Europe, including the flower of the Peninsular Army. In one of these raids, up Chesapeake Bay, the public buildings of Washington were burned, in reprisals for the burning the year before of Toronto, then called York.

1814

The unsuccessful British attack on Fort McHenry, on the same expedition, inspired the words of 'The Star-Spangled Banner.' The last and biggest battle of the war was fought two weeks after peace, unknown to the combatants, had been signed in Europe This action was the defence of New Orleans against another British raid from the sea, when 6000 Americans, chiefly backwoodsmen of Tennessee and Kentucky, under Andrew Jackson, held a line of strong entrenchments against 6000 British infantry, and killed and wounded a third of their number.

Jan 8, 1815

The self-defence of the two Canadas against invasion, and the historical traditions that the infant nation thus acquired, were an important result of the war. Otherwise it had been fought in vain It solved none of the disputed questions out of which it arose. The treaty signed at Ghent on Christmas Eve, 1814, very wisely did not even attempt to decide the embittered controversies on blockade and right of search. But one of the causes of war, the belief of the Southern democrats that Canada could easily be annexed, received its quietus. On the other hand anti-British tradition had obtained a fresh lease of life in the United States, whose orators now had the theme of a second war against Britain as the second romantic period of their national history.

The Tory Cabinet cannot be praised for the management of affairs that led to this breach of the peace. But Castlereagh's dealings with the United States after the war was over were a model of pacific statesmanship, reciprocated by the Government of Washington and its representatives over here, John Quincy Adams and Rush. Before Castlereagh's career as Foreign Secretary ended, the fortunes of Anglo-American peace had been established on the sound basis of disarmament along the Canadian border, enabling future generations to weather many fierce storms, and to settle a frontier problem that no other two Great Powers would have been able to decide without war.

The problem before Great Britain and Canada on one side and the United States on the other was nothing less than to fix a frontier of four thousand miles, which, except in the region of the Lakes, was not indicated by any natural boundary. It was perhaps the greatest operation that has ever been achieved in the interest of peace, and it took many years and many statesmen to accomplish and perfect it. But the most important stage of the whole proceeding came in 1817, when, after a

sharp struggle inside the British Cabinet, the British and American Governments agreed to abolish their navies on the Great Lakes, and forthwith dismantled, sold or sank the warships on Erie and Ontario. Those fleets have never been reconstructed. From that moment forward 'the long, invisible, unguarded line' that divides Canada from her neighbour has been successfully defended by the sole garrison of trust and good will, even during the frequently recurring periods of acrimonious dispute as to its whereabouts If there had been armaments, there would some time have been war. And if the nations concerned had not spoken the same language and felt a half-conscious sympathy underlying their traditional feuds, disarmament would not have been adhered to for long. It helped greatly that the Americans and Canadians both disliked standing armies and navies and had no place or provision for them in their scheme of things, and that for some time after Waterloo the Tories at home had a strong and consistent policy of retrenchment based on disarmament and peace.

In 1818, the year after the scrapping of the navies on the Great Lakes, the first step was taken by Castlereagh towards the determination of the boundary westward. It was agreed that from the Lake of the Woods to the summit of the Rockies the frontier should follow the forty-ninth degree of latitude With equal wisdom it was agreed to postpone negotiations as to the Pacific Coast. Beyond the Rockies lay the region then called 'Oregon,' a name at that time covering the vast territory between latitude 42° and 54° 40′, which subsequently became British Columbia and the States of Washington, Oregon and Idaho. The whole of this wilderness, joining what was then Russian Alaska to what was then Mexican California, had been saved from Spain by Pitt in the Nootka Sound dispute,[1] and in Castlereagh's time was claimed both by Great Britain and the United States. But though British and American fur traders had stations along the coast, neither side could as yet make any decisive show of occupation or settlement. The days of the immigrants and the 'Oregon trail' across the great prairies were yet to come The arrangement made in 1818 for the 'joint occupation of Oregon' postponed a dangerous dispute, not yet ripe for adjudication. A generation later, Sir Robert Peel was able to settle it by compromise, in the same pacific spirit that Castlereagh had introduced into our dealings with the New World.

[1] See p 43, above

Development of the
WEST CANADIAN BORDER with U.S.A.
in Nineteenth Century
English Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
HUDSON BAY
HUDSON BAY COMPANY'S TERRITORY
(Purchased by Dominion Government 1869)
ONTARIO
L. Superior
L. Michigan
Winnipeg
Canadian Pacific Railway
L. of the Woods
Latitude 54° 40′
BRITISH COLUMBIA
Joins Dominion 1871
ALASKA
Vancouver I.
Joins Dominion 1871
"OREGON"
(Joint occupation, 1818 - 1846)
Rocky Mountains
LINE OF 1846
To U.S.A. 1846
LOUISIANA
(Purchased from France by U S A
in 1803)
Latitude 42°
To U.S.A. 1848
after Mexican War
CALIFORNIA
Emery Walker Ltd. sc
Longmans Green & Co, London, New York, Bombay, Calcutta & Madras.

# CHAPTER XI

## AFTER THE WAR, 1815–22

Brougham, Bentham, Owen, Cobbett—The Radical Movement and the Second Repression—Peterloo and Cato Street—The Queen's trial—Death of Castlereagh

DURING the last half-dozen years of the war, the official Whig leaders went politically to sleep in their country seats, muttering pessimistic prophecies of the impossibility of conquering Napoleon. But the social and political revolt beginning in the new middle class against the Tory aristocracy found more vigorous expression in the self-assertive and ubiquitous energy of Henry Brougham, the very type of *novus homo*, with his square, plebeian nose, restless movements and hard yet lively features.

It was Brougham who had organised the agitation against 1811-2 the Orders in Council.[1] As soon as the war was over, he com- 1816 pelled Government by a similar agitation to drop the Income Tax, which the middle classes, before Peel taught them to think more wisely, regarded as an inquisitorial interference with liberty and property, not to be borne save in war-time. The unpopular tax, which is one of the chief claims of Pitt to the gratitude of posterity, was bringing in fifteen millions in 1815. Its removal, due to Brougham's agitation, was one of the main reasons of the slow progress of fiscal reform and trade recovery prior to the time of Peel.

With the revival of the spirit of opposition after the war, Brougham gave voice to the growing indignation of all classes with the sinecures and pensions. To abolish them would have done much less to relieve the economic misery of the land than he and Cobbett made people believe, but it was a peculiarly gross insult to starving millions to make rich parasites richer out of taxes. Brougham also put his universal energies at the disposal of the champions of the negro, who were already preparing against slavery the same sort of campaign that had proved fatal to the slave-trade. And, true to his Scottish upbringing, he gave, as we have seen, his own vigour to the movement for popular education in England.

Though north-English by birth, Brougham belonged to the group of lawyers and University men at the Scottish capital who

[1] See p. 130, above

had founded the *Edinburgh Review*. They included the Rev. Sydney Smith, also of England, and the Scot, Francis Jeffrey. At first these young partisans had only their wits to protect them in a time and country in which, as one of them said retrospectively, 'it was almost safer to be a felon than a Reformer.' But their caution and ability gained a hearing for the new school of liberal ideas in fashionable and learned society throughout Great Britain. In days when the means of diffusing knowledge and opinion were scanty, the Edinburgh Reviewers played an indispensable part in preparing the mind of the coming age. But their want of firmness over the Peninsular War incited Sir Walter Scott and other Tories to found the rival *Quarterly*. Judged by Victorian standards of criticism and science the early numbers of the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly* seem very thin; but they were in their day a great advance.

1802

1809

The close connection of poetry and literature with political faction, illustrated by the history of these two famous Reviews and by the lives of Scott and Byron, Wordsworth and Coleridge, Shelley and Keats, though it had its regrettable side, was due to the high importance attached to poetry and to the Muses by the active world of that era as distinguished from our own. The lives of many of our greatest poets and painters also remind us how little the Napoleonic wars interrupted the daily work of civilisation in our island, when it was reaching a higher point of literary achievement than it had ever touched since the age of Shakespeare.

It would be difficult to find a better instance of that favourite maxim of our grandfathers that 'the pen is mightier than the sword,' than the effect upon British institutions of the uneventful life of Jeremy Bentham, a shy recluse of unimpressive speech and appearance, who was so little of a politician that even in 1817 he was not prosecuted for publishing his highly 'seditious' *Reform Catechism* in favour of household suffrage. Born in 1748, and dying in 1832 just when his principles were beginning to invade the seats of power, he was never the man of the moment, but his influence was a force in history during more than a hundred years. As early as 1776,—that seminal year when the Declaration of Independence, Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* and the first volume of Gibbon's History were given to the world,—young Bentham's *Fragment on Government* also appeared. It challenged the legal

doctrine of the age, sanctioned by Blackstone himself, that law was a fixed and authoritative science and the British Constitution perfect. Bentham, on the other hand, proclaimed both law and politics to be perpetual experiments in the means of promoting 'utility' or happiness.

For the rest of his long life Bentham's propaganda among the higher intellect of the country was never intermitted, though the French Revolution and the anti-Jacobin reaction, both of which he disliked, delayed the acceptance of his doctrine. In his old age, and after his death, his ideas inspired the slow but sure reform of British institutions, as the ideas of Rousseau had inspired the cataclysm of old France.

Bentham impressed upon his countrymen the notion that existing institutions were not to be taken for granted, but to be judged by their results, and perpetually readjusted so as to produce 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number.' He did not invent that useful formula, which he had taken from Priestley, but he drove it into men's minds, and by reiterating it for half a century with a thousand different applications, he undermined the easy acceptance of chartered inefficiency and corruption, characteristic of the eighteenth century. Parliamentary, municipal, scholastic, ecclesiastical, economic reform all sprang from the spirit of Bentham's perpetual inquiry, 'what is the use of it?'—his universal shibboleth, that proved in the end the real English antidote to Jacobinism. The weakness of his system, even in the realm of politics, was the mechanical nature of its psychology, which misrepresented the multiform workings of the human mind.

Although the principles of his 'utilitarian' philosophy were applied in the end to all spheres of government, his most direct and measurable success was the application that he himself made of the 'utility' test in the realm of law. Brougham said of him that 'he was the first legal philosopher that had appeared in the world,' and Dicey in our own day has quoted this judgment with approval. As law reformer, Bentham was fertile in practical invention as he was broad in principle. To him is owing the first suggestion of almost every one of the long series of law reforms which, beginning about 1820, in forty years swept away the sanguinary and unintelligent code which Eldon loved, that hanged men for theft and struck about in blind panic with the sword of justice. In the dry tree of Parliament from 1808 to 1818, Sir Samuel Romilly

preached Bentham's doctrine of law reform to unwilling ears; after Romilly's tragic suicide, Sir James Mackintosh took up the work in the green tree of a more hopeful era.[1]

Bentham's utilitarianism[2] was most directly connected with the creed of the 'philosophic Radicals' like James Mill and Francis Place, and with the sweeping away of abuses and privileges to clear the path for democratic individualism and *laissez-faire*. But it also inspired the movement towards Socialism, co-operation and State interference, which grew up side by side with 'classical' economics and radical politics, though not at first with such rapid growth. All were in debt to Bentham, even common-sense Whigs like Macaulay, though he was provoked to write *Edinburgh* articles against the pedantry of the Utilitarian sect.

Robert Owen was the first to find the Socialistic application of the doctrines of 'utility.' He was the father of the factory laws and of the co-operative movement.

Never was there such a combination as in Robert Owen of business ability with moral simplicity and earnestness, and visionary insight, occasionally running to the absurd. Brought up in a Welsh country town in the days of Wesley, his destiny lay in wider realms of thought and space, but his mind and character never lost the mark of an upbringing among poor people and among people aspiring earnestly towards an ideal outlook on everyday things. After a homely schooling at Newtown he went off into the great world and worked his way unaided up the ladder of the new industrialism, to become, before he was thirty, part owner and sole manager of the cotton mills of New Lanark in Scotland. In early life he was a magnificent example of 'self-help.'

1771-1858

While Napoleon was winning and losing Europe, Owen

[1] See p 31, above, and p 199, below

[2] This famous word was first applied to the Benthamite doctrine by John Stuart Mill, who adopted it in 1822 from John Galt's recently published *Annals of the Parish*, in which the old Scottish minister warns his parishioners not to 'secede from Christianity and become utilitarians' When, as a moral philosopher, Bentham attempted to use the juridical and political test of 'utility' as the basis of ethical motive, and to 'grind out virtue from the husks of pleasure,' he was going off his own ground, as Carlyle, Macaulay and John Mill, each after his fashion, pointed out Bentham's influence helped to transform our language from a thing of beauty to something more useful and scientific We owe to him such words as 'minimise,' 'codify,' 'international' When told by the doctor that he was dying, he replied. 'Then minimise pain'

was quietly working out his social experiment. The Scottish factory, when he took it over, was not much better than other factories of the time. In fifteen years he had made it a model of humane and intelligent provision for mind and body, with moderate hours, good pay, healthy conditions both in the factory and the village, and good education, including the first infant school in the island. The outcome was a high morale among the hands. It was, he imagined, his great discovery that 'the character of man is formed *for* him, and not *by* him,' or, as we should now say, that 'environment makes character.' To prove it, he had by environment made the characters of the New Lanark employees; and at the same time he had made the fortune of the New Lanark Mills!

1800–1815

Owen's double success proved that if the social aspects of the Industrial Revolution had been attended to, its worst evils could have been avoided without a lowering of production, and that even in that age the big factory might have been used as a new and powerful engine of social amelioration. The world of that day admitted the facts, thousands of visitors drove all the way from the Thames to the Clyde, and the monarchs of Europe sent embassies to see the miracle of a happy factory-town. Men could not deny, yet would not believe, the living proof that Owen had set before their eyes.

In the year of Waterloo, Owen, having failed to persuade his brother manufacturers of the things that pertained to their peace, went up to London to persuade the Government itself. He was not by temperament and theory a democrat. He had been the patriarch of New Lanark, gently forming his men's characters 'for them.' He now wanted the Tory Cabinet to be equally paternal in its protection of all the factory hands in the island. With the simplicity of Parsifal, he came up to town expecting to make a convert of Castlereagh and a pupil of Parliament. His failure did not sour him, but it turned him back to the working-men themselves, whom he now regarded as the only possible agents of his vision of a new society.

His failure, though fundamental, had not been complete. Cabinet Ministers treated him with politeness, but gave no help. His plans were, however, taken up in Parliament by Sir Robert Peel, father of the great Sir Robert, a Lancashire millowner, originally of no good reputation as such, who had the family honesty to own that he had changed his mind on the need for factory legislation.

During Napoleon's Hundred Days, Owen and Peel drew up the first real Factory Bill.[1] It applied not merely to cotton, but to all factories; it forbade the employment of any child under ten years old, or after that for more than ten and a half hours a day; paid inspectors were to enforce its provisions. But the other manufacturers hastened up to London to protest against the insanity of these two eccentric members of their order. They established before a Committee the point that Owen was an infidel, and argued the more doubtful thesis that the children were well and happy in the mills. After four years' delay, a useless shadow of Peel's Bill was passed, for cotton only, with no important provision except the prohibition of child labour under nine. As there were to be no inspectors, the Act was ignored whenever employers and parents joined to break it.

1815

1819

The first campaign was lost, but Owen had started on the right lines the hundred years' war for State control. Thanks to him and to his successor, Lord Shaftesbury, not only children but parents have since found protection in an area of legislation ever widening down to our own day.

Owen himself, meanwhile, despairing of the governors, turned to the governed. He abandoned politics for labour association. Parliament had failed him; he did not propose to get it reformed, but to set the labourers to work out their own salvation. He became in a certain sense a democrat, but not, like Place and Cobbett, a Radical. He put himself at the head of the economic as distinct from the political action of the working-class. He devoted himself in the latter half of his life to starting the co-operative and extending the Trade Union movement. But that part of his life belongs to a later chapter of British history.

In spite of Owen's indifference to the cause, the movement for Parliamentary Reform, suppressed in the days of Pitt, revived first among the working-men, before it captured the middle classes. The reason is clear. While the middle classes were upon the whole prospering, except for severe fluctuations

1815-1819

[1] Peel's Act of 1802, sometimes called the First Factory Act, was really a new provision of the Poor Law It was an endeavour to protect pauper apprentices, with whom public authorities in the last quarter of the eighteenth century used to feed the small water-worked mills which were the first and worst stage of the cotton revolution The larger steam factories that succeeded them used the 'free' labour of children living with their parents, who were fain to send them daily to the mill It was these 'free' children who were in question in the Bill of 1815-9, and in all subsequent Factory Acts.

of trade, many of the workmen were suffering terribly, and their misery was much increased by the action of Parliament. While new laws were passed and enforced to prevent
1799
1813 them from combining to keep up their wages, old laws which empowered the authorities to fix a fair wage were repealed, and
1815 finally, when peace promised a fall in the price of bread, a new Corn Law prohibited importation till wheat was 80*s*. a quarter. Parliament, in the interest now of employers, now of landlords, was always the enemy of working-men. They ate the rotten boroughs in their bread. Hence their hatred of the 'boroughmongers' was more intense than that of the middle class, and made emphatic entry on the political stage a dozen years before the 'respectable classes' under Whig patronage secured the first Reform Bill.

No doubt Owen understood the causes and some of the cures of working-class misery far better than Cobbett, whose economics were as wild as his history, and who disliked enclosures and factories too much to see any way out except an impossible return to the vanished 'yeoman' world of his boyhood. Yet William Cobbett was the man who diverted the working-class from rick-burning and machine-breaking to agitate for Parliamentary Reform. His *Weekly Political Register* and the literature that sprang from it did much to convert the masses into thinking politicians, despite the Government's anxiety to shut them out from all aspects of citizenship. Cobbett's extravagance of theory, recklessness of statement and violence of diction obscured the fact that the whole tendency of his propaganda was to avert revolution and to guide the proletariat into the paths of constitutional action.

At the same time he made the wrongs and sufferings of the poor known to educated men. He angrily drew aside the curtain that hid their lives from public notice and sympathy He proclaimed rich and poor to be one English nation, and demanded that the Constitution should include them both.

In spite of his gross unfairness and inaccuracy, Cobbett left his impress on all, even on those who hated him, because of his rare literary power, because of the fundamental sincerity and courage that underlay a good deal of posing, and because he was native of the soil. Paine, Bentham, Owen were citizens of the world. Burke, though he sang Britain's praises, had not our island note. But Cobbett, though he abused all that Burke praised, was John Bull incarnate.

The 'rights of man' were nothing to him in the abstract, and foreigners were antipathetic. Born of Surrey peasants of the old breed, his heart's desire was to restore their rights and liberties as he had known them in his boyhood, and as he imagined them to have existed in even greater degree in the idealised English history of his vision. In one sense he was the only consistent Tory, for he was averse to the economic and social revolution which the nominal Tories were hurrying on. He was neither a 'philosophic Radical' nor a Socialist. But he was the father of the unphilosophic Radicalism which played so great a part in English working-class opinion during the nineteenth century, because he saw that the only way to control economic change was to speed along political change till it had caught up with the furious pace of the Industrial Revolution.

Throughout the period of the Peninsular War, which he noisily and ignorantly opposed, Cobbett had been carrying on a Reform campaign in his *Political Register*, partly from prison where he lay two years to expiate his protest against the flogging of English militiamen at Ely by German soldiers. He invented a catchword,—'The Thing,'—for the union of Ministers, boroughmongers, pensioners, squires, clergy and manufacturers, by which he conceived England to be bound, bullied and bled; giving thus to all those in power one head that he might break it. But the *Register* cost more than a shilling, and most of those who could afford a shilling a week dreaded Cobbett, or dreaded being seen to read him. The working-men clubbed to buy copies and read them aloud, a method particularly useful in those days of illiteracy, but gatherings held for this purpose were broken up and penalised. It was in 1816, when he boldly reduced the price to twopence, that he became the real leader of the masses in the manufacturing districts, among whom a fierce agitation had at length broken out.[1]

1810-12

Peace had not brought Plenty. The demand for English

[1] Bamford, the Radical, tells us: 'At this time [1816] the writings of William Cobbett suddenly became of great authority. They were read on nearly every cottage hearth in the manufacturing districts of South Lancashire, in those of Leicester, Derby and Nottingham; also in many of the Scottish manufacturing towns. Their influence was speedily visible. He directed his readers to the true cause of their sufferings, misgovernment, and to its proper corrective, Parliamentary Reform. Riots soon became scarce, and from that time they have never obtained their ancient vogue with the labourers of this country.'

goods among our allies, and our own monopoly of trade across the ocean, both ended with the war. The big war-orders stopped and peaceful Europe was better able to manufacture for her own needs. British firms broke by hundreds, and hands were thrown out of employment by scores of thousands. Farmers were going bankrupt and hanging themselves as the price of corn fell. It was now that Speenhamland had its full effect, and a vast proportion of the rural labourers became paupers. Meanwhile the landlords passed the Corn Law, in defiance both of middle-class anger and working-class agony.[1]

The Corn Law of 1815 was an object lesson in the need for Parliamentary Reform, but because the working-classes led the way with a demand for 'radical' reform to enfranchise themselves, the middle classes and the Whigs took alarm and stood aloof, disapproving both of the Radical agitation and of the Government reprisals. Because the nation was rent not into two but into three, power to deal with the crisis rested in the hands of the Tory Government.

The Government misused its opportunity. No concessions were made politically, nor was any form of relief proposed for the distress of the poor. Repression was still the panacea for discontent. Riots of starving men addressed by the more violent of the Radicals and accompanied by spasmodic outrage, were treated as levying war on the King. Men who deserved punishment as rioters were tried for treason, and were consequently acquitted by the juries. A war of prosecutions against the Radical Press resulted in some heavy sentences, and some triumphant acquittals as in the famous cases of Hone the Parodist and the *Black Dwarf* newspaper. Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, and Cobbett thereupon fled to America. His *Political Register* was still issued, but its principal work had been done. The Radical movement was launched.

1817

Meanwhile public meetings, lectures and debating societies were stopped by the hand of power, armed with the suspension of Habeas Corpus. Government spies, necessary before there was a proper detective or police force, were accused of stirring up starving operatives to sedition. But the notorious Oliver went too far in endeavouring to implicate some middle-class reformers in Lancashire, whereupon the spy business, long carried on with impunity among the workmen, was

[1] See p. 152, above. The Whigs, though aspiring to lead the middle class, were divided on the Corn Law of 1815, their leaders being nearly all of the landlord class.

promptly exposed in Parliament by the help of the Whigs. The class pride of the Lancashire manufacturers was aroused against the Government by this incident. In striking at the dreaded Radicals the Government had threatened the liberty of all.

In 1819, when another wave of economic distress followed after a brief interval, the Reform agitation flared up again. Since Habeas Corpus was no longer suspended, monster meetings of working-men were held in the industrial districts to demand universal suffrage. It would have been better if the authorities had prohibited such meetings altogether, according to their usual custom, rather than act as they acted in St. Peter's Fields, Manchester, on August the Sixteenth. An orderly and unarmed crowd of about 60,000 men, women and children was permitted to assemble; but then the magistrates, stricken with alarm at the sight of so great a multitude, sent in the yeomanry to arrest the speaker, the notorious Radical Hunt, after the meeting had fairly begun. When the horsemen, pushing their way through the throng on such an errand, were shouted at and hustled, the cavalry in reserve were ordered by the magistrates to charge Their impact drove the dense mass of human beings, cursing and shrieking, off the field, while the yeomanry, who were Tory partisans, used their sabres with gusto. In the disturbances of that day some eleven persons, including two women, were killed or died of their injuries; over a hundred were wounded by sabres and several hundred more injured by horse-hoofs or crushed in the stampede. The women injured were over a hundred.[1]

1819

Of the magistrates who had done this thing, one was a clergyman; they can only be acquitted of inhumanity on the ground of panic induced by prejudice. The action of Government in sending them its thanks without waiting to make inquiry, aroused an outburst of indignation among many respectable citizens who would never have dreamt of going to the Peterloo meeting. To the working-men themselves it seemed

[1] In Prentice's *Manchester*, pp. 167–8, the particulars and names of the killed are given, while the particulars and names of the wounded and injured can still be read in the lists of the Committee that administered relief to the sufferers. The statement in the middle of an otherwise excellent chapter of the *Cambridge Modern History*, to the effect that only one man was killed and forty injured, does not bear scrutiny The most recent summary of the evidence on the number of casualties can be read on pp 81–85 of *Three Accounts of Peterloo*, edited by F. A Bruton (Manchester Univ Press, 1921), and in an article by myself in *History* (Journal of the Historical Association), Oct 1922

nothing less than a declaration of war upon them by their rulers. In spite of Whig and middle-class protests in and out of Parliament, the immediate victory lay with Government. The agitation was quelled that winter.

Nevertheless, Peterloo was the moral death-blow of the old Toryism. It might have passed unchallenged twenty years before, but coming when it did, it was fatal. The long sterile reign of anti-Jacobinism had been compressed into one dramatic scene, revealing like a flash of lightning the real relations of rulers and ruled Popular prints for a dozen years to come made all men familiar with the symbolic figure of a mounted yeoman in his shako, prancing over a heap of shrieking women and sabring them on the ground. British history had made it impossible for this island to be governed for long on such terms. The laurels of the victors of Waterloo hung tarnished, and young men began to look elsewhere for their heroes and deliverers.[1]

The change of feeling had its effect on some of the rising generation of Tory leaders. Men as sensitive as Canning, as central-minded as Peel, as much in touch with the merchant community as Huskisson could feel in their bones that the great wind which had been blowing for thirty years at length had shifted its quarter.

But for three more years the old spirit was still supreme in the counsels of government. Indeed, if Peterloo was not to be disowned, there was no course open but further coercion, for the working-men of the North were clamouring for revenge. The 'Six Acts,' passed in the winter of 1819, were no more than an inevitable outcome of the policy previously adopted.

The Six Acts were not all of a piece. The Act that prohibited drilling was wise and has never been repealed. The Act to prevent large public meetings, at best a pitiable confession of the incompetence of the authorities, ran for five years and was not renewed. The most lasting injury to the community was done by the Act imposing a fourpenny stamp

[1] Feeling about Peterloo did much to bring round the new middle class to Reform, including the millowners who, though they had too little sympathy with their employees, had not asked to have them massacred Young men of ability, who afterwards formed the *intelligentsia* of the Whigs in the days of their power, were shaken in the Tory faith of their fathers One such, Macaulay, then an undergraduate, reported to his parents that Peterloo had caused great indignation among Cambridge students who had never before troubled about politics The political faith of young Cambridge half a dozen years later has been well described by Carlyle in his *John Sterling*, at the end of chapter iv.

on all periodical publications, even though they were not newspapers. The object was to kill the Radical Press of the type of Cobbett's *Register* and the *Black Dwarf*, but incidentally it made it more difficult for the poor to get literature of any sort. The duty was reduced from fourpence to a penny in 1836 as a result of Radical pressure on the Whig Government of that later day, and the remaining 'taxes on knowledge' were repealed in the course of the 'fifties and 'sixties.

The year that followed Peterloo and the Six Acts, the first of George IV as king, was the year of the Cato Street conspiracy and of the Queen's trial. 1820

In February, Arthur Thistlewood, head of a gang of 'physical force' Radicals prevented by the Six Acts from raising disturbance in other ways, plotted to murder the whole Cabinet as they dined together at Lord Harrowby's in Grosvenor Square. The conspirators, over twenty strong, met in a loft in Cato Street, off Edgware Road, where they were attacked by the Bow Street runners. Half of them fought their way out, but all were arrested within a few days. The reaction in favour of Government was naturally strong, but, considering the enormity of the fact, curiously evanescent. Thistlewood and four of his accomplices were executed on the first of May, and by the end of June Ministers were more universally unpopular than ever before, on account of Queen Caroline. Yet the Cato Street conspiracy was almost as bloody in its intention as the Gunpowder Plot, and more so than the assassination plots against Charles II and William III, which had ruined the parties in whose interest they had been designed. One of the intended victims was the Duke of Wellington, who had saved the country five years before, and lived to be the popular demigod of Victorian England If, then, Cato Street caused no such prolonged reaction and left no such tradition as Gunpowder Plot, Rye House and Turnham Green, it was partly because the Queen's trial supervened, and partly because the system of government for which the Duke and his colleagues stood was no longer so well rooted in any large section of popular opinion as the systems represented by James I, Charles II, or William III.

The Queen's affair, which swallowed up every other topic from June to November, was caused by the return from abroad of the new King's official wife, Caroline, unappeasably claiming 1820

her Royal rank. The King's reply was to induce his Ministers, in an evil hour for their good name, to set on foot divorce proceedings. The 'Queen's trial,' for adultery, took the form of a Bill of Pains and Penalties introduced first into the House of Lords, and conducted there by the examination of evidence as in a Court of Justice. The chief witnesses were Italians of a low type, whom the British people believed to have been suborned. The principal one, Majocchi, broke down under Brougham's cross-examination, and blundered out again and again *Non mi ricordo* ('I don't remember')—a phrase that for a generation to come was current coin in England.

*Non mi ricordo* was fatal to the good repute of the 'existing establishment in Church and State.' The Radical cartoonists, strong in the rising genius of Cruikshank, battened on the shapeless figure of George IV, who was represented to his subjects in every abject guise that malice could suggest, now lolling on the couch as an Oriental voluptuary, now stammering out *Non mi ricordo* at the bar of public opinion. And though Caroline was in a sense the 'heroine,' her low vulgarity was in itself an argument for republicans and levellers As the Queen's trial dragged its foul length along week after week, an utter contempt for their rulers, Royal and other, sank deep into men's hearts, and prepared the way for change.

Whether Caroline was guilty or not no man can with certainty say. On the other hand, it is certain that her marriage had been a legalised bigamy, since her husband had previously been married in secret to Mrs. Fitzherbert, who was still alive. It is also certain that George had cast off Caroline almost at once, before he had any ground against her, and that he had lived and was still living in open relations with a number of other women. Our ancestors passionately determined that a wife who had undergone such treatment, whether she were innocent or guilty, should not be divorced by such a man. The national instinct for fair play was too much for the loyalty of many Tories who had supported the Government on the Six Acts. The Cabinet found itself more nearly in collision with the whole nation than any Government since James II. Only the withdrawal of the Bill of Pains and Penalties saved the State from convulsion.

After Peterloo and Cato Street the Queen's trial comes like low comic relief in a too sombre tragedy. Indeed it did much to restore the good humour of the nation. All classes of

a divided society had united in a common enthusiasm. And it helped the cause of reconciliation that the Cabinet had been disgraced and defeated; its working-class victims could laugh and feel themselves avenged. And so, with the help of a few years of better trade, the more liberal policy adopted by the Tory Cabinet after Castlereagh's death was launched on less troubled waters.

The history of the Queen's trial illustrates the law of political hydrostatics, that if the current of public opinion is denied course through constitutional channels, it will make its way out by the sewers. There had been other instances of such abnormal excitement, as when in 1809 the country had risen in fury to support the charges against the King's son, the Duke of York, then Commander-in-Chief, of selling military commissions through his mistress, Mrs. Clarke.[1] These unsavoury controversies, and many others, now well forgotten, gave proof of a savage hatred of the Royal family, due in equal degrees to the bad private character of George III's sons, and to the political position of George III and George IV after him as acknowledged chiefs of the extreme Tory party. The all-important change that afterwards took place in the popularity of the Royal family, was due alike to its retirement from political leadership and to its changed private record.

But for the present the Crown still made and maintained Ministries. The Tory Cabinet survived the measureless shame and unpopularity of the Queen's trial, because George IV, much as he hated the Ministers for bungling the Bill of Pains and Penalties, hated the Whigs still more for voting against it, and for their association with his arch-enemy, Brougham, who had conducted the Queen's case in the Lords with astonishing eloquence and freedom [2]

[1] She had taken money, pretending to sell her influence with him, but the Duke of York appears to have known nothing about it

[2] He had quoted Milton to some purpose.

'My Lords, if I knew who the party is against whom I appear, *non constat* that I may not bring forward a mass of evidence furnished by himself But who is the party? I know nothing about this shrouded, this mysterious being, this retiring phantom, this uncertain shape.

> "If shape it might be called that shape hath none
> Distinguishable in member, joint or limb,
> Or substance may be called which shadow seems
> What seems his head
> The likeness of a kingly crown has on"'

George is said to have remarked with bitterness: 'He might have left my *shape* alone.'

Now the choice of the Prime Minister effectually rested with the King. The Whigs only mustered some 170 votes in Opposition, and largely owing to the rotten boroughs and the limited franchise, could not materially increase the number at election time. They would do nothing on the one hand to court the King for office, and for the considerable number of votes in the House which was the perquisite of his Ministers as such. Nor on the other hand would they lead the Radicals in an agitation for a really extensive reform of Parliament. Ten years later, under another King, the Whigs did both these things at once, and only so managed to maintain themselves in office long enough to remodel the Constitution, heavily weighted in the interest of their rivals.

The Whigs had become for a while more lukewarm in the cause of Reform than in 1797, when they had voted 91 strong for household suffrage. The fact that they had held office even for a few months in 1806–7 on the basis of leaving the anti-Jacobin system of society and politics untouched, had compromised the future of Reform inside their body, and increased the mutual suspicion between Whigs and Radicals. Many old Whig families who had left the party in the days of Burke and the French Revolution, but had never had the heart to leave Brooks's, came back to the party fold, and the alliance with the Tory Grenvilles continued until 1817. Such connections rendered it difficult for the Whigs to adopt a popular programme. Indeed if they had ever taken office again in a Coalition such as 1807, their connections with Reform would have been snapped altogether, and the historic purpose for which fate was preserving them would have been frustrated.

Lord Grey, in 1819–20, refused to take the field in a campaign for Parliamentary Reform, because, as he wrote to his confidant, Lord Holland, the proposal of any large measure would split the Whig party. He declared indeed that he himself favoured the abolition of no less than a hundred of the rotten borough seats, and was sure that any smaller proposal would fail to arouse popular enthusiasm without which no Reform had the least chance of being carried. Partly because he knew that so large a proposal would break up the Parliamentary party that he led, partly because he shrank from open alliance with the disreputable Radicals, partly because he preferred domestic ease and studious leisure at Howick, the Whig chief put off the hour of action. In refusing to give the country any

more positive lead than a denunciation of Peterloo and the Six Acts, Grey left the Tories another decade in which to make good, and, under Canning, Huskisson and Peel, they did not let the opportunity slip.

The ground was cleared for change in the Tory counsels by the death of Castlereagh in 1822. The great British statesman who had done more than any European diplomat to bring about Napoleon's fall and to establish peace in Europe, had identified himself in his last years with the anti-Jacobin domestic policy in its final stage of decay. He had beaten Napoleon and made a peace that gave us security for a hundred years,—but he had introduced the Six Acts into the House of Commons. When he died, it was the less fortunate side of his career that was uppermost in men's minds, but to us at a century's remove it seems the less important, as it was certainly the less enduring. His death by his own hand was hailed by most of his poorer fellow-countrymen with revengeful glee, which found voice in the horrible cheers that greeted his coffin as it passed into Westminster Abbey.[1] Posterity can look more impartially at the whole career of a man who was sometimes right and sometimes wrong, but who had in the main wrought greatly and beneficently, and had always, according to the light that was in him, devoted powers of the first order to his country's service.[2]

## CHAPTER XII

Liberal Toryism, 1822-27—Canning, Peel, Huskisson—Francis Place and the Combination Acts—The Corn Laws—Canning's foreign policy: Spain, America, Greece

If Castlereagh's mind had not given way that month, or if his attendants in removing his razors had not overlooked the fatal penknife, George Canning would have started on the long sailing voyage to Bengal as Governor-General, and the history of England and Europe would have taken some different course. Aug. 1822

[1] Byron's epitaphs, if more indecent, were not more brutal than Cobbett's message to an imprisoned Reformer. 'Castlereagh has met his own and is dead! Let that sound reach you in the depths of your dungeon, and let it carry consolation to your suffering soul.'

[2] The foreign policy of Castlereagh after 1815 is treated of in relation to that of Canning in chapter xii, pp. 206-208, below.

For a dozen years past Canning had been kept in the background of politics by his personal unpopularity first with his colleagues, and then with the King, whom he refused to assist in the prosecution of Queen Caroline. His brilliancy had been eclipsed by the solid services that Castlereagh had rendered to Europe. But now at last his chance had come. Instead of being exiled to India, he stepped into his dead rival's place as Foreign Secretary and leader of the Commons, and became, under the mild premiership of Lord Liverpool, the first man in the kingdom.

About the time of his promotion a great change had come to maturity in his mind. In youth the chosen disciple of Pitt, he remembered in the closing years of life that his master had once been a reforming and liberal Minister, before the French Revolution raised an issue that had now receded. This was unpalatable doctrine to the men who still shouted Pitt's name as a war-cry against every measure of justice and common sense, and met in Pitt Clubs to drink 'Irish Protestant Ascendancy,' and the health of the yeomanry of Peterloo. But the influence of Canning in his new position permeated Westminster and Whitehall.

Indeed, though the popular rejoicings over Castlereagh's suicide were brutal, and unjust to a great public servant, his death, coming when it did, was fortunate. Not only did our foreign policy, which had become neutral under Castlereagh, become liberal under Canning, but at home reforms followed in rapid succession. Popular belief in constitutional and political action, which Peterloo and the Six Acts had nearly killed, was revived by the proof of what could be done even in an unreformed House of Commons. In such an atmosphere, improved still further by good harvests and a revival in trade, the prospect of violence and class war retreated into the background.

The liberal[1] Tories were the men of the hour. After the 1822 death of Castlereagh the ablest statesmen in the Cabinet belonged to their section of the party. The Whigs had failed to give a lead to the country through their official chiefs, but were ready, under younger men like Brougham and Russell, to cooperate in debates and divisions with the more enlightened

[1] In England the word 'liberal' did not yet designate a party, but was used as an adjective connoting the character of those ideas which were held in common by Canning and Grey, Huskisson and Brougham

part of the Government forces. Under these conditions not only were many valuable measures passed, but the Tory party was disintegrated and forced to resolve itself into its true elements, so that when after Canning's death men were forced to choose between a reversion to anti-Jacobinism under Wellington and Eldon, and an advance to Parliamentary and Municipal Reform under the rejuvenated Whigs, the liberal Tories, with the great exception of Peel, felt themselves prepared by the experience of ten years to break with their old connections and join the party of Parliamentary Reform. 1830

The happy issue of affairs for Britain in the nineteenth century was largely determined by the character and personality of the men who came to the front in the 'twenties—Canning, Huskisson and Peel, Althorp, Durham and Russell, and the school of statesmen that they inspired. In an age of transition, they united to an unusual degree the merits of aristocracy and democracy. The merit of aristocracy lies in the families and individuals who are brought up to serve the State; its demerit lies in a policy dictated by a small class whose experience and interest are not those of the community at large. In democracy, on the other hand, public opinion and the interest of the majority prevail as the motive force, but there is no provision for the training of a class of statesmen. In the epoch of English history that opened in the reign of George IV, the tradition of the old aristocracy, shared by the rising bourgeoisie, still supplied both parties in the State with a large number of families, whose ablest sons were devoted from boyhood to high politics, and were placed early in Parliament with the consciousness that the government was upon their shoulders. The difference from former times was that these specially trained leaders now felt responsibility to the great public rather than to their own class, whose prejudices and monopolies they were often prepared to sacrifice to the general welfare. The eighteenth-century aristocrats and the anti-Jacobin Tories had been the masters of the public, and sometimes therefore its robbers and tyrants. Peel and his successors were its servants. But they were not demagogues, because they still felt themselves to belong to a high and austere sect, devoted to the science of government. Part of that science was to keep in touch with the changes of public opinion—but it was by no means all.

Peel's father, the first Sir Robert, of Lancashire fame,

calico-printer and Tory member, stood like his son after him for the reconciliation of classes. We have seen him, during Napoleon's Hundred Days, working out the details of a Factory Bill with Owen himself.[1] The calico-printer, even before he had been made a baronet, determined, like the elder Pitt, that his son should be Prime Minister. He vowed him from the cradle, and trained him from the nursery, not for business but for Parliament. He sent him to Harrow, then populous with future Premiers and party leaders, where he shared with Lord Byron a sound classical education. His classics and his aristocratic connections received the finishing touch at Christ Church, where he figured as a gentleman commoner. As soon as he came of age, his father bought him a seat for an Irish borough. Next year his own abilities and training, and his father's influence, obtained for him subordinate office. By 1812 he was Chief Secretary for Ireland.

1809

Thus, before he had had time to observe the political scene, and to think out opinions for himself, Peel was immersed in official routine of flattering importance. The Tory party in its heyday of power and popularity, and the Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland, both shone on the manufacturer's son in their brightest and most alluring colours. Almost from his boyhood, the squires and rectors of both islands hailed him as their favourite spokesman, for he at least was staunch against Catholic Emancipation. At the age of twenty-nine he won the blue ribbon of Toryism, that had been denied to Canning, the membership for the University of Oxford. In another aspect, he was the business agent of Tory officialdom: so long as he was at work for twelve hours a day in Whitehall, the squires could hunt and shoot with the security that all was right. They trusted him indeed too blindly, and found in the end a master where they had placed a servant.

These circumstances of his youth partly explain why Peel never learnt that he was not a Tory. Yet Palmerston, who had been pushed forward equally young by the same party, carried his much more real Toryism over into the Whig camp, while Peel continued all his life, from force of early association, to regard Toryism as synonymous with the government of the country rather than with a particular set of opinions, many of which he ceased to share.

In 1822 Peel entered the Cabinet as Home Secretary. He

[1] Pp 184-185, above.

at once cleared out the mystery of iniquity at the Home Office. He abolished the system of maintaining Government spies and *agents provocateurs* among the working-men, which had done so much to embitter class feelings during the last dozen years. He discontinued the political and Press prosecutions, and on every side broke off the connection of Tory rule with coercion in England. The change passed unnoticed, since no legislation was necessary, but it was a change of profound importance.

After the suicide of Romilly in 1818, the agitation for reform of the Criminal Code on the principles of Bentham was carried on by Sir James Mackintosh, who as an Opposition member won the first great Parliamentary triumph of the cause in the legislation of 1820. In 1823 Peel as Home Secretary took up the movement on behalf of Government, and in a few years obtained the repeal of the death penalty for a hundred different offences.

There was equal need for a reform of legal procedure, above all of the procrastinating Court of Chancery, loved for its very faults by its ancient and apparently irremovable chief, Lord Eldon. The world's attention was first turned to law reform as a whole by Brougham's famous six-hour speech in the Commons in 1828, surveying the labyrinth of anachronism and delay that caused misery and injustice not only in Chancery, but in the realm of common law, ecclesiastical law and the petty local courts. Under the impulse given by Brougham's speech, followed up by Royal Commissions, a long series of law reforms were carried in the middle years of the century.

Peel crowned his work at the Home Office by establishing in 1829 the Metropolitan Police Force Its success in London caused it to be adopted throughout the whole country in the course of the next thirty years. The frequency and immunity of crime had scared the legislators of the eighteenth century into the creation of fresh capital felonies every session—a remedy that proved worse than useless. It had never occurred to the 'age of common sense' to find a substitute for the fumbling old watchmen, who preserved unimpaired the traditions of Dogberry and Verges.

Peel's 'new police' secured the success of his reform of the criminal law. And they were no less essential to his policy of avoiding a serious collision between the armed forces of Government and the working-class agitators. It was universally

agreed that if there had been 'Peelers' in Manchester in 1819, or in Bristol in 1831, there would have been no Peterloo, and no burning of Bristol. The lower type of Radical rioters cursed 'Peel's bloody gang' as a serious restraint on their activities, but Francis Place, who knew that liberty implied order, was strongly on the side of an efficient civilian force, of non-partisan character, and armed only with staves—a boon unknown to the subjects of continental despotisms. Some of Place's Radical friends might have been not too well pleased to know that in November 1830 he advised the inspector of the new police 'when he saw a mob prepared to make an attack, to lead his men on and thrash those who composed the mob with their staves as long as any of them remained together, but to take no one into custody, and that if this were done once or twice there would be no more mobs.' The event justified the advice. There had previously been no force capable of doing anything with a London mob, short of shooting and sabring, and for that reason Lord George Gordon had been able to begin the sack of the capital.[1]

One important reform cannot be placed to the credit of the Ministry. Pitt's Combination Laws, a relic of the days of anti-Jacobin panic, still rendered all Trade Union action illegal. Had they been left on the Statute Book, the recrudescence of working-class combination, already very general in industry, must perforce have become revolutionary in the new age. The national service of repealing these dangerous laws was rendered by two determined and unselfish citizens, unaided by any recognised party leader. Joseph Hume, a private member, notorious in the Commons as the persistent advocate of retrenchment, took his orders about the Combination Laws from Francis Place, who manipulated the whole affair from his library at Charing Cross.

Place, like many self-made men, had somewhat too high an opinion of himself as compared to others, but his management of a recalcitrant Parliament of employers, through the sole agency of one private member, was a masterpiece of the political art. In 1824 Place and Hume secured the passage of a very liberal Act settling the status of Trade Unions, before

[1] Highwaymen, who had been the plague of the roads throughout the eighteenth century, had now disappeared, partly owing to the enclosure of so many wild heaths and commons where they used to lurk, partly as the result of a campaign against them of mounted patrols, coupled with a policy of taking away licences from public-houses that harboured them.

members were aware of what they were doing. Next year the two had the more difficult task of preventing a reversal of the policy at the instigation of Huskisson and Peel, after a wave of strikes had caused a panic in the employing class. The crisis was severe, but owing to the mass of evidence from the industrial districts which Place marshalled before the House of Commons Committee, the Act of 1825 was not in the end a reversal of Hume's Act of the year before, though very stringent provisions were added against intimidation.

The wage-earners were set free to work out their own salvation, not only by the repeal of the Combination Laws, but by analogous legislation passed at various dates, which permitted artisans to emigrate, and legalised Friendly and Co-operative Societies. These laws were not the work of Owen and the Socialists, but of the individualist Radicals and political economists of the 'classical' school. The Act of 1824 is the first case of the impartial application of the doctrines of *laissez faire* even when they benefited the workmen as against the master.[1] It was significant that Place and Hume had had the support of an important minority of employers who believed that Pitt's Acts were unjust and a principal cause of industrial strife. Place himself believed that when once the workmen had the right to use the weapon of collective bargaining as freely as their masters, it would not be necessary for them to do so, and that Trade Unions would die a natural death!

The working class was fortunate in having at this critical epoch three servants of such widely different talents and opinions as Owen, Cobbett and Place. They seemed made to supply each other's deficiencies. Place prided himself on the scientific character of his Benthamite individualism, but in him Bentham's teaching was modified and enlarged, as it was not in the case of James Mill and others of the sect, by his experience as a journeyman tailor in early youth. He devoted the last half of his life to raising the status and organising the political action of the class from which he had raised himself by his business abilities. He despised the other working-class leaders. He saw that if the still uneducated proletariat cut itself off politically from the liberal elements in the middle class it would achieve nothing. In spite of his profound contempt for the wisdom of Parliament as the abode of the

[1] See p. 143, above Not only Malthus and Ricardo but McCulloch himself supported the repeal of the Combination Laws.

'stultified Tories' and 'gabbling Whigs,' he none the less was the first to develop the modern arts of lobbying, and bringing to bear on members the weight of evidence and argument from outside. It was partly because his procedure in 1824–5 was so novel that it succeeded so well. The cloud of witnesses from the industrial north that he had wafted into the aristocratic precincts of Westminster to testify to the working of the Combination Laws, were the heralds of a new era in politics. Honourable gentlemen might stare, but they would have to grow reconciled to such sights in the lobbies of the 'best club in Europe.'

Huskisson began the administrative and ministerial side of the Free Trade movement which Peel and Gladstone completed. He became President of the Board of Trade early in 1823, as the friend and *protégé* of Canning, whom at the same time he succeeded as member for Liverpool, becoming thereby the accredited representative of the mercantile interest.

The *laissez faire* economic doctrine, propounded in majestic completeness by Adam Smith as far back as 1776, had captivated the understanding of Pitt in his precocious boyhood Before the question had become generally understood either inside or outside Parliament, the young Minister was carrying a rapid reduction and simplification of tariffs. But this process was reversed by the war of 1793–1815. War expenditure and the interest on war debt were defrayed by unscientific taxation of almost all articles in common use. A revenue tariff, not really protective in its object, taxed raw materials more heavily than manufactured articles. The unwise refusal of the middle classes at the end of the war to submit to a continuation of the income-tax in time of peace, helped to perpetuate this incubus of ill-adjusted taxation.

And so, for thirty years after the outbreak of the war with France, the doctrine of *laissez faire* was seldom quoted except to prove the impossibility of the State enforcing a living wage or interfering on behalf of the employee. At length, in the more liberal atmosphere of the 'twenties, the time had come for a revival of its Free Trade implications. The financial genius of Huskisson was able to operate with the full support of the economists at the height of their fame and influence, under the patronage of the port of Liverpool and the bulk of middle-class opinion, and behind the shield of Canning, the favourite of the nation and the despot of the Cabinet.

Under these favouring conditions Huskisson resumed Pitt's earlier rôle, substituted moderate tariffs for total prohibitions, abolished bounties, cut down high duties to a percentage that discouraged smuggling and encouraged competition, and admitted many raw materials at nominal tariffs. Timber he excluded from this category in order to benefit Canada.

1823-27

Huskisson had more vision of the Empire than any other statesman of his own or of the following generation, except Lord Durham. He encouraged and subsidised emigration. He showed the Colonies that their interests were to be consulted no less than those of the mother country. Such a theory was new in the world. Seizing the opportunity of changes in the tariff, he established a working system of preferential duties for colonial goods. When Free Trade reached its full development in the 'forties and 'fifties, preference was no longer possible. But Huskisson's idea that the Colonies were not mere stalking-horses for British interests at home outlived his preferential tariffs.

Though Huskisson laid the foundations of British Free Trade policy, he himself did not contemplate a total abolition of duties. But in one respect he was compelled to outstrip Adam Smith himself. The philosopher had pronounced the Navigation Laws injurious to our national wealth, but necessary for our national security, as a means of maintaining the school of seamen. These laws, first enacted against our Dutch rivals in the time of the Commonwealth, had the effect of confining British trade almost entirely to ships owned and manned by British subjects. The system was brought to the ground, not by attacks of *laissez faire* economists, but by the action of America in passing a navigation law of her own, which imposed special duties on goods imported in British ships. European countries began to follow suit, and Huskisson in 1823 was fain to pass a Reciprocity Act enabling government to negotiate a treaty with any foreign State, so as to secure to the ships of each country the free use of the other's ports. Our Colonies were at the same time permitted to trade direct with Europe.

It was not till 1849 and the following years that the Navigation Acts were completely abolished, but they had received their death-blow in 1823. The new spirit of enterprise in the open market that asked for no protection, and the invention of iron ships just when our forests were failing, enabled British

shipbuilders to compete against foreign rivals with the same success as before.

Huskisson's Free Trade measures unshackled the limbs of a vigorous giant. British commerce, unlike British agriculture, was as a young man rejoicing in his strength and confident in his power to make his own way in the world. Brilliant prospects were everywhere opening out to capital and enterprise. When the colonies of Spain threw off her yoke, the merchants of Cadiz were no longer able to forbid the rest of mankind to trade with South America. At the same time Europe's purchasing power abroad was recovering from the effects of the war and the peace. England was the clearing-house and port of call for the trade between the two hemispheres, and London was the financial centre for the colossal operations of the coming age.

Canning and Huskisson were alive to all this. The old and the new member for Liverpool understood that England's future lay in commerce rather than in agriculture, and that already less than a third of the population worked on the land. The economic and political outlook of these two Tory chiefs was very different from that of the squires and rural clergy who composed the nucleus of their party.

In the British political world 'Corn was King.' It was more dangerous to tamper with that one item of the Protectionist system than with all the rest put together. For whereas the manufacturers were meagrely represented in Parliament and were coming round to Free Trade—at least in such articles as each man did not himself produce—on the other hand, the landlords, who nominated or composed the immense majority of both Houses, had no doubts at all as to the necessity for the protection of corn. The Corn Laws were the ark of the Tory Covenant, and half the Whig gentlemen regarded them as no less sacred.[1] Parliamentary Reform would have to precede any serious reduction in the corn duty.

Yet the Act of 1815,[2] in which Huskisson himself had been a participator, was working such general havoc that some change in the form of protection had to be devised. By the Waterloo Corn Bill import was prohibited when wheat stood

[1] Lord Grey's son and heir wanted free trade in corn as early as 1827, but his father wrote that his views, if carried into effect, would injure the country, and 'at once ruin him and me'

[2] See p 152, above.

below 80*s*. a quarter.[1] The result was to hamper foreign trade, to keep the price of corn artificially high, and in years of scarcity to starve the labourer's family in town and country alike. The Corn Law had been fiercely denounced by the middle and working classes from the moment of its introduction. It increased the revolutionary feeling among town Radicals and village rick-burners, and caused grave discontent among the unrepresented captains of industry and their lieutenants. At inns and places of public resort loud disputes between commercial travellers and farmers on the subject of the Corn Laws marked a growing division among the 'respectable' classes that boded ill for the permanence of the existing regime.

Yet the 'agricultural interest,' the landlords and big farmers, were themselves harassed by the working of their own law. It had been assumed that the measure would keep wheat above 80*s*. a quarter, and on the strength of that assumption farmers continued to discard the production of meat, poultry and vegetables, and to plough up bad lands that ought never to have grown corn at all. The result of this over-production of corn in Britain was that prices fell below 80*s*., not indeed low enough to give food to the people at a reasonable price, but low enough to break many farmers and to prevent many landlords from obtaining the high rents on which they had calculated. Some new form of corn protection was loudly called for by the agricultural interest itself. A slight modification of the law in 1822 had made no change in the situation.

Huskisson therefore proposed a sliding scale—that is to say a tariff to vary with the price. The principle was accepted, but the question of its rate and incidence divided the Tory party as fiercely as Foreign Policy and Catholic Emancipation. Huskisson and Canning stood for a lower rate, Wellington for a higher. Finally, after Canning's death, the Duke fixed a sliding scale to begin when wheat was under 73*s*. a quarter. It was hoped that it would prevent the fluctuation of prices, but it had no such effect. It remained as the Corn Law against which the thunders of Cobden's League were in later years directed.

1827

1828

The liberal trend of British statesmanship in the nine-

[1] It must be remembered that 80s then was worth many times what it is now, 80s. a quarter was a terribly high price in 1815

teenth century was set in these years by Peel for domestic administration, by Huskisson for commerce, and by Canning for foreign relations. In our dealings with Europe, a continuous if winding stream of policy joins our breach with the Holy Alliance to the war of 1914.

Canning's tenure of the Foreign Office marked the fact that England had changed sides. In order to release Europe from the overlordship of France, we had fought in alliance with the Eastern despotisms and with all the most reactionary forces in the West. Our victory had involved the re-enslavement of Poland, the restoration of the Temporal Power and the Austrians in Italy, of the Jesuits, the princes, the nobles and the Junkers throughout the Continent,—while the military predominance had passed from the Western Powers to Russia, Prussia and Austria.

It was partly because they had foreseen such consequences in case of victory, that the Whigs had been factious and lukewarm about the war while it was still waging. Now they found themselves in touch with the rising anger of the nation at large against the obscurantism and despotism of our late allies. England had felt a generous warmth in helping the Spanish and German peoples to free themselves from Napoleon. When, after the common victory, the princes and priests of the Continent re-enslaved those who had done the fighting, many Englishmen felt that they had been taken in. It was not to restore the Inquisition that they had fought in Spain. England and Europe listened with delight to the invective of the Whig poet, Lord Byron, against forces which no one on the Continent could criticise without seeing the inside of a dungeon. All this was very fine, but would not have been very effectual had not the Tory Foreign Secretary taken up the cause. In a few years Canning attracted to England and to himself the loyalty of Liberals in all countries.

Castlereagh, who conducted foreign affairs until 1822, had withdrawn from interference on the Continent to neutrality, but he would never have positively changed sides. He refused, indeed, to take part in the policing of Europe against constitutional revolts, but not because he sympathised with those revolts. He spoke strongly in favour of Austria's rule in Italy and Turkey's rule in Greece. He had pledged the country, as was reasonable, to resist by force a Napoleonic restoration in France, but he had also approved of a secret treaty whereby Austria bound Ferdinand IV of Naples to maintain a system

of absolutism in his territories. That was indeed the extent of Castlereagh's commitments, and he would go no further, even to please Metternich.

Metternich meanwhile had completely converted the Czar Alexander to absolutism. The Holy Alliance in 1815 had been a vague aspiration of the Czar's pietism.[1] Three years later it had taken practical form as the clearing-house of obscurantist diplomacy, settling the internal affairs of countries great and small at a series of European congresses. In both its phases it had been suspect to Castlereagh. The British statesman, who was a 'good European' and friend of peace, wished indeed for periodic congresses to arrange international disputes and avoid causes of war, but he did not wish these meetings to be made the instrument of interference in the internal affairs of States. Canning went still further, because he was already more sensitive than Castlereagh ever became to British public opinion. In October 1818 he told his colleagues in the Cabinet—'Our true policy has always been not to interfere except in great emergencies and then with a commanding force. The people of this country may be taught to look with great jealousy for their liberties, if our Court is engaged in meetings of great despotic monarchs, deliberating upon what degree of revolutionary spirit may endanger the public security, and therefore require the interference of the Alliance.' [2]

The despots of Europe, however, went on without us, and in 1821 commissioned Austria to suppress the newly won constitution of the Neapolitan kingdom. Castlereagh disliked the collective action of the Congress for this purpose, but had no objection to Austria acting in Naples on her own account. He regarded this first great episode of the Italian *risorgimento*, on behalf of which Byron was collecting arms and Shelley writing poems, as 'a sectarian conspiracy and military revolt against a mild and paternal Government.' The man who wrote thus, and who used equally hostile language about the Greek struggle with Turkey, would never, if he had lived, have played the part taken by Canning in Europe.[3]

[1] P 138, above

[2] See *Castlereagh's Correspondence and Despatches* (1853), xii, pp 56–7, and Temperley's *Canning*, 134–5 Bathurst writes to Castlereagh, who was abroad · 'I do not subscribe to Canning's opinions, nor did any of the Cabinet who attended '

[3] It is good that justice is now done to Castlereagh's immense services in 1813–15, and that his policy from 1816–22 is set in its right light. But

The 'mild and paternal Government,' when restored by Austria to its absolute power in Naples, proceeded to a barbarous persecution of virtue and intellect, such as the Holy Alliance was organising, with local variations, all over Europe. The dragooning of the German Universities, the destruction of the Polish constitution, the police system which put men in prison for possessing a volume of Gibbon or Montesquieu, bade fair to put out the light of Europe's culture in the course of suppressing her liberties. When the country that had overthrown Napoleon spoke out against this system through the mouth first of her poets and then of her Foreign Minister, the moral effect was all the greater because no other voice but England's could then be heard on behalf of freedom.

When Castlereagh died and Canning took over the Foreign Office, another Holy Alliance Congress was about to meet at Verona to decide on the suppression of the constitutional rights which the Spaniards had extorted once more from their perjured and bigoted King, Ferdinand VII. France was chosen as the executioner. The French Royalists and Clericals rejoiced to lead an invasion of Spain on absolutist principles It would be a cheap way of reviving the glories of Napoleon on behalf of their own party. With the help of the Church in Spain, French conquest was this time easy, and the persecution that followed was ferocious. Ferdinand, as his subjects had good cause to say, had 'the heart of a tiger and the head of a mule.'

1822

1823

These proceedings infuriated all sections of British opinion. Anti-French, anti-Catholic and Liberal feeling between them covered most of the ground in politics, and all three were outraged. Another reigning passion, the desire for foreign markets, was no less shrewdly touched, for if the colonies that had revolted from Spain were recovered by the aid of French arms, Central and Southern America would again be closed to our goods. The 'family compact' of the French and Spanish Bourbons, so much dreaded in the eighteenth century, would be renewed against British trade and power. The spirit of Chatham was aroused. The memories of the Peninsula were revived. Once more, as in 1808, the shop windows were filled with coloured cartoons, generously but naively

the extreme eulogists of Castlereagh, who would have it that he initiated all that was good in Canning's policy, are doing a great injustice to Canning, who also has his rights

representing 'Spanish patriots,' in the ruffs and slashed clothes of their great ancestors, slaughtering masses of shrieking Frenchmen!

Canning, though he confessed to a friend that 'he had an itch for war with France,' decided not to plunge the country into another great struggle, with half the Spanish people and all the governments of Europe supporting the French. Indeed, such a war would probably have had the disastrous result of identifying French military and nationalist feeling, which was at that time anti-Bourbon, with all the worst forms of reaction. Where Canning did not intend to fight, he was too wise to bluff or threaten. He contented himself with a strong protest against the invasion of Spain. But he gave the French to understand that if they attempted to send troops across the Atlantic, they would have to deal with the British fleet And he let the restored Spanish absolutism know that the reactionary system was not to be carried by foreign arms into Portugal. When, in disregard of this warning, the Spaniards began to interfere with our little ally, Canning was as good as his word, and sent four thousand redcoats to Lisbon, who soon disposed of the reactionary forces. France and Spain shrank from a contest over Portugal. The successful landing of British troops on the Continent to defend the constitutional cause, even on this small scale, made a great sensation throughout Europe.

1823

1826

Although the revolt of our American colonists in the eighteenth century proved ultimately decisive as an example to those of Spain, it had had no immediate effect upon them. The revolutionary and separatist movement came to South America, not from the countrymen or contemporaries of Washington, but through the agency of Spanish-Americans resident in Europe in the time of Napoleon. In the same era, the wars of Spain against England and against France revealed to her subjects beyond the ocean the feeble and useless character of their home government, and broke up the isolation, comparable to that of China, which had so long divided South America from the rest of mankind.

In 1806–7, Spain being then at war with England, a British force from South Africa, crossing the Atlantic without orders from home on the strangest of escapades, landed in the Plata River and seized Buenos Aires. When the news reached London, British merchants at home raised a shout of

greedy joy, and the Cabinet had the weakness to accept and support the move thus forced upon them. The Spanish Royal Governor had fled in panic, incapable of attempting to organise resistance. But as the British made the mistake of demanding allegiance for King George instead of proclaiming independence, the populace acted with the guerilla energy of their race, and in twelve months compelled the invaders to sail away again under an ignominious armistice.

These events were the prelude to South American Independence. The exhibition of helpless folly on the part of the Spanish Royal authorities, the habits of successful self-defence engendered in the population thus deserted, the taste of the pleasures of anarchy enjoyed by the wilder *gauchos* of the great plain, and the seeds of knowledge and civilisation planted by the English during their year's occupation, all made for revolution. When next year the government of old Spain betrayed the race and gave its possessions on both sides of the Atlantic to the French, its action was repudiated in South America, and the English were welcomed as friends and deliverers.

1808

The confusion of authority that followed in Spain, between the patriotic Juntas and a Court become vassal to Napoleon, favoured the designs of the small group who were working for the independence of Spanish America. From that time forward their cause made rapid progress, though it went through many vicissitudes. The English merchants fostered the revolt, partly as a means of obtaining markets in defiance of the veto from Spain, and partly out of political sympathy. It was not, perhaps, easy to feel great enthusiasm for revolutions which never led to anything more constitutional than military dictatorship. Spanish America had been for more than two centuries locked away from the world's intrusion, to vegetate in peace ; Spaniards and Indians had worked out a *modus vivendi*, and there had been no third party. Now at length the new freedom, or more precisely the new independence, came rudely to disturb the calm of that curious society There followed several generations of petty warfare between rival parties and rival States. But there followed also European trade, inventions, ideas, and interpenetration by foreign business men, at first chiefly from Great Britain.

In those days the scattered communities of so vast a continent were as much separated from each other as they were from Spain. The British merchant ships helped to keep up

communications and to give the struggle for independence a certain unity of action. In the group of equatorial colonies along the Spanish main, the leading figure was Bolivar the Liberator. He owed much to an army of six thousand British volunteers, largely disbanded Peninsular veterans, who left their bones in that fierce struggle with man and nature in the tropical mountains. Farther south, along the coasts of Chili and Peru, a small rebel fleet decided the contest by its brilliant feats under the command of Lord Cochrane, then the finest of British sailors, whose career in our service had been cut short after a brilliant beginning

At the time when the French reactionaries restored Ferdinand to Madrid, Spanish-American independence, though not yet recognised by any European Power, was an accomplished fact. It was also a British vested interest of great commercial value. And grave as were the shortcomings of the half-civilised republics, 'freedom' might without undue poetic licence be invoked to prevent the reconquest of half a hemisphere by the monarchs of the Holy Alliance, who had just trodden out the embers of liberty in Italy and Spain. 1823

It was at this stage of affairs that the United States entered on the scene as the world-champion of a democracy more advanced than Canning's Liberal Toryism, and as the leading American Power. In neither capacity was her advent altogether welcome to Canning, who curiously enough was more under the influence of aristocratic prejudices against the United States than his more high-born and conservative predecessor.[1] It was fortunate that he had only to deal with the United States at a time when our common interests were to the fore and our numerous differences were slumbering. He had indeed invited American diplomatic support against the Holy Alliance, and he made full use of it, while the Press on both sides of the Atlantic preached the novel doctrine of English-speaking union against a world of despots.

The veto laid on French action by the British fleet decided the crisis. Canning indeed had secured the acquiescence of the French Government in the inevitable, even before President Monroe laid down the famous 'Monroe doctrine' in the message to Congress of December 1823. The President's warning to the powers of the Holy Alliance to keep their hands off the revolted colonies of Spain was made in

[1] See pp 177-178, above, on Castlereagh and the United States.

unequivocal terms, on the high ground of the political sympathies of the United States, and her own special interests in the New World. There was also a significant sentence of general application:

'The occasion has been judged proper for asserting as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonisation by any European powers.'

It is true that the 'occasion' for 'asserting this principle' was certain designs of Russia on the still unoccupied Pacific coast. It is also true that 'existing colonies or dependencies of any power' were excepted from this veto. None the less, Canning saw in the Monroe doctrine a warning to Great Britain about the future, as well as an immediate defiance of their common enemies of the Holy Alliance. And such indeed was the spirit of the message in the mind of those who framed it. It signified that the United States was coming into the field as a great world power with a policy and ethos of her own. Much would have been saved if her advent on these terms had been accepted by Canning, Palmerston and the other semi-aristocratic statesmen of Britain in transition, as frankly as it was accepted after the American Civil War and after the full democratisation of the British Parliament.

The closing scene of the Spanish-American drama was the official recognition by Great Britain of Mexico, Buenos Aires and Bolivar's Colombia as independent States. Canning's High Tory colleagues had fought against his policy in the Cabinet from first to last, and George IV had intrigued against him with Metternich and the Russians. But strong in the support of the British people, Canning had defied his enemies at home and abroad. They liked it little when he boasted in the Commons:

Dec 1824

'Contemplating Spain as our ancestors had known her, I resolved that if France had Spain, it should not be Spain with the Indies. I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old.'

On the American question, Canning, backed by the peoples of America and by the British fleet, was geographically master of the situation, and had simply overridden the will of

Russia, Austria, Prussia and France. But in the case of the Greek rebellion against Turkey, he was only able to achieve Greek independence by dexterous use of the divisions of the Holy Alliance itself, and the sympathy felt by France and Russia with the insurgents. He is almost the only British statesman who, by the consent of all to-day, added to his laurels by his positive achievements in the Near East. Combining the best points of the later policies of Disraeli and Gladstone, he kept Russia's ambitions within bounds by placing England and France alongside of her as champions of liberation from the Turk.[1] Canning visited Paris and with great ability won over Charles X and his reactionary but Christian Ministers to co-operate in this policy, thereby splitting the Holy Alliance from top to bottom, and forcing Metternich to look on in impotent fury while the English, Russian and French fleets under Admiral Codrington blew the Turkish fleet out of the water in Navarino bay.

Sept. 1826

Oct 1827

Two months before that decisive event, Canning had died. But though Wellington's bungling reversal of his policy eventually left France and Russia to divide the honour of clearing the Turks out of the Morea, the policy devised by Canning had triumphed. A new State representing a race with European traditions had been set up, only nominally subject to Turkey, yet not dependent on Russia. Britain had prepared a dyke against the tide of the Russian advance, not by bolstering up Turkish despotism, but by taking the lead against it herself, and appealing to the new principle of nationality.

This policy was abandoned at the Crimea, when the Whigs, throwing over the traditions of Fox and Grey, and the Tories those of Canning, reverted to Pitt's pro-Turkish methods of checkmating Russia.[2] The same purely negative policy served Disraeli's turn once more in the 'seventies.

During the fifty years between Canning's liberation of Greece and Gladstone's campaign on the Bulgarian atrocities, the English people ceased to sympathise with national struggles for liberty against the Turks. The cause had aroused their generous ardour when Byron died for Greece at Missolonghi.

1824

[1] The difference between Castlereagh's and Canning's policy can be measured by the following words of Castlereagh's, written in December 1821 'Whatever may be the views of the Turkish power, it is at least exempt from the revolutionary danger. The cause of the Greeks is deeply and inevitably tainted with it.'

[2] P. 44, above.

Before Canning's official intervention, British gold and British volunteers, collected by enthusiastic committees, had done as much to maintain the insurgent cause in Greece as in South America But whereas the sympathy with South America had its roots in commerce, the sympathy with Greece had its roots in culture The very name of Hellas, like that of Italy in the next generation, had a strange power to move our apparently unemotional grandfathers. But when once the heirs of Athens had been freed, Serb, Bulgar and Armenian appealed in vain for British sympathy, though the cause was the same of delivering ancient races long submerged under the stagnant waters of Turkish misrule. The classical and literary education that then moulded and inspired the English mind had power to make men sympathise with Greece and Italy, more even than Christianity had power to make them sympathise with the Balkan Christians It is significant of much that in the seventeenth century members of Parliament quoted from the Bible ; in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries from the classics ; in the twentieth century from nothing at all.

## CHAPTER XIII

The break-up of the Tory party, 1827–30—Illness of Lord Liverpool—Ministry and death of Canning—The Wellington Ministry—O'Connell and Catholic Emancipation—Opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway—Origins of London University

For five years England had been guided by the genius of Canning, and seldom have so much brilliancy and so much wisdom combined to produce such happy results The constitutional medium through which that genius worked was the loyal friendship of the Prime Minister, Lord Liverpool, one of those statesmen whose chief art is to hold together Cabinets of imperious and discordant colleagues. Formerly he had been under the influence of Castlereagh, but he had since passed under the spell of Canning, and had more than once been of service to him by persuading Lord Eldon and the Duke to remain in office, though they objected to the whole current of the government policy. But in February 1827 a paralytic stroke removed the Prime Minister from the political scene. The Tory party could no longer avoid choosing

between Canning and Wellington, for neither could possibly serve under the other. Though George IV had lately intrigued to get rid of Canning, he now felt his mastery and had no resource but to call him to the head of affairs. Wellington, Eldon and Peel left the Cabinet.

Canning was dying, and he knew it. But like his master before him, he rallied his failing energies to serve his country in the crisis that was upon her. He formed a Cabinet of his own followers: Huskisson stood by him, and Palmerston, whose cynical common sense began to read failure in the programme of what he called ' the stupid old Tory party ' Canning also gave a few minor places to Whigs, since he would have to eke out a majority by the help of Whig votes in the Commons. The group system had replaced two-party politics, which only the Reform Bill was destined to revive. For the moment the Whigs were as much divided as the Tories. But whereas the Tories were divided on questions of policy which time would render more acute, the Whigs were split on a question of tactics which Canning's death was certain to resolve

Lord Lansdowne and Lord Holland, Lord Durham and Henry Brougham, and the bulk of the Whigs, young and old, supported Canning out of gratitude for what he had done and to prevent a Wellingtonian reaction at home and abroad. But Lord Grey and his young lieutenant, Lord Althorp, the most popular man in the House of Commons, both refused to sanction the coalition. Grey was partly influenced by that distrust of Canning as an ' adventurer,' which was traditional among the elder statesmen on either side, but which none of the younger men could understand. With more reason, Grey complained that Canning had received the support of the Whigs without making the smallest concession, even on those points where he agreed with them like Catholic Emancipation. That great question was still to be left on the shelf, while the Government would actively oppose the abolition of the Test Act, still more any measure of Parliamentary Reform.

The instinct of Grey and Althorp against merging the Foxite tradition on these terms in the Canningite branch of Toryism, was perhaps justified by the fact that three years later the Canningite Tories came and merged themselves in the Whig party and so enabled the Reform Bill to be carried. Canning himself was to the very last as illogically in love with

the rotten boroughs as the other great liberal Tory, Peel; and he had ten times Peel's popularity at that time. If, therefore, the Whigs had accepted Canning as Liberal leader, and if he had lived, there would have been no Reform Bill. His death, like the last wonderful five years of his life, takes its place in a series of strokes of destiny which cleared the way for the peaceful emergence of the new order.

Canning died on August 8, 1827, in the house at Chiswick where Fox had passed away. There had been no time for his Ministry to be tested in practice, but by the fact of its formation the Canningites had been marked off as a distinct group, opposed to the High Tory party. After a brief attempt by the incapable 'goody Goderich' to construct a Canningite Government without Canning, Wellington came back to form a Ministry, nominally of Tory reunion. But the time for reunion had gone by. Perpetual friction in the Cabinet was too much for the patience of the Duke, who was no Liverpool. He brusquely seized an opportunity to get rid of the Canningites, when their leader Huskisson made an offer of resignation not seriously meaning to be taken at his word.

Jan. 1828

May 1828

By this proceeding, more soldierly than politic, the Duke condemned himself to govern Great Britain and Ireland through the agency of the High Tories alone. He had not calculated what that might imply. As soon as he had purged his administration of nearly every man who believed in Catholic Emancipation, he found himself suddenly compelled to emancipate the Catholics.

The political history of this period is bewildering to the student, and rich in paradoxical happenings, because, while the old parties are breaking up, 'the spirit of the age,' and the constant pressure of the unenfranchised from without, overwhelm from day to day the policies of the nominal holders of power. The scene has all the confused inconsequence of a great military retreat, when no one knows what anyone else is doing, and positions are taken up only to be abandoned. Whereas Canning, the year before, had thought it necessary to pledge his Cabinet to prevent the repeal of the Test Act and to leave Catholic Emancipation alone, fifteen months after the Duke took office both relieving Bills had become law under the ægis of an ultra-Tory Ministry.

Lord John Russell's Bill to repeal the Test and Corpora-

tion Acts, which prohibited Dissenters from holding National or Municipal Office, passed the Commons by so great a majority that Peel and Wellington thought it wise not to oppose it, and even negotiated its passage through the Upper House. The blow to the spirit of Church ascendancy was theoretic and moral, for in practice a yearly Indemnity Bill had been passed to pardon any Dissenters who had broken the law by taking office, and a wholesale reform of Parliamentary and Municipal representation would be needed before the Church monopoly could be seriously affected and Nonconformists obtain a share of power at all commensurate with their rapidly increasing numbers, wealth and influence.

March 1828

The Repeal of the Test Act had been accepted with a good grace, largely owing to the moderation which the bishops had shown at Peel's instance. But the admission of Roman Catholics to Parliament would be a far more serious blow to the feelings of 'the Protestant and High Church party,' as the Tories were called in those days before the Oxford movement. 'No Popery' was the one thing that still gave them popularity with large sections of the public. Yet Peel and Wellington in 1829 not only abandoned the policy in the faith of which they had been bred, and in vindicating which they had risen to power against all rivals, but they outraged all the precedents and expectations of party loyalty by themselves as Ministers forcing Catholic Emancipation through Parliament. Right or wrong, it was a course which only two very strong and disinterested men would have taken. Nothing that could have happened inside this island could ever have induced them to adopt it. It was dictated to them by the belief that no one else could win the consent of the King and the Lords to Emancipation, and that only if Emancipation were actually passed could England avoid the shame and danger of a civil war in Ireland

Pitt's policy, or rather the policy which George III and the Tories had forced upon Pitt's weakness, had done everything to exasperate and nothing to reconcile Irish opinion.[1] The Union, unaccompanied by Catholic Emancipation, extinguished the last hopes of Grattan, the great Protestant statesman who had shown England the way to solve the Irish question before it was too late. 'The Irish Demosthenes,'

[1] Pp 103-104, above.

as a broken-hearted exile, won a kind of posthumous reputation in the alien Parliament to which he had been led captive by the Act of Union. He lived till 1820, but during the last twenty years of his life he knew that his day was over The forces through which he had sought the reconciliation of creeds and races were played out—the religious toleration and indifferentism of eighteenth-century thought had been succeeded in Ireland by Orange and Catholic fanaticism, and in England by an Evangelical propaganda against the Popish danger, which had spread from the mob to the rulers of Church and State.

The man who in the early years of the new century stepped into Grattan's place as Irish leader was a very different man, appealing to very different forces. Grattan, a Protestant, had appealed to the patience of Irish Catholics, to the wisdom and generosity of Irish and English Protestants. O'Connell, a Catholic, appealed to his own people to close their ranks and to extort through fear what had been denied to justice.

The Irish peasant democracy had lain crushed and dormant during the eighteenth century, until in the last decade spastmodic local convulsions had shown that it was about to awake. O'Connell aroused and organised its religious and social passions. British statesmen, both Whig and Tory, complained of this as a crime, but nothing less formidable would have gained attention for Irish wrongs in the island to which Pitt had moved the Irish justice-seat.

Though compelled to adopt methods of agitation, O'Connell was a man of peace and order, desiring to reconcile England and Ireland within the bounds of the Empire and by constitutional means. But he knew that the terms of reconciliation would have to be extorted. He proposed to extort them, not by the spasmodic violence which was the usual resort of each village when left to itself, but by organising the national will through a machinery which he himself devised. The Catholic Association, founded in 1823, became nothing less than a regimentation of Catholic Ireland, under the priests as officers, with O'Connell as Commander-in-Chief. Though everyone in secular authority was outside the movement and hostile to it, the unanimity of the people was terrible Such unanimity is seldom found, except where the national life is comprised in a single class of ill-educated peasants, in whom the instincts of herd morality have been fortified by centuries of oppression.

English policy had indeed removed all the intermediary classes which usually form a bridge between an unpopular government and its discontented subjects. The whole official class by law had to belong to an alien religion, and by tradition had alien sympathies in almost every respect The landlords, the natural leaders of a rural community, were nearly all of them Protestants, mostly holding their possessions as a foreign garrison intruded in the place of the native owners by the sword of Cromwell and of William.

Nor did the position of the Irish landlord among his tenantry resemble that of the English landlord in economic any more than in religious and political matters. The typical Irish landlord had never been an 'improver' He did nothing for his estate. He neither built nor repaired the cabins, sheds or fences of his tenantry. He was simply a consumer of rack-rent. Except in certain districts of Ulster, the tenant had no customary 'right.' There was no class of big farmer growing up as in England, to govern the rural proletariat in his own and the landlord's interest On the contrary, the farms in Ireland were getting smaller, in the eighteenth century, by subdivision into potato patches of half an acre each. This encouraged the population to increase, without reference to the real productive power of the soil or the reliability of the potato crop. The result was periodic famine. Before the great famine of 1846 and the subsequent emigration to America, there were more than eight millions of people in Ireland, nearly twice as many as are now supported by much improved agricultural methods.

One of the arguments that had been advanced in favour of the Union of 1800, had been that British capital would be attracted to Ireland. This hope had not been fulfilled. And during the half-century between the Union and the famine era, the British Parliament, which had undertaken the duties of its Dublin predecessor with so light a heart, entirely neglected the economic aspect of its new functions. The government was content to apply rigorously the English land laws to totally different economic and social conditions. It did nothing to develop the economic resources of the country, or to fight poverty and over-population by any expedient, other than that of supporting by military force the wholesale evictions ordained by landlords anxious to clear their estates.

Such was the state of affairs in Ireland during the period

of O'Connell's influence. The evicted had not even the provision of the English poor law to save them from starvation. Meanwhile, as it were to emphasise the connection of religion with these evils, the peasant had to pay a tithe of his produce to the minister of a religion that he regarded as heretical. Till O'Connell arose, agrarian crime was the only form of protest. It led to the 'proclaiming' of districts and the maintenance of order by an army larger than that which garrisoned India.

Yet even under such conditions a kind of feudal loyalty attached many of the Catholic peasants to those of their Protestant landlords who were not absentees, and who had acquired the careless good nature of old Irish society. At any rate no one had dreamt of tenants voting against their landlords at election time, until O'Connell determined to use the strength of the Catholic Association to show once for all that political control of the peasant had passed from the landlord to the priest In 1828 Vesey-Fitzgerald was seeking re-election for the county of Clare. He was one of the most popular landlords in Ireland and he had voted for Catholic Emancipation. But O'Connell stood against him, the peasants marched to the poll with the priests at their head and the day was carried against the whole landlord influence of the county. A peculiar and powerful blend of clericalism and democracy had destroyed feudalism in Ireland.

O'Connell's election was legal, but as he was a Catholic the law prevented him from taking his seat. That was the situation which convinced Peel and Wellington that Catholics must be admitted to Parliament. By passing Catholic Emancipation they averted the danger of civil war. But though for this limited purpose they had the moral courage to sacrifice their party's welfare and their own consistency, they were not magnanimous enough to do it with grace and so turn it into an act of reconciliation. They seemed determined to show that it had been extorted, which was exactly the impression they should have striven to remove. Insults were heaped upon O'Connell in the hour of his triumph. He was forced to seek re-election on the paltry ground that his election, though legal, had taken place before the passage of Catholic Emancipation. When the first Catholic barristers obtained silk under the new Act, O'Connell was passed over, possibly on the ground that 'the whale is left out from the fishes in a Natural History Museum.' The liberator was a generous

1829

and kindly man, but he felt his treatment bitterly; he said of Peel words that no one but an Irishman would have found, 'His smile was like the silver plate on a coffin.'

No Catholic was promoted to the Bench, and everything was done to show that the new law did not mean a change of system in Ireland, and that the national leaders were not in fact to be admitted to a share of power. But the new law enabled O'Connell to gather a number of followers in the House of Commons, who henceforth exerted a direct and disturbing influence on British politics Ireland was no nearer than before to self-government, but she had obtained some real representation at Westminster.

By passing Catholic Emancipation the Duke had alienated from his person and government the very elements on which he could best have relied to hold the fort against the coming Liberal assault. Old Lord Eldon, the Oxford dons, the country parsons, and the more old-fashioned squires raged against the King's government and the victor of Waterloo, with the fury of men betrayed. Not till they had pulled down Wellington and put Lord Grey into Downing Street did the High Tories feel that they had been avenged. The Ministry of Tory reunion had taken just a year in breaking up the party into three mutually hostile sections of Canningites, Ministerialists and Eldonians. The Duke, who had driven the Canningites into opposition in 1828, showed as much contempt in 1829 for the indignation of the squires and parsons as he showed in 1830 for the demand of the 'middle and industrious classes' for Reform. With his soldier's mind and his strictly administrative way of dealing with political problems and forces, he unwittingly cleared the ground for the revival of the Whigs and for the passage of a much larger measure of Reform than had seemed remotely possible at the time of Canning's last illness.

In September 1830 the Duke attended the opening of the Manchester and Liverpool Railway He was little suited to grasp the significance of the occasion, for he disliked inventions ; it was largely due to his lifelong conservatism in this respect that British troops went to the Crimea armed with weapons precisely similar to those which had been used at Waterloo. Huskisson was also present, as behoved the

member for Liverpool who had warmly supported the line in Parliament. He stepped out of the train on to the rails, to shake hands with the Duke of whom he had seen but little since their quarrel two years before; not realising in time the danger of his proceedings, he was knocked down by one of George Stephenson's engines. The dying statesman was taken up and carried away at the pace of thirty-six miles an hour, although when Stephenson had given evidence before the House of Commons, members had thought him crazy for claiming that one-third of that pace would be possible.

The events of this day, so tragic in depriving the country of Huskisson's services,[1] proclaimed to all the world the advent through steam locomotion of a new economic era. Steamships were already beginning to ply the waters. But this day registered the conquest of the land. For thirty years past, inventors had been working at the idea of using steam for traction, as it had already been used for pumping mines and turning machinery. At first it had seemed that the 'steam coach' would use the macadamised highways of the country without need of rails. Several of these primeval motors made experimental journeys along English roads during the Napoleonic wars. But they went no faster than waggon-horses and could only draw a twentieth of their own weight. The issue was decided when the mining industry, already accustomed to the use of rails to enable horses to drag heavily weighted coal trucks, employed the genius of George Stephenson of Tyneside gradually to perfect a steam-engine that gave the supremacy to the rail over the road. In our own day the coming of petrol has renewed the rivalry of road with rail.

The connection of this new development with politics was felt by contemporaries both on its material and its symbolic side. Archibald Prentice, a typical Manchester man of the time, active in all that caused his city to arrogate to itself the leadership of England, thus writes of the day of Huskisson's accident:

'The opening of the Manchester and Liverpool Railway was one of the events of 1830, which was not without its influence, in future days, on the progress of public opinion.

[1] Huskisson was in negotiation with the Whig chiefs, and would, if he had lived, almost certainly have joined Grey's Ministry. Like the other surviving followers of Canning, he had become a moderate reformer; whether he would, like them, have accepted the whole Reform Bill with a gulp, no one can say

The anti-corn law agitation was wonderfully forwarded by quick railway travelling and the penny postage. Even in 1830 the railway promoted the cause of Reform. It was an innovation on the old ways of travelling, and a successful one; and people thought that something like this achievement in constructive and mechanical science might be effected in political science. It brought, besides, a little proprietary borough, which nobody had ever seen before, into full view I recollect when passing over it for the first time, I said to a friend—"Parliamentary Reform must follow soon after the opening of this road. A million of persons will pass over it in the course of this year, and see that hitherto unseen village of Newton; and they must be convinced of the absurdity of its sending two members to Parliament, whilst Manchester sends none.""

It was certainly a strange coincidence that one out of the half-dozen rotten boroughs which was all that the northern half of England possessed, should have lain plumb on the new line from Liverpool to Manchester. But with or without the sight of Newton to stir the indignation of the cotton-lords and their bagmen, a mere thirty miles of railway could at best be no more than an additional argument for reform Stephenson may perhaps be said to have abolished the Corn Laws in 'forty-six, but in that case Watt and Macadam passed the Reform Bill of 'thirty-two.

A new institution, highly characteristic of the new age, and of Henry Brougham's multifarious activities as the informal leader of 'opposition' and progress in the country, was the foundation under his auspices of University College, London,—the 'godless institution in Gower Street.' Nonconformists and secularists, excluded from Oxford and Cambridge, had drawn together to found an undenominational teaching centre on the basis of keeping theology out of the curriculum, and having no religious tests for teachers or taught. The tendency of the embryo university was towards modern studies, including science. An exclusively classical curriculum was identified in men's minds with the close educational establishments of the Church and State party. 'Utility' appealed more to the unprivileged city population. It was an educational event of the first importance, but at the time its real significance was lost in sectarian and partisan recrimination,

1827

and not a little good-humoured satire of Brougham and his 'Cockney College.'

Next year the Church followed suit, and founded in rivalry King's College in the Strand, as another non-residential college, teaching on modern lines. In 1836 the two rivals were formed into the federal University of London. In the last twenty years of the century, when new Universities were founded up and down the country in the great industrial centres, it was not Oxford and Cambridge that served as model, but London, with its non-residential colleges and degrees for women.[1]

## CHAPTER XIV

Wellington, the Whigs and the Nation—French and Belgian revolutions—The Grey Ministry formed—The Reform Bill

THE genius of the English people for politics was faced by new problems arising out of those which it had solved of old. The age of the Tudors had seen the destruction of the mediæval privileges of Church and Baronage, that had prevented the unity and progress of the nation; in their place the full sovereignty of the Crown in Parliament had been established. Under the Stuarts, Parliament had won the supremacy in its partnership with the Crown, while the principle of local government had been preserved against despotic encroachment. In the eighteenth century, Parliament had acquired executive efficiency through the Cabinet system. These institutions were England's unique and native heritage. But they were administered by a privileged group of borough owners, magistrates and members of close corporations, roughly identified in sympathy with the country gentlemen, but not co-extensive even with that class. This group had by long possession come to regard their own monopoly as synonymous with the Constitution itself. To speak ill of the rotten boroughs and close corporations was to utter 'seditious' words against our 'matchless Constitution.' But in spite of Lord Eldon and those who thought with him, Parliament, Cabinet and local government had been created by England's practical imagina-

[1] In 1878 London admitted women to degrees on the same terms as men.

tion in the past, and had now by a fresh creative process to be adapted to the needs of a new type of society born of the Industrial Revolution. The process of adaptation would be complicated, and would never reach 'finality,' because this new type of society was by its nature predestined to undergo perpetual change. It further remained to be proved whether the old institutions, remodelled, could be used to cure the new economic miseries of the mass of the people, a task far more difficult than any that had been thrown on King, Parliament or local magistracy in old days. And, lastly, England would have to extend the principles of her revised Constitution to Scotland, to the Colonies and to Ireland,—a scale of ascending difficulty.

The spirit of the new age in face of these new problems, formulated in theory by Bentham, was first manifested in Government action by the Liberal-Tories in Canning's day. But the monopoly of power had still been strictly preserved. To the Whigs between 1830 and 1835 belongs the credit of destroying the monopoly, reinterpreting the Constitution, and harnessing public opinion to the machine of government. Whatever some of the Whigs might say about the 'finality' of their Bill, this new principle, when once admitted, could brook no limitation until complete democracy had been realised under old English forms. On the other hand the belief of the anti-Reform Tories that the Reform Bill would lead at once to the overthrow of Crown and Lords, Church and property, was the exact reverse of the truth. It was due to the Bill that England was not involved in the vicious circle of continental revolution and reaction, and that our political life kept its Anglo-Saxon moorings.

Both the Liberal-Tories in Canning's day, and the Whig followers of Grey and Althorp, were acting under the direct inspiration of middle-class opinion, and under compelling fear of working-class revolt.

1817-19

It has been pointed out above[1] that the movement of Parliamentary Reform was revived in the nineteenth century first of all by the working-men, because their economic misery was the most acute. The middle classes had been divided or indifferent during the radical agitation of the Peterloo time. The Whigs, meanwhile, to prevent division in their own ranks, waited on the middle-class lead, Lord Grey always abiding by

[1] Pp 185-186, above.

his declaration of 1810 that he would again move for Reform when, but only when, the English people had taken it up 'seriously and affectionately.' In the year 1830 he saw his condition fulfilled. The middle classes, in whom he read public opinion, took up Reform 'seriously and affectionately', whereupon, greatly to the surprise of friends and foes, the old nobleman was as good as his word.

There were many reasons why the middle classes moved rapidly towards Parliamentary Reform in the three years following Canning's death. The removal of the statesman whom so many had begun to regard as the national leader, threw them back into their former attitude of opposition to Government, and the reversal of his foreign policy by Wellington was a sharp reminder that only Parliamentary Reform could secure that national affairs should be continuously guided on popular lines

1827–30

Meanwhile any avenue of escape through 'bit by bit' reform was closed by the action of the Parliamentary Tories in 1828, when they refused to allow the seats of certain boroughs disfranchised for peculiarly gross corruption to be given to the unrepresented cities of Manchester and Birmingham. It was on that issue that Huskisson, Palmerston and Melbourne had left Wellington's Ministry, and the event made a deep impression on public opinion.

In January 1830 Thomas Attwood founded the Birmingham Political Union, to agitate for a large but undefined measure of Parliamentary Reform. It was, professedly and actually, a union of middle and working classes ; it was the first step towards their co-operation in Radical politics which marked the Victorian era. In other industrial centres, such as Manchester, it was more difficult for employers and workmen to co-operate, though both were now avowed enemies of the 'borough-mongers.'

Bad trade and hard times had returned. Common economic misery sharpened the sense of common political wrongs, and predisposed the whole nation to unite in the demand for Reform. In 1830 Cobbett enjoyed a second period of great popular influence, which he used as he had used his popularity in 1817, to turn all streams of discontent into the one channel of Parliamentary Reform. But whereas in 1817 he had been the leader of the working class alone, he found in 1830 that even the farmers thronged to hear him

speak, as he rode on his cob from one market-town to another. Radicalism had become for the moment almost a national creed.

There were differences of opinion as to the economic cure for the distress of the time. Some, like Attwood, saw it in currency reform ; more, like Cobbett, in retrenchment ; others in Free Trade ; others in Factory Acts or in Socialism. But all were agreed that reform of Parliament was the necessary first step before anything effective could be done.

The greatest danger to the cause of Reform arose from dissension as to what the new franchise ought to be. Some claimed household suffrage, others desired government by 'the solid and respectable part of the community.' But the rallying cry of 'Down with the rotten boroughs' served to harmonise these discords. Every class that was hoping to exert greater influence over Parliament was enraged that more than half the House of Commons owed their seats to individual peers or commoners. The borough owners, who for generations back had pulled the strings of ministerial favour and lived on the fat of patronage,—they and their kinsmen and their servants,—suddenly found themselves objects of universal execration, and the 'borough property' which they had inherited or purchased denounced as having been stolen from the nation The cry against the 'borough-mongers' rose on every side. Capitalists, clerks, shopkeepers, besides that great majority of the inhabitants who were comprised under the two categories of working-men and Dissenters, all were talking against 'Old Corruption.' The very ostlers and publicans entered into the spirit of the hour. Even country gentlemen who did not happen to have an 'interest' in a borough, began to think that they would like to see a fairer proportion of county members in the House, honestly chosen by themselves and their farmers. The only class that remained solid for the old system was the Church clergy, who were so conscious of unpopularity that they believed Reform would lead to the destruction of the Establishment.

Into the midst of a society thus agitated came the news of the Paris revolution of 1830, the 'glorious days of July.' Charles X and his minister Polignac had provoked their own downfall by illegally suspending the Constitution. Although the fighting on the barricades had been done by the workmen, the movement was not permitted to turn 'red,' but solidified

round Lafayette, the National Guard and the *bourgeois* King, Louis Philippe. The *noblesse* and the Clericals had fallen once more, but property was safe. These events could not, like the French Revolutions of 1792 and 1848, and the Commune of 1871, be used as a warning against change over here. The year 1830 still stands as the one occasion when the French set a political example that influenced us otherwise than by repulsion.

The first effect of the inspiring news from France was to increase the number of open seats carried by the Opposition in the General Election that August. A new Parliament had to be elected, on account of the death of George and the accession of William IV, the popular sailor king. It was the House of Commons chosen in these circumstances that turned out Wellington and carried the Reform Bill by one vote. Brougham, the interpreter between the official Whigs and the national movement for Reform, was sent up as a member for Yorkshire, amid the rejoicings of the whole country. He never again touched such a height of popular influence.

1830

But the French Revolution of 1830 did more than affect the elections. It gave Englishmen the sense of living in a new era, when great changes could safely be made. To act boldly on behalf of the people, it was seen, did not produce anarchy as the Tories had argued ever since 1789 Rather, it was half-measures that were dangerous, and resistance to the people that was fatal. Our middle class saw the *bourgeoisie* governing France, and blushed that in England they themselves were still subject to an aristocracy. The working-men heard that the *ouvriers* had defeated the Army in fair fight, and the word went round that what Frenchmen had done Englishmen could do at need. Pamphlets on the technique of street-fighting had a suggestive popularity. The knowledge that Englishmen were so thinking, and that Frenchmen had so acted, gravely affected the politics of the propertied class as a whole, and not a few of the borough owners themselves, persuading them to make concessions they would never have dreamt of two years before.

The French Revolution of July, over and above its effect on our own domestic crisis, created an international crisis in which our Reform Bill was the deciding factor, just as our revolution of 1688 had been the deciding factor in the Euro-

pean resistance to Louis XIV. The change in France broke up the Holy Alliance as a pan-European affair, and arrayed Western parliamentarianism against Eastern despotism. But would Canning's England turn reactionary at the very moment when Bourbon France turned Liberal? Wellington, who had already reversed Canning's policy in Greece, could not but regard the resurgent tricolor as the mischievous flag which it had been the great achievement of his life to haul down. If the Duke had not fallen in November 1830, and if the High Tory party had not been destroyed by the Reform Bill, it is possible that England would soon have been fighting by the side of her old allies against revolutionary France, to the indefinite postponement of constitutional reform in our island.

The danger was made acute by the Belgian revolution. After Napoleon's fall, Belgium had been united to Holland by the Treaties of Vienna. The reunion of the ancient Netherlands could only have been rendered permanent by statesmanship worthy of the House of Orange in times long past. The present King, though well-meaning, was unwise. In August 1830, Brussels, in imitation of Paris, rose and drove out the Dutch garrison, and the other Belgian cities followed suit. By the co-operation of her clerical and liberal forces, Belgium asserted her right to separate national existence.

For the second time in two months the Holy Alliance had been defied, and although Prussia, Russia and Austria had shrunk from challenging the right of the French people to self-determination, they had no such scruples about Belgium. They were preparing to put down the Belgian revolution in accordance with alleged obligations under the Treaty of Vienna. It was equally clearly the intention of the new French Government to fight, if necessary, to protect Belgian independence, and how much of Belgian independence would be left when France had done fighting for it was a question which made even Grey and the English Liberals anxious [1]

The action of Wellington and his Foreign Minister, Aberdeen, in face of this new crisis was correct, but their sympathies were not with the new Belgium or the new France. Yet nothing short of the co-operation of England with France

[1] French Clericals as well as French Liberals had helped to stir up the Belgian revolution Polignac's emissaries had been at work there and Polignac had hoped to see Belgium joined to France The belief of English Liberals that Wellington was hand in glove with Polignac was mistaken Polignac, though a reactionary in home affairs, was a Chauvinist at heart, and had none of the Duke's respect for the treaties of 1815

to protect Belgium could prevent war between France and the Eastern Powers, which might have involved England. From this catastrophe Europe was saved by a change of government at Westminster.

1830 All autumn the agitation in the country was deeper than political. Economic misery, pauperism, starvation and class injustice had brought society to the verge of dissolution. Rick-burning, under the orders of 'Captain Swing,' that dark abstraction of the vengeance of the ruined peasantry, kept the rural south in terror. In the industrial north the workmen were drilling and preparing for social war. The middle classes clamoured for Reform, equally to pacify the revolutionary spirit below, and to secure their own rights against an aristocracy they had ceased to trust.

In the first fortnight of November, when Wellington met the recently elected Parliament, came the most important political crisis of the century. Everyone was looking to the new House of Commons to save the country, yet no one knew what it would do, even in making its choice between Wellington and Grey. The group system still prevailed, and many of the groups had no defined political allegiance. As late as November the First, there were three future Prime Ministers waiting to find out whether they were Whig or Tory; for the Canningites under Lords Melbourne and Palmerston, and the independent group led by Edward Stanley,[1] 'the Rupert of Debate,' came up pledged to moderate Reform and looking to see whether Wellington or Grey would give them what they wanted. If the Duke had made a declaration promising a peaceful and liberal policy towards France and Belgium, and a small measure of Parliamentary Reform, he could have rallied these men round him and stayed in office. It is indeed unlikely that a Tory Reform Bill would have been large enough to pacify the country. But in any case the experiment was not destined to be tried.

Nov 2, 1830 The King's speech mentioned the Belgian revolution with ominous disapproval, and when Lord Grey called attention to the absence of any promise of Reform, the Duke replied that 'the system of representation possessed the full and entire confidence of the country.'

The Duke had challenged the nation, and the nation took

[1] Afterwards fourteenth Earl of Derby and Conservative Prime Minister

up the challenge. The excitement inside Parliament was a feeble reflection of the feeling outside; yet never were the lobbies and clubs more busy, or busy to better purpose. In a week the basis had been laid of the Whig-Liberal party that was to dominate the next generation. The Canningites and moderate reformers all enlisted under Grey's banner, and were prepared to join a Whig Government on the programme of 'Peace, Retrenchment and Reform.' With the help of a few High Tories who were still so anxious to be revenged on the Duke for Catholic Emancipation that they cared not what happened afterwards, the Government was beaten in the Commons on the Civil List. Wellington resigned, and the King sent for Lord Grey.

Nov 15, 1830

In choosing his Ministry, Grey was constituting a new party. He was fusing the Canningites and reforming Tories with the Whigs. The heirs of Fox were about to put his political testament into execution, with the help of allies from the ranks of Pitt. The object that Grey had in view in constructing his Cabinet was to carry a Reform Bill extensive enough to give peace to the land. He enlarged the boundaries of his Ministry enough to obtain a majority in the Commons and a large minority in the Lords, without which even the popular enthusiasm could not have carried the Bill under the existing forms of the Constitution.

It has often been charged against Grey's Ministry that it was too aristocratic And certainly the proportion of peers and their near relations was larger than in Tory Cabinets before and after. But, with the material to hand, a more bourgeois Ministry would not have been an abler Ministry, and would have been much less likely to get the Bill through. It was Grey's task, partly indeed to frighten, but partly also to persuade and cajole King, Lords and borough-owners into giving up their power. For this purpose a Cabinet of aristocratic reformers would be the most useful And, fortunately, although the cause of Reform was then popular, if ever a cause has been popular in England, the balance of ability among the reforming statesmen lay among the aristocrats. While its ablest opponents were plebeians like Peel, Wetherell and Croker, its ablest supporters were scions of great houses—Grey, Durham, Holland, in the Lords; Russell, Althorp, Stanley and Palmerston in the Commons. Apart from O'Connell, whom Grey certainly treated badly, the only

reforming members of Parliament on the same level of ability with these aristocrats were Jeffrey, who was set to rule Scotland as Lord Advocate; Brougham, who was made Lord Chancellor and as such caused great trouble, though he would have caused more if left out;[1] and young Tom Macaulay, who got office after he had proved his powers by his Reform Bill orations. The Cumberland baronet, Sir James Graham, afterwards Peel's friend and colleague, was taken into Grey's Cabinet, which for average ability could vie with any that came before or after.

The old aristocracy still produced very able men, and most of the able aristocrats were reformers. It is remarkable that the peers of old creation were about equally divided on the Reform Bill, and the dissentient majority of the Upper House was due to the bishops and to Pitt's lavish creations of Tory partisans and borough-owners. The Whig borough-owners, who in 1831 held about sixty rotten borough seats out of two hundred, were prepared to sacrifice these cherished possessions and so produce a majority in the Commons consonant with the national will.

The decisive and permanent effect of the crisis of November 1830 on the course of British politics is illustrated by the career of Lord Palmerston. He had held office for twenty years as a Tory, and was now to hold office for almost thirty years as a Whig. He was a Whig in his attitude to the Church and to foreign affairs, but he retained much of his old Toryism on other questions. At heart he disliked the Reform Bill. He was the member of the Cabinet who most constantly pressed to have it modified. But as Foreign Minister he rendered yeoman's service to his colleagues, by keeping the Continent at peace while they passed their Bill.

In this his first and best tenure of the Foreign Office, Palmerston had the advantage of the advice of Grey, who was deeply interested in foreign affairs, and would never have tolerated the dangerous bounce and bluff of later 'Palmerstonianism.' The settlement of the Belgian question by these two in daily intercourse with the veteran Talleyrand, the French Ambassador at London, was one of the most beneficent and

[1] He went up to the Lords with the title of 'Baron Brougham and Vaux' The promotion of the great agitator to the Chancellorship caused an immense sensation Some prophesied, not entirely wrongly, that he would be 'Vaux et præterea nihil' His best days proved to be over

difficult feats ever accomplished by our diplomacy. The question ran through a series of crises punctuating the successive crises of the Bill at home, again and again threatening a war that would have made short work of the programme of 'Peace, Retrenchment and Reform' Again and again Grey and Palmerston warded off disaster.

The first and greatest step was secured in December 1830, when Palmerston, by standing firm beside France, won the recognition of Belgian independence by Austria, Russia and Prussia. The next crisis followed early in 1831, when the French candidate, a son of Louis Philippe, was rashly chosen as king by the Belgian Congress. The choice was the more ominous because many French politicians were working to make Belgium a part of France. But when the statesmen of Paris were made to understand that even a Whig government would oppose by arms a French King of Belgium, his candidature was withdrawn Such a retreat was rendered possible, in face of the French chauvinist party, only by the fact that the Whig government was known to be the sincere friend of the new France. A more acceptable king was found in Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, the happiest possible choice for Belgium and for Europe. Leopold had lived for a long time in England, on familiar terms with the leaders of the more liberal school of British constitutionalism. He was the favourite uncle and adviser of Princess Victoria

But meanwhile the Dutch and Belgians were quarrelling about the terms of separation. In August and September 1831 the dangers caused by a Dutch invasion of Belgium, and a counter-invasion by the French, were skilfully averted without causing a quarrel between ourselves and France. A year later (October to December 1832) Britain and France actually co-operated by sea and land to coerce the Dutch into the surrender of the citadel of Antwerp. All these delicate operations were carried out under the watchful and hostile eyes of the French war-party on one side, and on the other of English Tories and of the despotic powers of the East. Russia, Austria and Prussia, jealous of Belgian independence as a breach in the reactionary system of the treaties of Vienna, only waited for a misunderstanding between France and England to pounce down on the small rebel kingdom. Finally in 1839 Palmerston set the seal on his task in a treaty fixing the vexed question of Dutch-Belgian boundaries, and

guaranteeing Belgium as 'an independent and perpetually neutral State.' The treaty was signed by Belgium, England, France, Russia, Austria—and Prussia

In a letter to Lord Grey in 1832, King Leopold had thus summed up the Belgian settlement from the point of view of British interests.

'It has been the policy of Great Britain for centuries never to permit Belgium to fall into the hands of a great Power. Everything is now favourable to the policy. The Belgians are warmly attached to their newly-acquired independency. They hate the Dutch, and they are jealous of the French. The new Kingdom is quieter and better settled than many old countries. An object on which Great Britain lavished so much blood and money has been attained without costing a farthing to that country, or being the cause of the slightest hurt to any Englishman.'

Elsewhere, Grey and Palmerston revived the policy of Canning. The boundaries of Greece were extended northwards at the desire of the new British Cabinet.[1] In Spain and Portugal we again befriended the constitutional cause under the more favourable conditions created by the Liberal revolution in France. Throughout the 'thirties the first principle of our foreign policy was friendship with France. Wellington and Aberdeen attacked it openly and King William remonstrated against it in private. But the Reform Bill gave the Whigs security of tenure independent of the growing alienation of the sovereign, and enabled them to carry through the change in our foreign policy which saved the peace of Europe

Dec. 1830–Feb 1831

At home, the three months between the formation of Grey's Cabinet and the introduction of the Reform Bill did not go smoothly for the new Ministers. Their budget was a failure and had to be recast. Finance was from first to last a weakness of the Whigs in contrast to the party of Huskisson and Peel. In opposition they had countenanced the rather wild talk about 'retrenchment' with which the hopes of the public had been inflamed Cobbett had, in his loose way, taught men to suppose that most of the taxes were eaten up by sinecurists and pensioners, and that everyone would be prosperous if the wages of 'Old Corruption' were docked. The Whigs made reductions of this kind, but could not make

[1] See map, p 376, below

enough to satisfy the public demand. It was not understood that a progressive community, as yet grossly ill supplied with those services which must in the modern world be rendered by the central and local authorities, would obtain less benefit from reducing the public burdens than from adjusting them fairly and spending them to the general advantage. The Tories had already done their duty in cutting down army and navy after the war. Whig 'retrenchment' was therefore foredoomed to *fiasco*.

At the very moment of the change of Ministry, the labourers of the southern counties, driven by famine, were marching through the countryside demanding a living wage of half a crown a day. They were cruelly punished at the assizes, when 450 of the rioters were torn from their families and transported to Australia, besides three unjustly executed. The new Whig Ministers, in a panic lest the propertied classes should confound 'Reform' with 'Jacobinism and disorder,' would not mitigate these sentences In connection with the same riots they prosecuted Richard Carlile and Cobbett for articles in the Press. Cobbett at his trial in the following July, made the Whigs look as foolish before a British jury as the Tories of old. His acquittal effectually discouraged a revival of that spirit of coercion which Peel as Home Secretary had so wisely abandoned.

Nov 1830

The Whigs had made a bad start. But when on March 1, 1831, Lord John Russell introduced the Reform Bill into the Commons, and revealed the well-kept secret that all the 'nomination' boroughs were to be abolished, without compensation to the borough-owners, Ministers sprang to the summit of popularity at a single bound. The Tories were dumfounded. They had confidently expected a weak measure, buying up a few of the rotten borough seats to give them to a few great cities; such a Bill would have left the nation cold and the reformers divided, lacking support from outside, it could pass the Houses only by agreement, after being further whittled down; finally the Whigs would be turned out as incompetent sciolists and power would revert to its long-tried possessors. But instead of lending themselves to this plan, Ministers had summoned the whole nation to their support, to overawe the recusants at Westminster. The bold appeal was not merely a winning move in the political game, but it established the fundamental

principle of the 'new constitution,' namely, that in the last resort the opinion of the nation was to count for more than the opinion of the legislators.

The anger and amazement of Opposition were shared in a less degree by many of the Government's supporters in the Commons, who relished their position as privileged senators of the modern Rome, and had no wish to become mere elected persons in a paradise of Benthamite utility. If, as soon as Russell had sat down, Peel had moved the rejection of the 'revolutionary measure' on first reading, it was believed that the Bill would have been lost. But the Opposition, having come to the House expecting something very different, had no plan ready, and Peel's genius did not lie in dramatic moves and lightning decisions The opportunity was let slip. As the second reading debate dragged on night after night, many who had at first been doubtful or hostile, were converted by the unmistakable evidences of the national will. Three weeks after its introduction the Bill passed its second reading by one vote, in the most exciting division since the Grand Remonstrance.

A defeat in Committee soon narrowed the issue to a choice between a new Ministry with a much modified Bill, or a General Election to save Bill and Ministry together. In such circumstances a modern Prime Minister could claim a dissolution of Parliament as of right. But under George III and his sons dissolution was, in custom as well as in law, a personal prerogative of the king. Would William dissolve at Grey's request? The decisive crisis in the fortunes of the Bill had come, and the choice lay with a retired admiral of no great brains or experience in affairs of State, but with an instinct of personal loyalty to his Ministers which sharply distinguished him from his father and brother before him.

April 1831

In January 1831, while the draft Bill had been a secret between William and his confidential servants, Grey had persuaded his master to allow him to introduce it—a permission necessary under the custom of the Constitution as George III had defined it. Grey had persuaded the King that the Bill was an 'aristocratical' measure, designed to save the Constitution from more revolutionary changes. And so it was in Grey's mind. Its 'democratical' implications only began to be apparent to William after it had become public, when the joy of the Radicals of whom he lived in terror, and the rage of

the Tories with whom he lived in intimacy, gradually made him realise what he had done. In April he had to decide whether he would accept Grey's resignation or his advice to dissolve. The straw that weighed down the balance in his mind was the fact that there had been a majority of one for the second reading. With many misgivings he granted Grey his dissolution.

The General Election was almost as onesided and enthusiastic, so far as popular opinion was concerned, as the elections for the Restoration Parliament. The Reformers carried almost all the open constituencies, including seventy-four English county seats out of eighty. But no amount of popular intimidation could shake the hold of the proprietors on the nomination seats. In their last Parliament the rotten borough members voted two to one against the Bill, in much the same numbers as before the election.

May 1831

But there was now a majority of 136 for the Bill. It passed through the Commons that summer under Lord Althorp's patient management in Committee, and went up to the Lords, where it was thrown out on second reading by a majority of forty-one votes.

Oct 7 1831

Under the old system of government, the average Englishman had had so little to do with politics that he was taken by surprise at this perfectly inevitable event, which had been long anticipated in Parliamentary circles. The popular enthusiasm, suddenly brought up against an obstacle which it had not expected and could at first see no legal way to remove, exploded in outrages against bishops and peers who had voted against the Bill. A single false step by the Ministers might have precipitated anarchy. The Army, smaller than at any other period in our modern annals, was insufficient to keep order in England and Scotland, in addition to its usual task in Ireland. Peel's police as yet only existed in London. It was impossible to raise volunteer forces to put down Reform mobs. The workmen in the North were drilling and arming to fight the Lords. In the South the ricks were blazing night after night. Unemployment and starvation urged desperate deeds. The first visitation of cholera added to the gloom and terror of the winter of 1831–2.

Employers and City men clamoured more loudly every week for a creation of peers to pass the Bill and save social order. The working classes, if it came to blows, would fight not for this Bill of the Ten Pound householders, but for a Bill

that enfranchised their own class, and for much else besides Civil strife, if it came, might easily degenerate into a war between 'haves' and 'have-nots.' The Bill seemed the sheet-anchor of society. Even the burning of the central part of Bristol by Radical ruffians failed to cause a serious reaction, each side drawing its own moral from the event.

Grey kept his head. He neither resigned nor, as the King urged, whittled down the Bill. On the other hand he refused, in spite of the remonstrance of the leading members of his Cabinet, to force the King to a premature decision about peer-making, before the time came when circumstances would be too strong for William's reluctance.

Before Christmas a new Bill was introduced, modified in detail to meet some reasonable criticisms and so save the face of the 'waverers' among the peers, but not weakened as a democratic measure. It quickly passed the Commons, and was accepted by nine votes on the second reading in the Lords.

April 1832

The final crisis, known as the 'Days of May,' was provoked by an attempt of the Lords to take the Bill out of the hands of the Ministers in charge, and amend it in their own way. This was countered by the resignation of the Cabinet. Resignation in the previous autumn, when the Lords had thrown the Bill right out, would have produced anarchy. Now it secured and hastened the last stages of a journey of which the goal was already in sight. In October 1831 the country, taken by surprise by the Lords' action, was not properly organised, as the riots had shown. But in May 1832, the Political Unions had the situation in hand. Grey's resignation was not followed by violence or rioting, but by a silent and formidable preparation for ultimate resistance in case he did not speedily return. The English genius for local self-government, voluntary combination and self-help, which had little or no expression in the close municipalities, found its outlet in these unofficial Political Unions of citizens determined alike on order and on freedom [1] These organisations, improvised by the British people constituted the strongest proof of its fitness to work self-governing institutions of a more official character. Abhorred by the King and

[1] They had been formed in most towns. The model of Attwood's Birmingham Union, presided over by middle-class leaders, but including all classes, prevailed in the midlands and west In the industrial north there were 'low Political Unions' of working-men only In some towns there were both kinds of Political Union formed side by side.

Tories who clamoured for their suppression, the Unions were tolerated by the Whig Ministers on the condition of their ceasing to arm and drill.

Grey had resigned because the King refused to create peers. But William was now prepared to do anything short of that to get the Bill through intact. He appealed to Wellington to form a Tory Ministry for the purpose of carrying 'the Bill, the whole Bill and nothing but the Bill' through the House of Lords—on the precedent of Catholic Emancipation three years before. The most fearless, if not always the wisest, of public servants accepted this extraordinary commission, the nature of which was not understood in the country, where people naturally supposed that the victor of Waterloo, who had pronounced against all Reform, was coming back to rule them by the sword. If Wellington had succeeded in forming a Ministry, the Political Unions would have led resistance, with what result it is impossible to say. But the actual cause of the Duke's abandoning the task was not his fear of popular resistance, but the refusal of Peel and the Tories in the House of Commons to take part in a scheme so absurd and dangerous, no longer with a hope of modifying the Bill, but solely to save the face of the Lords. The King was obliged to come to terms with Grey, and could only get him back by a written promise to create any number of peers necessary to carry the Bill. The threat when known in the Upper House sufficed, and the Reform Bill became law.

May 1832

The main provisions of the English, Scottish and Irish Reform Acts of 1832 were as follows. The substitution of the principle of popular election for that of nomination by individual borough-owners in the case of more than 200 seats. This revolution was achieved by two distinct processes: first, by taking away seats from the nomination boroughs,—to the amount of 140 in England alone[1]; secondly, by 'opening' to all Ten Pound householders the franchise of those 'close' boroughs whose population justified their retaining one out of two members. The seats obtained by disfranchisement were redistributed, partly among large centres of population converted into new boroughs,—partly by an increase in the county representation, which had previously been unfairly

[1] The famous 'Schedule A' was the list of boroughs that lost both their members, 'Schedule B' those that lost one out of two

limited to two members for each English shire.[1] The right to vote in all boroughs, new and old, was fixed at the uniform Ten Pound rating franchise. The vote in the counties, hitherto confined in England to Forty Shilling freeholders, was extended to tenant farmers, by an amendment which the Ministry had been forced to accept at the hands of the Whig landlord members composing the bulk of the Reform party in the House.

No one could have criticised the enfranchisement of the tenant farmers, if it had been accompanied by the protection of the ballot. But under the system of open voting this new class of voter had no independence, and their enfranchisement only added to their landlord's hold over the county seats, which were at the same time increased in number. Since, also, the smaller boroughs, that had just managed to escape the melting-pot of the Bill, were much under the influence of neighbouring squires, the landlords as a class were still greatly over-represented even under the new scheme. If it had not been so, the Bill would not have got through Parliament.

It is incorrect to say that the Bill gave all power to the middle class. Power, which had previously resided in a privileged section of the landlords, was now divided between all the landlords on one side and a portion of the middle class on the other. The Ten Pound household franchise was not set up in the counties at all, and even in the boroughs it did not affect the poorer clerks. It was because half the middle class were still left without votes that they eventually joined with the working-men to demand a further extension of the franchise under Bright and Gladstone. If the First Reform Bill had given full representation to the middle class, the politics of the Victorian era would have taken on a more distinctively class character than they actually did.

The uniformity of the new borough franchise was the least democratic part of the Bill of 1832, if considered as a final settlement, for it excluded nearly all the working-men. Yet this uniformity may seem its most democratic point if it is regarded as the first of a number of steps—*Le premier pas qui coûte*. Uniform Ten Pound suffrage in 1832 ensured uniform household suffrage in 1867. The very absurdity of

[1] Except Yorkshire, which had obtained four members in 1821, it obtained six under the Reform Bill In Wales, Scotland and Ireland the proportion of County to Borough seats required less change than in England.

defining the sovereign people for all time to come as the Ten Pound householders, had persuaded Cobbett and Place to support the Bill, in the interest of future working-class enfranchisement, although the Bill abolished the working-class vote previously existing in a few boroughs like Westminster and Preston.

The motives of most of the Whigs for adopting the uniform Ten Pounds were more simple. They idealised the middle class as the 'solid and intelligent' part of the community, and became its party chiefs by a pact of mutual advantage. But the Whigs of 1831 also knew what their modern critics sometimes forget, that the Ten Pound franchise was the only thing that could then have been passed into law. An amendment in favour of household suffrage received only one vote in the House that carried the Reform Bill by a majority of 136. And a mixed or fancy franchise, differing from one borough to another, such as Peel seems to have vaguely contemplated, would never have been accepted by anyone, and would have set the various boroughs quarrelling over their different positions under the Bill. A limited but uniform franchise was necessary, because nothing else could then have passed, and it was democratic, because it cleared a smooth path for the gradual inclusion of all in the sovereign nation.

For a generation after the Reform Bill, the benches on both sides of the House were still occupied by country gentlemen, and people of the social standing of Cobbett, Cobden and Bright were stared at as oddities. But many of the country gentlemen, especially on the Whig side, had been chosen by the votes of the Ten Pound citizens. The trial of strength between the Ten Pound householders and the landlord interest, came in the 'forties over the issue of the Corn Laws. It was decided in favour of the middle class not more by the elections than by the popular support of the unenfranchised. After the experience of 1832 the landlords shrank from saying 'no' to the great majority of the nation.

For the Reform Bill, by the fact and by the manner of its passing, had done a great deal more than enfranchise one-half of the middle class. It had asserted the power of the whole nation, enfranchised and unenfranchised, because it had been carried by the popular will against the strenuous resistance of the old order entrenched in the House of Lords. It had been a fair fight and a straight decision. Forty years before, the

people had been told by Bishop Horsley that 'they had nothing to do with laws but to obey them,' and they had submitted to the decree. But now at length they had learned how to organise their power and to exact obedience from the law-makers. The 'sovereignty of the people' had been established in fact, if not in law. George III and Pitt had once cut Fox's name off the Privy Council for drinking that toast, but the wheel had come full circle now. The people did not become sovereign in Germany when Bismarck granted limited popular rights, because those rights had not been won by the action of the nation itself, as the First Reform Bill had been won. In England, 'the nation' was defined afresh by each of the Franchise Acts of 1867, 1884, and 1918, but the fact that the nation was master in its own house had been settled once for all in the days of May.

## CHAPTER XV

The Whigs and the Reform era, 1832–5—Reform in Scotland—Municipal Reform—Factory Acts—Poor Law—Socialists and Chartists.

For three years after the passing of the Reform Bill the Whigs continued to show, under Benthamite and Radical impulse, a legislative activity on the grand scale. Their failure in the sphere of finance, subsequently made good by Peel, and their gradual sterilisation first under Melbourne and then under Palmerston, have associated the Whig name with the idea of a too placid enjoyment of power. Such a judgment, not wholly unjust, leaves out of reckoning the years 1831–5. The Government that in five years recast our municipal as well as our parliamentary institutions, passed the new Poor Law and the first effective Factory Act, and abolished negro slavery, made more lasting change in the British world than any other Cabinet has done since Stuart times

Because law-making of a character so new and comprehensive required a closer examination of complex facts than busy Ministers could give, Lord Grey's Government made the appointment of Royal Commissions the customary prelude to legislation. The lines followed by the Municipal Reform Act, the Factory Act and the new Poor Law were all traced

out beforehand by Commissioners, who had been selected not on account of their official experience or political weight, but as vigorous and able men, usually of known Benthamite proclivities. Jeremy Bentham himself, over eighty, but 'codifying like any dragon' till the last, had died the day before the Reform Bill became law. But his spirit was scouring the country, armed with the force of government and of public opinion, inquiring into every local authority or endowment, and pertly asking 'What is the use of it?'

If ever a country was saved by Act of Parliament from open rebellion, Scotland was so saved by her Reform Bill drawn on the same lines as the English Bill, and by her Burgh Act of the following year. Political self-government, central and local, was an English invention, imported into Scotland by the Grey Ministry, but intensely popular in spite of its foreign origin. Although in temper, creed and outlook on life the Scottish people were less submissive than the English, the civil institutions of their country contained in 1830 no elements of popular election such as always existed here and there in the south of the island. There was no safety-valve for all that pent energy. The Reform Bill, in England an evolution, in Scotland was a revolution, veiled in form of law, and the passions aroused over it had been proportionately more fierce.[1] As soon as its enactment had given the Scots for the first time real representation at Westminster, their impatience to begin governing themselves at home was so great that the Scottish Burgh Act of 1833 preceded the English Municipal Reform Act by two years. For this reason the new municipal electorate in Scotland was identified with the new Parliamentary 'Ten Pounders,' while England, by waiting two years longer, obtained the more democratic municipal franchise of all who paid rates.

The political horoscope of the year 1835, when borough government was revolutionised in England, was favourable to Radical legislation owing to the events of 1834. The retirement of Lord Grey, the secession of the Conservative-minded

[1] Pp 32-33, above Mr Gladstone wrote, sixty-two years after the Reform Bill of 1832 'That great Act was for England improvement and extension, for Scotland it was political birth, the beginning of a duty and a power, neither of which had attached to the Scottish nation in the preceding period'

Stanley and Graham on Irish questions, and the growing hostility of the King, who tried in vain to bring in a Tory Cabinet on his own royal authority,[1] drove the Whig Ministry, reconstituted under Melbourne and Russell, to rely for a while on O'Connell and the Radicals. Russell had still the energies of an advanced Reformer. Hence the English Municipal 1835 Corporations Act is the high-water mark of Benthamite Radicalism acting through the Whig machine. After that, the waters of Reform abate in the force of their onset, as the middle class settles down to a period of enjoying the fruits of victory.

The system of close corporations for governing the towns had been bound up with that of the rotten boroughs for returning members to Parliament. Municipal Reform would have been impossible without Parliamentary Reform. And the first use which the Ten Pounders had made of their newly acquired Parliamentary votes was to claim popular government in the daily life of their localities. The most constant grievance of the ordinary shopkeeper, publican or manufacturer was to be governed in his own town by a co-optive municipality, usually a local ring of certain attorneys, doctors, retired officers and minor gentry, in close connection with the local Tory organisation, 'a shabby mongrel aristocracy' as their envious neighbours called them. On most municipal bodies no Dissenter, Whig or Radical had the smallest chance of serving, at a time when those categories together covered the vast majority of the inhabitants. A few municipalities were nominated by Whig grandees. A few had a democratic franchise.

Such was the social and political aspect of the municipal system that perished in 1835. Its administrative aspect was incompetence that refused to undertake the new duties called for by new conditions of urban life. The areas of the boroughs were those of bygone ages, and had no respect to the recent shifting of population. To make good the worst deficiencies of the inert municipal corporations, powers had often been given to other *ad hoc* bodies to deal with lighting, drainage, paving, water or police. Confusion had thus been worse confounded, and local government throughout the island had become a welter of divided powers and local anomalies. There was need of the two Benthamite principles of uniformity and popular election. These the Bill of 1835 largely provided

[1] See pp. 264-265, below

The English Municipal Corporations Act applied to all the principal towns except London, which already enjoyed a democratic though very anomalous and unsatisfactory government.[1] Elsewhere the larger corporations were abolished and disendowed, and their place was taken by municipal bodies elected by all ratepayers. The path of the Whig government in carrying this democratic revolution was smoothed for them by Sir Robert Peel. Peel had, the year before, in his famous 'Tamworth manifesto' to his constituents, called on the Tory party to accept the logic of the Reform Bill and reconstitute itself as a 'conservative' party, which under his leadership was often very liberal

1835

Peel in the Commons had accepted Russell's Municipal Reform Bill, but Lord Lyndhurst, saying: 'D——n Peel! What is Peel to me?'—led his brother peers to amend it out of all recognition. A crisis seemed at hand recalling that of '32, but Peel persuaded Wellington to order a retreat, and the Bill finally passed with modifications consonant with its purpose, some of which were improvements.

The new corporations were not trusted with the licensing of public-houses, or with any judicial powers. The separation of the benches of magistrates from the town corporations, on the ground that the latter had now become elective, and that justice is incompatible with party electioneering, was regretted by one section of Radical opinion of that day, but the principle of a non-elective judiciary has been ratified by the experience and conviction of succeeding generations of Britons all over the Empire.

The Act readjusted the administrative areas of the boroughs to some extent, though not enough. Each of the new municipalities was empowered to levy a local rate, and gradually to resume the various functions, sanitary and other, then exercised by *ad hoc* local bodies. In this way in every municipal area a powerful and popular focus of authority was set up, which has in the course of time absorbed almost every local public activity except licensing and justice Few would have prophesied in 1835 that the education of the people would one day be carried on by these new bodies, or that they would become traders and employers of labour on a great scale. Nor was any provision made in the Act for the close connection that eventually grew up between the municipalities and the

[1] Pp 15-16, above

government departments at Whitehall, the latter at once aiding and controlling the local bodies in all their activities through the instrument of national grants in aid of local rates. These developments, on which so much of the health and happiness of our modern society depends, were not foreseen, but were rendered possible by the bold and uniform legislation of 1835.

While town government became democratic as a sequel to the parliamentary enfranchisement of the Ten Pound householder, the rural districts remained under the government of the squires for another half-century. It was only in 1888 that the establishment of County Councils following on the enfranchisement of the rural labourer in 1884, did for the country what had been done in 1835 for the town. For half a century longer the Justices of the Peace conducted not only rural justice but rural administration,—and the element of election did not enter into county affairs. These differences in government reflected and increased the social and political divergence between town and country, characteristic of nineteenth-century England The spirit of the old regime, extinguished in the towns, continued its reign in the rural districts. This was the inner meaning of the battle over the Corn Laws, when rural and urban society came into conflict for the possession of the central government at Westminster.

For the present any such conflict was postponed. Radical reform worked off its first enthusiasm on subjects such as town government, factory acts, negro slavery, wherein the interests or affections of the country gentlemen were not involved. The Corn Laws remained unaltered. The Church, which had prophesied her own fall if Reform passed, did not even lose her less defensible outworks. The Whig Cabinet broke up when it proposed to touch with mildest hand the extravagant endowments of the Protestant establishment in Ireland, in the hope of appeasing the 'tithe war' between the Catholic peasant and the minister of an alien religion. In England the Church retained till 1868 the right to levy a rate for ecclesiastical purposes from parishioners of all denominations, till 1871 the monopoly of Oxford and Cambridge, and till 1880 the power to read her burial service at the grave-side of Dissenters. Yet these were all subjects on which the Nonconformists felt deeply. So little is it true to say that England

1834

was governed by the dissenting middle class between the first and second Reform Bills.[1]

In these circumstances the Dissenters knew that a system of national education could only take the form of a system of Church education, and for this reason never seriously agitated the question, till the Reform Bill of 1867 had again altered the distribution of power in their favour. Meanwhile the Church was content to increase the number of her National Schools,[2] which became by far the largest group in the educational field. Thus denominational rivalry was a spur to educational endowment and activity, but discouraged State intervention which alone could cover the whole ground. In 1833, however, the State made a grant of £20,000 towards the school buildings of the voluntary societies—the small beginning of the national system of education. The grant was renewed annually, and led in 1839 to the establishment of an Educational Committee of the Privy Council, with a permanent secretary and a system of inspection of the State-aided schools,—the origin of the Board of Education.

In 1833 the Whig Government, under pressure from an almost revolutionary agitation among the working classes in the north, passed the first effective Factory Act, which fixed legal limits for the working hours of children and young persons respectively, and prohibited the employment of children under nine except in silk mills. The peculiar merit of Lord Althorp's Bill, though it met with little favour at the time among the northern agitators, was the institution of government inspectors to enforce the law, a device suggested by some of the better-disposed among the millowners themselves. It was not merely bad employers but bad parents, living on their children's labour, who required watching. Government inspection was the only way to make this class of law operative. It secured the success of the factory code for adults that was gradually elaborated in later years.

Factory legislation was never a party question. The movement, started in the Waterloo era by Robert Owen, the Socialist manufacturer, and by Peel's father, the Tory manufacturer, was taken up in the 'thirties and 'forties with

[1] For the reform of ecclesiastical revenues in England, 1836–40, see pp 282-283, below.

[2] See p 163, above

passionate enthusiasm by the factory victims themselves, who were mostly Radicals, under the leadership of Oastler and Michael Sadler, who may be described as Tory democrats, while the parliamentary management fell to the Conservative Lord Shaftesbury, aided by many Whigs and Liberals [1]

Against factory legislation were arrayed the majority, though not by any means all, of the millowners, and politicians drawn in fairly equal proportions from both parties. The doctrinaire political economists declared that only long hours could enable England to compete with the rising power of foreign manufacture. They ignored the physiological fact that overwork reduces output.

The umpire between these disputants was the Parliament of English country gentlemen, Liberal and Conservative, who had no personal interest involved. On the one hand they had been brought up to believe the prophecies of the political economists; but on the other hand, since the manufacturers were attacking the Corn Laws on the ground of humanity, the landlords were driven to counter-attack with inquiries as to the seamy side of factory life, asking questions that in a former generation their fathers would have scouted as 'Jacobinical'

The second crisis of factory legislation, growing out of the children's charter of 1833, came in 1844-7, contemporaneously with the repeal of the Corn Laws and heated with the fires of that great dispute. The 'ten hours Bill' limited the daily work of women and youths in factories, and thereby in fact compelled the stoppage of all work after ten hours, as the grown men could not continue the processes alone. This had for years been the aspiration of the working classes and the storm-centre of a fierce controversy. In Parliament it produced curious cross-voting [2] and brought into the same lobby the most embittered political antagonists. It passed in 1847.

What the Reform Bill of 1832 was to all later Reform Bills, the Factory Acts of 1833 and 1847 are to the far-spreading system of statutory regulation which now governs the conditions of almost all branches of industry. The factory system, which at its first coming bade fair to destroy the health and happiness of the race, has been gradually converted into an

[1] Shaftesbury, together with Buxton of anti-slavery fame, may be said to have succeeded Wilberforce, who died in 1833, in the leadership of the Evangelical philanthropists

[2] Melbourne, Cobden and Bright were against it Russell, Palmerston and Macaulay were for it The Conservatives were no less divided

instrument for levelling up the average lot of the city-dweller. Robert Owen's vision, that he had first embodied in the New Lanark mills, was in the course of a hundred years made a standard for the greater part of the industrial world. And the decisive first steps were taken during the period which it is usual to condemn as obsessed by the doctrines of *laissez faire*. It is difficult to obsess people with a mere doctrine if once their hearts or their interests are touched. The former generation, being in a mood to grind the faces of the poor, had chosen out those parts of *laissez faire* which suited that purpose and had neglected the rest. Now the process was being reversed by the generation that repealed the Corn Laws and passed the Factory Acts. At no period was *laissez faire* in force in all its main doctrines at once.

The Whig Poor Law of 1834 was based on the famous report of the Royal Commission, inspired by Chadwick and Nassau Senior. The pauperisation of the English working class, especially in the country districts, by the Speenhamland system of supplementing inadequate wages out of rates, had caused grave social evils [1] The self-respect and self-help of the rural working class were systematically destroyed by magistrates who, while stern against agitation for higher wages and instinctively disliking real independence, were ready enough to assist the cringing poor out of the public funds. It had been made profitable and easy to become a pauper.[2]

Society was perishing of this disease and the new Poor Law applied the knife. It had the great merit of putting an end to the systematic abuse of outdoor relief. But, since the idea of fixing a statutory minimum wage was outside the economic vision of the time, the necessary change could only be effected with great hardship. The sudden withdrawal of outdoor relief from the wage-earner without any security for an immediate

[1] See pp 149-150, above

[2] In 1831 an observer wrote . 'An English agricultural labourer and an English pauper, these words are synonymous He pilfers when occasion offers, and teaches his children to lie and steal His abject and submissive demeanour towards his wealthy neighbours shows that they treat him roughly and with suspicion , hence he fears and hates them, but will never injure them by force He is depraved through and through, too far gone to possess even the strength of despair.' No doubt this was exaggerated as the portrait of a whole class, but it was the exaggeration of a very terrible reality

rise of wages, often caused acute misery before wages actually rose. Families which had hitherto enjoyed an allowance off the rates for every child, were driven to send mother and children to field labour under the terrible conditions of the 'gang system' that became prevalent on English farms, just when the children in the factories were passing under the effective protection of the law. The rural tragedy had only taken a new form.

Too great local variation and too much parochial independence had been among the faults of the old Poor Law. Centralisation and national uniformity was the principle of the new. A permanent Commission of three persons was empowered to carry out the new policy; the local 'Boards of Guardians' set up in the 'Unions' of parishes served merely to execute the orders of the three. The 'three tyrants' concentrated on their heads the hatred of the poor of England, and came in for the last lashes of old Cobbett's whip. The youthful author of *Oliver Twist* (1838) by describing what workhouses meant for those who had to inhabit them, appealed from the Benthamite abstractions in which the Commissioners dealt, to the flesh and blood realities which interested the more sensitive public of the Victorian era.

The Commissioners strove, not with complete success, to collect into their 'Bastilles,' as the workhouses were popularly called, all able-bodied persons who applied for public relief, and so to subject the genuineness of each application to the 'workhouse test.' With the dreadful results of Speenhamland before them, they were determined that the pauper should be distinctly worse off than the independent labourer. Unfortunately, as they could not improve the lot of the one, they had to depress the condition of the other. They made workhouse life miserable as a matter of policy. Absorbed in the pressing problem of the able-bodied pauper, they gave too little thought to the case of the women and children, the sick and aged, whether outside or inside the workhouse, and they had no idea of curative treatment.[1]

In 1847 the Commission was turned into a regular Government Department, the Poor Law Board. The national and centralised character which the first Commissioners had stamped on the Poor Law made it easier to carry out the many

[1] But Chadwick, the famous secretary of the Commission, soon saw the connection between public health and pauperism. See p. 279, below.

improvements suggested later on by a philanthropy that gradually became more humane as it became more experienced and more scientific. Imperfect and harsh as was the work of 1834, it had been intellectually honest within its limits, and together with the Factory Act of the year before formed the first big attempt of the legislature to deal with the evils incident to the Industrial Revolution.

Meanwhile the working classes were endeavouring to help themselves—not very successfully in the 'thirties. Socialistic Trade Unionism led by Owen (1833–4), and the Chartist movement to obtain the parliamentary franchise (1838–9) were both failures.

It was largely due to the personal influence which Owen's services had earned for him with the working-men, that a wave of Socialist enthusiasm swept British Trade Unionism for two years out of the path that it pursued with such success during the remainder of the nineteenth century. Owen, having started the Factory Code and sowed the ideas that in later years gave rise to the Co-operative Wholesale Society, was in his old age fired with a Socialist gospel, much of which sprang up again with characteristic modifications in the doctrines of St Simon in France and of Marx in Germany. Owen now taught that 'labour is the source of all wealth,' and induced some half-million working men and women to join in a Grand National Trade Union, for the purpose, at any rate in his own mind, of carrying out a system of communistic production. 'All individual competition,' said Owen, 'is to cease. All trades shall form Associations of lodges to consist of a convenient number for carrying on the business. All individuals of the specific craft shall become members.' But the 'Grand National' soon melted away, having no proper organisation or finance and no very distinct idea what it was to do.[1] The normal development of Trade Unionism was resumed, in local and sectional action, on questions of wages and hours.

Trade Unions were still on their trial. They had only become legal in 1824–5 Partly owing to their temporary connection with Owenite Socialism, the feeling of employers and of government against the Unions was very strong in these years, and broke out in 1834 in the transportation of the 'Dorchester labourers' for attempting to form an agricultural

[1] One of its objects was to be a national strike for an eight hours day

labourers' Union in which oaths were administered. The rally of the working classes all over the country to the defence of these men, the one thing in which the 'Grand National' was able to be of practical service, secured the shortening of their sentences and probably prevented further attempts to nullify the liberating Acts of 1824–5. But the farmers had other ways than transportation of suppressing Trade Unionism in agriculture.

After the failure of Owen's non-parliamentary programme, the political side of the Labour movement was revived in the 1838 People's Charter, with its six points of manhood suffrage, ballot, equal electoral districts, payment of members of Parliament, abolition of their property qualification, and annual Parliaments All points save the last are now the law of the land. But the Chartist movement could find no abler chiefs than Feargus O'Connor and Lovett, and collapsed in 1839 in rioting and 'physical force' among the South Welsh miners. Government imprisoned the leaders and so broke the organisation of the movement. The Trade Unionists looked on with an indifference which they had not shown over the fate of the Dorset labourers, and middle-class radicalism was equally supine. Sympathy had been alienated from a movement of which the aim was political, but which was too 'class conscious' to be a political success. Chartism repudiated the alliance of middle-class radicalism on principle, its adherents rejoicing to interrupt anti-Corn Law meetings. Its failure was sealed in 1839, but it lingered on till its second and final catastrophe in 1848. The working-class demand for the franchise only became effective when it found a leader in John Bright, whose 1858 to 1867 household suffrage movement united classes which Chartism had striven to divide.

The economic condition of the working class in the 'thirties was indeed so bad as to render impossible their steady co-operation with other classes in a purely political programme. As young Disraeli said, there were 'two nations' in England, between whom a gulf was fixed. The bread-and-butter character of the Corn Law question bridged the gulf to some extent in the 'forties, but it was only in the 'sixties, when conditions of life had very materially improved, that Bright's conciliatory policy of uniting all the unenfranchised to demand political rights in common had any chance of success. Though the spirit of the Chartists was too intransigeant and their leadership second rate, they had pointed the working class back to

political action and a belief in Parliament, and this tradition was fortified in later and happier years by the memory of much heroism and self-sacrifice. When British democracy at length won the vote, many an 'old Chartist' took part in the final victory.

## CHAPTER XVI

The Whigs and the Empire—Abolition of Slavery, 1833—South Africa, the Great Trek—Emigration and Gibbon Wakefield—Australasia—Canada, 1837–54: the Durham report and Lord Elgin's governorship—Responsible government and the Imperial connection

THE Tory statesmen who overcame Napoleon had rendered possible the reconstruction of a British Empire across the sea. The Whig statesmen rendered it two services of vital moment. They abolished the slave-trade and slavery, and they introduced the principle of responsible government for the white colonies. But whereas the principle of complete self-government for Canada was specifically the work of Lord Durham, who almost alone of the British statesmen of his day seriously studied colonial problems from an Imperial point of view, the abolition of slavery in 1833, like that of the slave-trade in 1807, was the outcome of the intense feeling of the country as a whole, stimulated and organised by William Wilberforce and his fellow-workers.[1]

In the last stages of the long battle Wilberforce was too old a man to take an active part. In 1823 the anti-Slavery Association was formed, and began a vigorous propaganda in and out of Parliament under the leadership of Fowell Buxton. It was a continuance or revival of the old anti-slave-trade campaign, under much the same leadership of Evangelical Churchmen and Dissenters; but in the new age the alliance of Radicals, deists and democrats was an added strength, instead of being a cause of reproach as in the old anti-Jacobin days.[2] Brougham filled the sails of the abolitionist movement with the great winds of popular agitation, and in 1830 won his famous election for Wilberforce's Yorkshire almost as much on anti-slavery as on reform. Wilberforce next year accepted the Reform Bill as a change that would be 'for the benefit of our poor West Indian clients.'

[1] See pp 50–54, and p. 116, above [2] See note, p 53, above

Slavery abolition had of course to encounter the contempt and dislike of cynics, but it met no such active opposition in this island as the Bristol shipping interest had formerly put up in defence of its valuable traffic in slaves. On the other hand, the Imperial aspect of the question was one of much greater difficulty, for the planters of the West Indies had far more reason to be attached to slavery than to the slave-trade.

The abolition of the slave-trade had been good for Africa, but had not materially altered conditions in the West Indies, where slaves were thenceforth bred instead of being imported. But the planters argued, not without a measure of truth, that their sugar and other business depended on the labour of slaves, and that Emancipation would undermine the prosperity of the West Indian Islands.[1] The relative importance of those islands to the whole Empire was greater then than now, though not so great in 1833 as it had been a generation before. Discreetly managed, the opposition of the planters would have been very formidable, but they showed the same violent spirit as the slave-owners of the United States, in the following generation, without the same power to threaten secession. Their refusal to compromise by any amendment of the system, their continued severity to negroes and roughness to missionaries, whom they regarded as agents of abolition, showed a defiance of the tribunal of opinion at home, and hopelessly ruined their cause.

In 1833 the Grey Ministry passed a Bill to abolish slavery It was put through Parliament with all the vigour and eloquence of Edward Stanley, then Colonial Minister. Twenty millions sterling were paid in compensation to the slave-owners, by a nation which, though eager for 'retrenchment,' was willing to pay the price of justice and freedom.

On the First of August, 1834, all slaves in the British Empire were to become free. On the last night of slavery, the negroes in the West Indian Islands went up on to the hill-tops to watch for the sun to rise, bringing them freedom as its first rays struck the waters. But far away in the forests of Central Africa, in the heart of darkness yet unexplored, none understood or regarded the day. Yet it was that continent whose future was most deeply affected. Before its exploitation by Europe had well begun, it had been decided by the most

[1] The injury done them by the abolition of slavery was greatly increased by the free-trade policy of the 'forties, which enabled the home consumer to buy cheaper sugar elsewhere.

powerful of its future masters that slavery should not be the relation of the black man to the white. To enforce that decision in spirit as well as letter would be a more difficult task than Wilberforce knew, a burden as well as an honour to his countrymen in many lands. He meanwhile had died, having seen all his tasks accomplished, and was buried in Westminster Abbey among the great statesmen to whom he had so long held up a higher light than that of political ambition.

July 1833

There was one consolation in the retrospect for the breach with the American colonies: it had relieved the British Empire from dealing with the resistance of the Carolinas and Georgia to negro emancipation. On that reef either the cause of abolition or the unity of the Empire would very probably have been wrecked. But in the West Indian Islands the white planters were so few that they could not attempt to resist an Act of the Imperial Parliament. In tropical colonies the treatment of negroes and natives can be supervised through the agents of the central Imperial authority, without the complications arising where white self-government is a necessary part of the social fabric[1]

In South Africa, therefore, the political aspect of the coloured problem was more serious The South African veldt is a dry and salubrious tableland, raised high above the malaria of the coast It is potentially a white man's country, but was occupied beforehand by African tribes. The whites are indeed in a minority, but they are so numerous outside the native territories, that South Africa, unlike the West Indies, is now a self-governing Dominion.

For more than twenty years after our first annexation of the Cape (1795), the Dutch farmers lived out their patriarchal lives neither more nor less contentedly under a British governor than under the rule of the Dutch trading company in the past. It was only in 1820 that five thousand British immigrants settled in the Cape Colony. Shortly afterwards, the substitution of

[1] In 1833 the planters of Jamaica, few as they were, were proud of their ancient inheritance of an Assembly and self-governing institutions, and were the more indignant with an Emancipation Act thrust upon them by the British Parliament But after the Governor Eyre troubles in 1865 they acquiesced in the substitution of Crown Colony Government, with a certain elective element, since then trouble between black and white has been very small in Jamaica, as compared, for instance, to the more democratic United States.

the English for the Dutch language in the law-courts began to cause ill-feeling.

The Boers had lived in great isolation since their first coming to Africa in the seventeenth century, and retained much of their ancestors' habits of thought on religion, life and the management of natives. They disliked the modern English missionary, to whose views on the native problem, wise and foolish alike, the British government was beginning to lend a credent ear. In 1828 the free native was given equal civic rights with the white man. In 1833 came slavery abolition, which the Boers showed themselves ready to accept, being assured of full money compensation.[1] But when it was discovered that they had been allotted only half the estimated value of their slave property, they considered that they had been defrauded. In 1835 a dangerous and destructive raid into the Colony by one of the Kaffir tribes always hanging round its border, led to another of the long series of Kaffir wars. The British Governor D'Urban punished the offending tribe by annexing its territory and policing it for the greater safety of the Boer farmers. Lord Melbourne's Colonial Secretary, Lord Glenelg, overrode his action, and, contrary to the feeling of both British and Dutch in South Africa, cancelled the annexation. The Government was held to have failed in protecting the outlying Dutch farms from Kaffir raids, and was accused of indifference not only to the wishes but to the safety of its white subjects.

This proved the last straw The Dutch thought the British Government was in league with the natives inside and outside the Colony. Several thousand Boers sold their farms and taking their families with them in their long-spanned ox waggons set out into the wilderness, like the children of Israel going up out of Egypt. Among them was a boy named Paul Kruger.

So in 1836 the Great Trek began. Emigration across the veldt was no new thing to the Boers, but emigration on so great a scale as took place in the following twenty years was altogether new, as also was the establishment of republics outside the sphere of the Cape government. It broke the natural development of South Africa by leaving the Cape Colony too thinly peopled, while it opened out prematurely

[1] Slavery on the South African farms was less important and more out of place than in the tropical sugar plantations It was also less inhuman

grave native questions in the interior. Above all, it prevented the peaceful amalgamation of the Dutch and British races in one community. The Boers went forth in anger, hoping never again to see the face of British folk and British government. But in a world about to be linked up by the steamship and the steam-engine, such a wish was vain They founded one farmer republic on the Orange River, and another in Natal, where they met and fought the Zulus. But by 1843 the British had already followed them to Natal and annexed it.[1]

The Boers had been badly handled. Lord Glenelg's action had been largely shaped by the advice of some, though apparently a minority, of the South African missionaries, and by the influence on Downing Street of the 'Clapham Sect' of Evangelicals. This influence was wholesome in the main, and without it the abolition of slavery would never have been made a reality all over the Empire, any more than Africa could have been explored and the native races studied and cared for without the work of the missionaries in the age of Livingstone. But unfortunately in 1835 a section of the missionaries and their patrons were almost the only source of intelligent information that the Colonial Office of that day possessed. Men who knew nothing about the Dutch or about South Africa from any angle save the one, failed to see its problems as a whole and sowed the seeds of future disaster.

Fortunately, in these critical years when the British Empire was being rebuilt after the catastrophe of 1776, other influences were at work besides the apathy and ineptitude of Lord Glenelg and the staff of the Colonial Office It was the era of Gibbon Wakefield and Lord Durham. The second quarter of the nineteenth century was the period in the settlement of Canada, Australia and New Zealand, which decided that those lands should be peopled mainly from Britain and should become parts of a free British Commonwealth of Nations.

The sudden overpeopling of Great Britain deplored by Malthus, and the sorry plight of the English peasantry at home, caused in these years the great rural exodus to the Colonies on which the modern Empire was rebuilt. The tide of emigration also ran strongly to the United States and might have run there almost to the exclusion of British territories but for the organised effort of emigration societies, and the

[1] See Map p 413, below

occasional assistance of Government, inspired by the propaganda of Gibbon Wakefield. He preached to his countrymen that emigration was the true relief of their economic miseries, and that colonies need not in all cases be mere ports of call or places of trade, but might be new British nations. To him is largely due the systematised and aided emigration that founded modern Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

It was Wakefield who first brought the public to believe that New Zealand might accommodate other races besides the Maori tribes. His New Zealand Association, founded in 1837, made the first British settlements there, only just in time to prevent the annexation of the southern island by France. In this, as in their Canadian work, Lord Durham and Gibbon Wakefield were closely associated.

The New Zealand settlements of the next twenty years were partly idealist and religious in origin Dunedin was planted by the new-born Free Church of Scotland; and Christchurch, with its Port Lyttelton and the plains of Canterbury behind, was planted by the Church of England as the first-fruits of its reviving apostolic energy. During this formative period of New Zealand, the relations of the settlers to the Maoris and other problems were ably dealt with by the greatest of the Australasian governors, Sir George Grey[1] Another great man, Bishop Selwyn, contemporaneously founded the Anglican Church in New Zealand, giving to it in its new and democratic home a new spirit, partly represented in synods of clergy and laity His work has influence on the spirit of the Church in other Colonies, and eventually had reactions on the Church at home.

1845-53

Meanwhile Australian immigration was growing fast, from purely economic causes. During the French wars, Captain Macarthur, one of the officers of the garrison, had perceived that the empty continent was fitted for sheep-farming on a large scale. He had helped his brother officers to introduce a fine breed of sheep from the Cape, and, returning home, had preached his doctrine to the British manufacturers, then looking round desperately for more wool to feed their new machines, just when the Napoleonic wars made it impossible to count on

[1] The aborigines of Australia and Tasmania were of much more primitive types than the Maoris of New Zealand Early in the nineteenth century, in the days of the ex-convicts and the first bushrangers, they were often the victims of great cruelty and were nearly exterminated.

the usual supply from Europe. Macarthur persuaded some of them to embark capital in a strange country at the other end of the globe. The 'squatter aristocracy' of big sheep-farmers, many of them of the 'service' and 'university' classes from the old country, were the originators of Australian prosperity and free colonisation. Later in the century their descendants and successors had to fight a prolonged and losing battle with the democratic land-policy of the small farmer and his friends in the legislature.

In 1840 the new Australia of some 130,000 white inhabitants was large enough to prevail on the mother country to stop the dumping of convicts, though the bad practice was revived fitfully in subsequent years.

In 1851 the discovery of gold at Ballarat produced such a sudden increase in the tide of immigrants that, in the phrase of Gibbon Wakefield, 'the colony was precipitated into a nation.' All the gold seekers could not make their fortunes, and many stayed on as farmers and artisans. In the 'fifties, the Australian colonies that already enjoyed representative institutions, each demanded and received complete responsible self-government. But for the origin of that solution of Imperial relationships we must look to the history of Canada.

In 1861 the self-governing colonies on the continent were: the mother colony of New South Wales; South Australia, over whose infancy Sir George Grey had presided; Victoria, sprung to sudden greatness through the gold diggings; and Queensland, the latest to separate from New South Wales. Each of the four democracies was quite independent of the other, with no legal bond of union but the Crown. Together they numbered, in the census of 1861, just over a million inhabitants, who have increased nearly fivefold, partly by immigration, in the two generations that have since elapsed. Van Diemen's Land, that had changed its name to Tasmania, had also obtained responsible government in the 'fifties Western Australia, though a separate province since 1829, was still too thinly inhabited for popular government During the whole nineteenth century the epic of the Australian explorer's struggle with the wilderness and the desert was going on. Having conquered the east, the explorers were now continuing their battle with the vast spaces of the north and west.

But the tide of emigration from England and Scotland

was setting strongest of all to Canada. At the time of the great Reform Bill as many as 50,000 emigrants from Great Britain were floated up the St. Lawrence in one year. Then, for a decade, the disturbed political state of the two Canadas discouraged immigration. In 1837 there were already a million inhabitants, and already the English-speaking outnumbered the French The wise policy of Pitt had divided Upper or English from Lower or French Canada, and had endowed both provinces with elected Assemblies, without giving to the Assemblies the power of nominating the executive.[1] These institutions had weathered the storm of invasion in 1812, but no longer met the need of communities arrived at political manhood. In Lower Canada a growing English minority, the progressive and trading part of the province, were always at loggerheads with the French Catholic majority, who were in turn aggrieved at a wholly English administration, which they thwarted in the Assembly in every possible way. Finally, in 1836, the French Assembly refused supplies and things rapidly moved to a crisis Next year a rebellion broke out under Papineau, but it speedily collapsed.

1837

Papineau's rising proved the signal for a rising in the upper province. The English-speaking rebels had indeed less than no sympathy with the French rebels, but in both provinces the revolt was directed against an unrepresentative and unsympathetic officialdom. In Upper Canada one of the chief grievances was the 'clergy reserves,' a vast acreage of rich lands kept out of cultivation as future endowment for the Anglican Church, then in a small minority among Scots and Dissenters. This rebellion, like that in the French province, was a half-hearted affair and was easily crushed.

The two rebellions compelled the mother country to attend to the Canadian problem as a whole. Melbourne's Government suspended the constitution and sent out Lord Durham as temporary despot, to act in place of the usual authorities and to report on the real state of affairs, which was very little understood in England, even by Lord Durham himself when he started on his mission

1838

The selection of Durham saved Canada and the Empire. His temper and his health were bad. But he had both ability and vision And he had two predispositions, essential to the discovery of what we now know to have been the right solution:

[1] Pp 56-59, above, and map there

a belief in democratic institutions, then rare among Whig and Conservative statesmen, and a belief in the future of the Empire and of the Imperial connection then rare among Radicals, Whigs and even among Conservatives. He took with him two men worthy of himself and of the occasion, Gibbon Wakefield and young Charles Buller, whose early death cut short a great career.

Acting in the spirit of his instructions, Durham exerted the plenary powers of his temporary despotism to banish certain agitators, preferably to putting them in prison. His personal enemy, Lord Brougham, who had since his Lord-Chancellorship degenerated into the malicious harlequin familiar to posterity in the early volumes of *Punch*, attacked this action as illegal, and led to the chase the Tory peers who hated Durham for his radicalism. Such an attack in the Upper House would have been nothing if the Government had stood firm. But Lords Melbourne and Glenelg feebly and basely deserted the man whom they themselves had chosen as dictator in the hour of need.

Nov. 1838

It was a gloomy winter day for Canada when Durham left her shores in disgrace, but with the full sympathy of the English-speaking population. Everyone now expected the worst, and indeed his recall was prelude to another brief rebellion. But it was darkness before dawn. Lord John Russell spoke in the House of Commons in a sense adverse to the cowardly betrayal of Durham, and persuaded the Cabinet to accept his report.

The Durham Report of 1839, which took effect in Russell's Canada Union Act of 1840, advised that the time had come for full responsible government to be given to Canada—that is, that the executive should in future be chosen from the ranks of the majority in the elected Assembly. This principle of responsible government was applied first to Canada, then to the rest of British North America, next to Australasia, and finally to South Africa.[1] It is acknowledged to have proved the cement of Empire. In the days of its first adoption it appeared to some statesmen, both Liberal and Conservative, to be a step towards an inevitable friendly parting of colonies and mother country. But this error in opinion as to the future did not

[1] Responsible government was granted to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia in 1847, Prince Edward's Island 1851, Cape Colony 1872, Natal 1893 For Australia, see p 259, above

involve those who held it in mistaken action in the present. The indifference that allowed colonists to go their own way, was much less fatal to Imperial unity than any attempt to hold them to the connection by force. But Durham saw his own recommendations in their true light, as being the only possible path to the Imperial unity that he desired.

The other principle of the Durham Report and of the legislation based on it was local and temporary in application. The two Canadas were thrown together in one, so that the English-speaking majority of a United Canada could outvote the French. If this had not been done, responsible government might have been unworkable in Lower Canada, where the large and progressive English minority were in no mood to have their interests left completely in the control of inimical French peasants. The French were exceedingly angry at the Union, and by no means regarded Durham as a liberator. But the policy was justified by its success. The Union of the two provinces in 1840, by making responsible government possible, led to their re-division in 1867, as part of a Federation of British North America, among whose provinces the two Canadas stood as the chief among peers.[1]

Before that consummation could be reached, a difficult and dangerous period had to be passed through. The pilot who weathered the storm was Lord Elgin, Governor of Canada from 1847 to 1854.[2] Elgin carried out the political testament of his father-in-law, Lord Durham. He was, indeed, no slavish imitator; he made it his task to appease the deep animosity of the French, whose racial feelings Durham had, rightly or wrongly, felt himself obliged to disregard. Elgin's insistence that the late rebels should not be penalised, lost him much popularity among the British loyalists. At the same time he helped the progressive part of both the French and English-

[1] One of the tales put about by Brougham was to the effect that Buller wrote the Report and that Durham stole the credit. This story, which is about as just as to attribute the victory of Trafalgar exclusively to Collingwood and Nelson's captains, has unfortunately found its way, I hope not for ever, into the *Dictionary of National Biography*, where the very inadequate article on Durham was written before the appearance of Reid's *Life of Durham*. Buller, so far from claiming the credit himself, attributed the Report to Durham. Like many other such documents, the Report was the work of a chief with the help of his confidential secretaries. In this case both chief and secretaries were far above the average of public men. See Egerton's *Canada* (Lucas Series) pp. 150-1.

[2] For the Oregon settlement of 1846 with the United States, deeply affecting the future western development of Canada, see pp. 291-2, below.

speaking communities to work together and to establish the tradition of parliamentary self-government. He persuaded the Whigs at home to abandon the 'clergy reserves' to the Canadian Parliament. Canadian parties, to some extent cutting across racial divisions, now began to develop a healthy rivalry. The Liberal-Conservative party, under the leadership of John Macdonald, hastened the coming of a new and more hopeful age.

The question whether Canada would drift off from the Empire into political connection with the United States was gravely affected, though never entirely dominated, by economic and commercial considerations. In 1846 the adoption of free trade in corn by the mother country was a severe blow to Canadian interests. Fortunately this was counterbalanced by the new principle of complete economic self-government for Canada, even to the extent of permitting her to abolish preferences for the mother country. And in 1849 the abolition of the Navigation Laws by the Whig Government opened Canada to the commerce of the world. In 1854 Lord Elgin with great difficulty succeeded in obtaining from the United States a Reciprocity Treaty for a large measure of free trade.

The treaty gave Canada ten years of internal development and content, tending to allay the annexation movement during a critical decade, and established good relations between all the countries of the English-speaking world. Unfortunately the American Civil War of 1861–5, and the attitude adopted towards it by too many British statesmen and journalists, put an end to this state of things, and in 1865 the United States, sore with all things British, refused to renew the Canadian Reciprocity Treaty. But by that time the economic development and patriotism of Canada were capable of standing the shock, and the action of the United States, instead of compelling a renewal of the movement for annexation, helped on the federation of British North America in 1867.

The work of Elgin and Macdonald, following on that of Durham, had been to associate in men's minds the idea of colonial self-government with the idea of the Imperial connection, which statesmen of all parties on both sides the Atlantic had been too prone to regard as mutually opposed. 'These wretched Colonies,' wrote Disraeli in 1852, 'will all be independent in a few years, and are a millstone round our necks.'

Lord Elgin thus summed up his own work:

'I have been possessed (I use the word advisedly, for I find that most persons in England consider it a case of *possession*) with the idea that it is possible to maintain on this soil of North America, and in the face of Republican America, British connection and British institutions, if you give the latter freely and trustingly. Faith, when it is sincere, is always catching; and I have imparted this faith more or less thoroughly to all Canadian statesmen with whom I have been in official relationship since 1848, and to all intelligent Englishmen with whom I have come into contact since 1850.'

## CHAPTER XVII

The Crown after the Reform Bill—Peel, Cobden and the Anti-Corn-Law League—Disraeli and the Peelites—Beginning of Victorian prosperity—'New Model' Trade Unions—The Co-operative movement—Chadwick and Public Health

DURING the reigns of George III and George IV the position of the Crown had been very strong in dealing with Parliamentary Ministers who represented the borough-owners rather than the nation. George III retained, on the threshold of the madhouse, enough power to prevent Pitt from emancipating the Catholics, and to dismiss the Ministry of All-the-Talents. Without the accident of the death of their enemy George IV, the Whigs could not have taken office or introduced their Reform Bill.

1800

1807

1830

That Bill, by identifying the House of Commons more closely with the nation, indirectly reduced the power of the Crown as well as the power of the peerage William IV's attempt to dismiss the Whigs and bring in the Tories on his own account, was felt to be an anachronism. At his request Wellington and Peel held office for their 'Hundred Days,' but could do nothing more than advertise the liberal character of Peel's new Conservative programme, and then retire. Although the unity and prestige of the Whigs had suffered many serious shocks in 1834, and although they were declining in popular favour, the result of William's attempted *coup de grâce* was to give them a majority at the next General Election, and a lease of office for another half-dozen years. They used their

Nov 1834–April 1835

restored power to pass the radical Municipal Reform Act, and then sank into their long lethargy,—employing their time mainly in a useful reform of the Church revenues.[1]

The gradual retirement of the sovereign from the arena of party politics, coinciding with the accession to the throne of a virtuous and attractive young lady, obliterated the memory of George IV and a generation of princes most of whom had won disapproval either for private vice and meanness, or for public espousal of anti-popular causes, or on both counts at once. The Crown, on the head of Queen Victoria, associated itself in the public mind with a new set of ideas. Contrary to expectation, Republicanism waned as popular power grew. 1837

For some years after her accession Queen Victoria was a heroine with the Liberals, and in much disfavour with the Conservatives.[2] In rows about Church rates, Dissenters would indignantly accuse the rector of disloyal expressions about the beautiful young Queen! This inversion of parts was accentuated by the curious episode that goes by the name of 'the bedchamber question.'

Melbourne, the Whig Premier, if he did little else as a statesman, indoctrinated his royal pupil in sound constitutional precepts adapted to the new age, which carried her successfully through her long reign. She liked the good-natured, fatherly old gentleman, and he exerted the charm and wit that had made him famous under the Regency, to captivate the mind of a girl fresh from the schoolroom. Her personal friendships were in Whig circles. When therefore in 1839 the Whigs were at last sufficiently aware of their own incompetence to resign after a bad division, the Queen looked forward with apprehension to changing her old friends for the solemn Peel. He indeed, being in a small minority in the Commons, was not at all anxious to take office. A difficulty soon arose between these two unwilling parties to a transaction forced on them by

[1] See pp 282-283, below

[2] The following passage from a letter to the Queen on her accession, from her uncle, the King of the Belgians, who had an intimate knowledge of English politics, shows that the idea of the sovereign's right to choose which party should be in office was only dying, not dead, in 1837 'The fact is that the present Ministers [the Whigs] are those who will serve you personally with the greatest sincerity For them, as well as for the Liberals at large, you are the only sovereign that offers them *des chances d'existence et de durée* Your immediate successor with the moustaches [Duke of Cumberland] is enough to frighten them into the most violent attachment for you'

Melbourne's resignation. Peel demanded and the Queen refused the dismissal of two Whig ladies of her household. Peel might perhaps have been wiser to indulge a mistress whose favour he had yet to win. But, justly fearful of Melbourne's backstairs influence, he preferred to stand out for what he regarded as his constitutional rights. The young Queen grew excited and unexpectedly obstinate. Melbourne and the outgoing Cabinet, moved by the distress of so kind a mistress, consented to resume office for two more uneasy years The public, with human weakness, tended to sympathise with the Queen on the 'bedchamber question,' but even so could not much longer endure the dregs of Whig rule. In 1841 a General Election brought Peel unequivocally into power, and Queen Victoria was not long in discovering how fortunate she was in such a servant.

The electors of 1841, in showing that they were weary of the Whigs, did but reflect the opinion of the unenfranchised masses. For five years past the Whigs had done nothing but produce an annual deficit, and confess that they knew no help either for the deficit or for the stagnation of trade which was its cause [1] What Carlyle called 'the condition of the people problem' was chronic and acute, and the Whigs had exhausted their list of remedies. It really lay with them, as the representatives of Liberalism in Parliament, to repeal the Corn Laws. But although they were not like the Conservatives returned by the squires and farmers to protect those laws, the Whig personnel was too closely connected with landlord ideas and interests. A man like Palmerston was essentially opposed to Free Trade in corn. For fear of breaking up their party the Whigs refused to touch the question, as they had refused to touch Parliamentary Reform twenty years before. And so the popular lead once more passed over to the Radicals and the Liberal-Conservatives, in the days of Peel no less than in the days of Canning.

Peel, who had skilfully built up his party's fortunes from their first abject condition after the Reform Bill, was now 1841 supported in office by Stanley's vigour in debate and Sir James Graham's high talents as Minister,—these two having seven years before crossed over from the Whigs in defence of Irish

[1] An example of Peel's humour, that formed a real side of his character not often in evidence, was his description of the Whig Chancellor of the Exchequer 'seated on an empty chest by the side of bottomless deficiencies, fishing for a budget'

Church interests. William Ewart Gladstone had only two years before been labelled in Macaulay's essay on his book as 'the rising hope of those stern and unbending Tories' who disapproved of Peel's liberalism. But by 1841 he was already a Peelite. He brought his genius to the common stock of the great administration, and learnt to his own astonishment, in the apprenticeship which Peel made him serve in the Board of Trade, that finance and commerce would absorb him no less than poetry and religion [1]

The country, which these men were in a fortunate hour called upon to govern, was sunk very low. Bad trade in a rapidly increasing population meant multitudes 'sitting enchanted' in the workhouse, millions more starving,—'clemming' was the word of only too common usage in the industrial north,—in horrible sanitary and housing conditions, presenting a sum total of wretchedness that rendered 'the hungry 'forties' a memory and a byword in years to come.

Peel's budgets from 1842–5 proved the first step out of the morass.[2] An unscientific revenue tariff still impeded trade by its duties on exported manufactures and on imported raw material. Huskisson had reduced it. Peel now swept away most of what was left The loss to the treasury he made good by reviving the income-tax, Pitt's war measure which had been withdrawn at the peace,[3] owing to what Castlereagh more justly than wisely called people's 'ignorant impatience of taxation.' Peel, more clear-sighted on this point than the anti-Corn-Law manufacturers of the north, saw in the income-tax the key that would unlock the Free Trade cupboard. It is doubtful whether Peel would have been able to introduce it in time of peace, if Pitt had not first introduced it in time of war.

1842

The budgets of 1842–5 were great steps in the direction of Free Trade. But since they only very slightly reduced the Corn Duty, they met with no serious opposition from the Protectionist party, of which Peel was head. For the Protection that the county members had been returned to support was not the protection of manufactures. For that matter the tariffs which Peel swept away were revenue tariffs that protected nothing at all. Out of twenty millions raised by Customs

[1] Gladstone, like Peel before him, had taken a 'double first' at Oxford, viz in mathematics as well as in classics

[2] In 1842 exports of British produce had been forty-seven million pounds—lower than any of the four previous years By 1846 they had risen to fifty-seven millions

[3] See p 180, above

Duties in 1840, only one million had been raised on the plea of protection to industry. No one argued that any class in the urban community was benefited by the Protective system of the day. And the question of the Corn Laws was this—how far could the industry of the town population rightly be handicapped in order to keep land in cultivation and to maintain the 'agricultural interest'?

The battle between town and country would have been more equal and more prolonged if the peasantry had felt their interest to coincide with that of the landlords But the rural changes of the last century had abolished the yeoman and the small farmer, who had had a direct interest in high prices. The poverty and starvation of the agricultural labourer inclined him to see his interest in cheap bread, and although he had no direct political weight, his miserable condition was an effective argument *ad misericordiam* for the anti-Corn-Law champions, who pointed in triumphant pity to the hollow-cheeked serf of the fields, and produced him on platforms in his smock frock to say 'I be protected, and I be starving.'[1] In the last years of the controversy Cobden persuaded a large proportion even of the farmers that their advantage lay in Free Trade. The 'agricultural interest' was not solid. As a Protectionist party, it came dangerously near to being the 'interest' only of those who consumed rent and tithe But it possessed the majority in both Houses of Parliament.

By his budgets of 1842–5 Peel had done all he could without attacking the principle of the Corn Laws. During those years he was gradually converted to Free Trade in corn, by his conscientious study of the facts, and by the economic arguments which Cobden poured at him across the floor of the House, in lucid streams of reasoning, until the day came when the Prime Minister crumpled up the notes he was taking and whispered to a colleague 'You must answer this, I cannot.'

But it was not by the economic facts and arguments alone that Cobden converted Peel. In the anti-Corn Law League he had created a political force the mere existence of which was an argument to those Whig and Tory statesmen who had

[1] The best thing that the bourgeois opponents of the Factory Acts (see pp 247-248, above) had to say, not indeed for themselves but against their landlord and farmer critics, was that the serf of the village was at least as wretched as the serf of the factory This process of mutual exposure by the two classes of employers, a great feature of politics in the 'forties, was very useful to the *tertius gaudens*, the employee in town and country.

learnt the lesson of the Reform Bill and had adapted themselves to the spirit of the age. Among these Peel was the foremost. Though so long a Tory and never even a Canningite, he was now in fact a Liberal-Conservative, instinctively the foe of corruption in any form, seeking to preserve British institutions by respect for public opinion and by careful thought for the general interest. He and his school of 'Peelite' statesmen, of whom Gladstone was the greatest, introduced into the public offices a more conscientious and more liberal tone, which was neither Tory nor Whig, and which still survives in Whitehall

Peel, who had once denounced the Reform Bill as revolutionary, now saw that it had not gone far enough, that the Commons House was still too much a house of landlords. He began to be afraid that if the Corn Laws were defended to the last moment possible under the existing forms of the Constitution, the Queen's Government would come into conflict with the nation. And after 1832 Peel had had enough of conflicts with the nation. When the French constitutional monarchy fell in 1848, his comment was 'This comes of trying to govern the country through a narrow representation in Parliament, without regarding the wishes of those outside It is what this party behind me wanted to do in the matter of the Corn Laws, and I would not do it.'

This was perfectly true. Nevertheless, the reason why 'this party' had been 'behind' him at all was because he had undertaken to defend the Corn Laws. It is possible, while feeling gratitude to Peel, to understand the indignation of his followers at his *volte-face*, the more so as he refused to take the Conservative rank and file into his confidence, eschewed 'party meetings,' and seemed, with his shy, secretive manner, to hold them all in more contempt than perhaps he did. As yet they could only murmur. But if ever they got a spokesman—! There was fine combustible stuff among the squires on the back benches, if someone were to apply Promethean fire.

The wrath of the gentlemen of England was increased by the low and democratic character of the organisation to which their chief was about to submit his judgment and their interests. The anti-Corn-Law League, though financed by 'leading firms,' was teaching politics to the million. It gave a powerful organisation to classes which had hitherto been left outside the national counsels, except during those months when the

Political Unions had lined up behind the Reform Bill. But the Political Unions had been no more than a regimentation of the inhabitants of certain towns, ready to act together in a crisis. The League, on the other hand, undertook the education of each section of English society, in town and village, up to the point of uniting all in a common enthusiasm for a proposition in economics

There had been Chartism, but Chartism had failed, and the League was not failing. It accomplished the miracle of uniting capital and labour. It combined argument and emotion, bringing both to perfection in meetings that began with Cobden and ended with Bright. It appealed equally to self-interest and to humanity. In an age when political literature was limited in quantity and inferior in quality, the League, in 1843 alone, distributed nine million carefully argued tracts by means of a staff of eight hundred persons. In an age when public meetings were rare, when finance and government were regarded as mysteries appertaining to the political families and to well-born civil servants, the League lecturers taught political economy, and criticised the year's budget, to vast audiences of merchants and clerks, artisans and navvies, farmers and agricultural labourers. The League not only invented modern methods of political education, but applied them to coerce both the official parties. The Whig with his proposal for a 'fixed duty' and the Conservative with his 'sliding scale' were both given notice to quit at the next General Election, and surrendered rather than try the event against the League candidates [1]

No wonder the League was denounced as 'extra-constitutional' by parties in possession of the recognised organs of political life. Protectionists talked of putting it down by law. Half-hearted Free Traders, like the Whigs and *The Times* newspaper—the latest comer in the hierarchy of accepted political institutions—were jealous of it as a rival and ashamed of it as an ally. When in 1841 the League, characteristically enough, assembled seven hundred Nonconformist clergy to bear witness, from the evidence of their daily ministrations in the slums, to the material conditions unfavourable to the religious life of the mass of the population, *The Times* coupled this 'drollery' with 'The British Association for the Advance-

[1] The business men were at Cobden's orders buying land enough to qualify as county voters, and so threaten even the county seats.

ment of Science,' and promised to 'put an extinguisher on humbugs' in both cases.

Nevertheless two years later *The Times* itself, while still denouncing 'gregarious congregations of cant and cotton men,' wrote 'the League is a great fact.' That confession, appearing in the daily bulletin of the ultra-respectable and official classes, caused rage and exultation now very barely imaginable. Perhaps the British Association also was another 'great fact,' borne forward on the tide of time, in spite of an able editor's sense of the unfitting.

In the spring of 1845 Peel was at heart a convert to Free Trade in corn, as all the world knew. His plan was at the next General Election to announce his change of policy, and so put himself in a position gradually to abolish the Corn Laws without a betrayal of the election pledges of 1841. But his hand was forced by a combination of two accidents, which had no causal connection with each other, the Irish potato blight and the English harvest weather. When it was first whispered that Ireland would soon be in the grip of famine, the Protectionists could still hope that a particularly good harvest in England would enable the British Islands to feed themselves. But a month of rain when the corn was in the ear 'rained away the corn laws.'

Aug.–Sept. 1845

It was now clear that it would be physically impossible to feed the Irish from England, and it was morally impossible to allow them to perish wholesale with foreign corn waiting to enter. The ports of the United Kingdom must be opened for the emergency, and if once they were opened no statesman could ever hope to close them again in face of English and Scottish opinion. Peel's Free Trade budgets of 1842–5 and the accompanying revival of trade had considerably relieved the situation in Britain, but people who had tasted prosperity were not prepared to be thrown back into the depths from which they had escaped, by a sudden scarcity of bread. The demand for 'total and immediate' repeal rose as a cry of terror.

The League that winter entered on its last, irresistible campaign. The Whigs swung round to 'total and immediate,' led by Lord John Russell, who had the strength of mind to write his famous 'Edinburgh letter' voicing the national demand, without consulting his more weak-kneed colleagues. They dared not challenge his *fait accompli*. It was now a choice between Peel and the Whigs, which of them would

Nov. 1845

undertake to pass a necessary measure through a disorganised House of Commons and a hostile House of Lords.

Peel was prepared to abolish the Corn Laws, and *The Times* prematurely announced that he was to meet Parliament with this programme.[1] But Stanley refused to agree, and Peel, not being able to carry his whole Cabinet, resigned. The task of abolishing the Corn Laws fell to the Whigs, to whom it properly belonged. Russell began the formation of a Ministry, and then suddenly threw it up, ostensibly on the ground that Grey, a son of the Reform Bill Premier, would not serve if Palmerston was allowed to go back to the Foreign Office to the danger of European peace. But Russell could perfectly well have formed his Ministry without Grey or without Palmerston. And Grey next year took office with Palmerston as Foreign Minister after all!

Dec 1845

The real reason why the Whigs refused to form a Ministry was that they lacked nerve for the crisis. They shrank from the task of passing Repeal through the Lords. They had indeed Peel's promise of support, but since Peel out of office might have little influence with the Protectionist peers, the Whigs might have to call in Crown and people to pass the Bill as in 1832. Now the Whigs were no longer inspired by the spirit of that time. Though pretending to be the popular party, they were afraid of the people. They had no wish to lead a democratic attack on the Lords, and hoped that Peel would be able to pass the Bill with the least possible disturbance

The 'grand refusal' has gone far to discredit the later Whigs with posterity, but it gave them twenty years unchallenged possession of power. For it broke up the Conservative party.

When Lord John 'handed back with courtesy the poisoned chalice to Sir Robert,' Peel did not know that it was poisoned. He came back cheerfully to the place behind the red box where he was so well fitted to stand. By the refusal of the Whigs to take office, his desire to repeal the Corn Laws himself had become a duty that he could no longer avoid.[2] Strong

[1] It was Peel's colleague, Aberdeen, who told *The Times* this secret that proved half untrue—not Mrs Norton, as Meredith supposed when he wrote *Diana of the Crossways*

[2] Disraeli indeed pointed out that Peel had wished to repeal the Corn Laws himself even before giving Russell the chance, and that only Stanley's refusal had caused his resignation in December 1845 That is the weakest point in Peel's conduct

in the affection of the people, he saw before him many years of public service such as he alone could render.

Peel and Wellington remembered only that they were the servants of the Crown and country, and forgot that they had become so as representatives of agricultural Protection and the great county families. Wellington's loyalty to Peel and his belief that Peel alone was fit to govern, are the more remarkable because the Duke was not himself convinced of the necessity of abolishing the Corn Laws. 'Rotten potatoes have done it,' he said; 'they put Peel in his d—d fright' But it never occurred to him to desert his Queen and his colleague in the interest of his party and his class 'I did think,' he told the Lords, 'that the formation of a Government in which Her Majesty would have confidence was of greater importance than any opinion of any individual upon the Corn Law or any other law.' So he pulled his hat over his eyes, stretched out his legs, and reclined there silent and fortunately very deaf, while Noble Lords raved against the treachery of their chiefs. This attitude sufficed to secure the passage of the Corn Bill.

June 1846

The Corn Laws were abolished in June; but contrary to what had been the general expectation when the session opened in January, the Conservative party was blown in two by the explosion. The combustible squirearchy on the back benches of the Commons had been ignited by the hand of irresponsible genius. Disraeli's philippics broke Peel's prestige and destroyed his hold over the House. When he tried to answer, he was howled down by his former followers, maddened with the new wine of magnificent invective. With his ablest colleagues all save Stanley devoted to him, with the people in an ecstasy of affection and gratitude, Peel was an outcast in the House that had been elected to support him. The very evening that his Corn Bill passed the Lords, his Government was defeated in the Commons by a coalition between the Whigs seeking office and the Protectionists seeking revenge

June 25, 1846

Disraeli had an unanswerable case against Peel from the point of view of the betrayed Protectionists, and it was easy for him to share with genuine passion the indignation of his party. He seems to have regarded agricultural Protection rather as the battle-flag of the great county families, than as a policy in economics He was on the side of the landed interest, and believed in England's 'territorial constitution.' He was a foreigner of genius forcing his way to the front as

the champion of a proud and ancient aristocracy which he sincerely admired from the outside. Twenty-one years later, when he enfranchised the working-man, he acted as Peel was now acting on the great question of the day,—only he carried the operation through without destroying his party, because he had not a young Disraeli to reckon with.

Owing to the intrusion into British politics of an alien element so potent and so incalculable as this man, the Conservative party was broken up in 1846 and kept out of office for twenty years Owing to the same personal force it was compelled in 1867 to accept democracy and was launched on a new career of influence and power.

Peel lived until his riding accident in 1850, the most honoured figure in England after the Duke of Wellington, but he was never again in office. The feud between the Peelites and the rank and file of the party was too personal ever to be healed. The troops held that their officers had sold the fort; and the officers held that the troops, led by a Whitechapel drummer boy, had shot the colonel in the back. Graham, Aberdeen, Sidney Herbert and Gladstone could never forgive the treatment to which Peel had been subjected, and had conceived on that ground the strongest aversion for Disraeli, who now, as Stanley's second in command, carried the fortunes of the Conservative party. Besides, the Peelites were Free-Traders, while Stanley and Disraeli continued to threaten the country with a return to agricultural Protection, until in 1852 they abandoned it during a brief attempt to hold office. By that time Peel was dead, Whigs and Peelites were no longer very easily distinguishable, and Gladstone had begun to travel by way of the Neapolitan prisons towards the Liberalism of his later years.

By the events of 1845–6 the Ten Pound voter had at length asserted his power, to the extent of insisting that the economic and financial policy of the State should no longer flout his interests. But the Cabinets still continued to be drawn exclusively from the landowning and higher professional classes. Cobden and Bright remained in perpetual opposition; there were few of their class and fewer of their opinions in the House.

The world indeed was changing, but not yet changed. The Universities were reformed by Parliament in 1854, but without their emoluments and offices being opened to Dissenters. The middle class, which is often said to have ruled

Victorian England, never had a party or a policy of its own outside commercial questions, and even in that sphere its success was due to the peculiar genius of Cobden. The English bourgeoisie never developed 'class-consciousness.' Many of the beneficiaries of Free Trade became Conservative, and intermarried with the landed wealth against which they had recently been tilting. Others, of more democratic tendency, worked with Bright to extend the franchise once more and to take the working-man into political partnership, rather on general Liberal principles than to carry out any special programme. To this invitation the working-man responded. There was indeed very little 'class war' in England for a generation after the repeal of the Corn Laws

Agriculture had now to take the second place in the economic policy of the Empire. But the 'agricultural interest' of landlords and farmers was still as far as possible from being ruined. Those who had been most angry at Repeal found many compensations. For another generation the landlords still drew great rents, and could afford to entertain regiments of guests in their country houses They were still piling up on an ever vaster scale structures which survive too often as an embarrassment to their descendants of to-day. It was still the golden age of hunting and shooting, in the cheery social atmosphere immortalised by Leech's pictures in *Punch* and Surtees' sporting novels. In county government there was still no element of popular election. The squires still administered the affairs of each neighbourhood in their capacity of Justices of the Peace. There were Radicals who murmured, but they came from and returned to the towns. Old England still survived in the rural parts.

British agriculture continued to flourish, and since it no longer depended on a monopoly, it once more took to improved methods as in the eighteenth century. Corn was indeed being poured into the island from overseas, but prices and rents kept up very fairly, for there were more people than ever to feed, and as they were drawing better wages they were eating much more meat and corn per head.[1] It was no longer necessary for

[1] Another reason why the nominal price of corn only fell slightly as a result of Repeal, was that in the 'fifties and 'sixties prices in general were rising owing to the gold discoveries in California and Australia, the Crimean War and other causes. The price of wheat would have risen immensely in England but for Repeal coming when it did In the six years after 1846 a larger quantity of grain was imported than had entered the country in the thirty-one years between Waterloo and Repeal

two millions in England to live on potatoes and other foodstuffs inferior to corn. So during the rest of Cobden's lifetime, his agreeable prophecy that town and country would flourish side by side was amply fulfilled. Only in the late 'seventies, when a fuller development of America's resources had taken place, when cheap iron had cheapened sea and land transport for all the world, food came pouring into England in such quantities that Disraeli's ancient prophecies of agricultural distress took effect in his old age.[1]

When the Corn Laws had gone, all motive for further resistance to Free Trade had gone too, so far as England was concerned. No one troubled to fight for the relics of the Navigation Laws, for West Indian sugar or for the remaining duties on raw material. The idea of Colonial Preference still lay buried in the grave of Huskisson. In the course of the next fifteen years, the Whigs and Gladstone completed the logical edifice of Free Trade, without meeting any serious opposition.

1846–1860

Partly on account of the free exchange encouraged by the abolition of the Corn Laws and the revenue tariff, partly on account of more general world movements, a great development of trade and prosperity set in. Railways and ocean steamers created a world-market on a vast scale, of which England alone was prepared to take the first advantage. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that in the middle of the century the five continents consisted of a number of countries, all chiefly and some entirely agricultural, grouped for commercial purposes round the manufacturing centre of England. The volume of our exports, which had risen from about forty millions a year in the first decade of the century, to nearly sixty millions a year during Peel's Ministry, rose to two hundred millions a year by 1876. At home, the railway mania, though it led to overspeculation and the panic of 1846, left the island linked up with an effective railway system. The surplus population of town and country, recently crowding the workhouses, were drawn off not only as colonial emigrants, but as miners and navvies at home.[2]

Parallel with this expansion of trade and enterprise, the

[1] See p. 380, below.

[2] A 'navvy' originally meant an 'inland navigator,' viz., a workman employed on digging canals; this class of labour, partly Irish, chiefly English agricultural in origin, was in the 'forties principally engaged in constructing the railways.

conditions of life for the working class at length underwent rapid and general improvement. Real wages rose and employment became more regular. Conditions improved most of all in the great organised trades, where capitalism was replacing the pettifogging 'semi-capitalism' with its mean shifts and tyrannies, and where highly organised Trade Unionism was growing as the concomitant of big capital. In 1852 the Amalgamated Society of Engineers came to be regarded as the 'new model' for the aristocracy of labour. It was the union of a single craft, eminently practical in its aims and spirit, as opposed to the vague idealism of Owen's defunct 'Grand National' for all working-men. Various movements of self-help in the working class, such as Friendly Societies, were closely connected with 'new model' Trade Unionism, which combined the function and finance of a trade organisation with those of an insurance and benefit Club. The Friendly benefits were administered by the local branches, and the strike pay and policy by the Central Executive. An expert salaried executive was one of the most important features of the 'new model.'

The Co-operative movement, which has done so much all over the world to stop the exploitation of the consumer by the retail dealer, and to train the working classes in self-government and business management, originated from the enterprise of two dozen Chartist and Owenite workmen of Rochdale, who in 1844 opened in Toad (T'owd) Lane the store of the Rochdale Pioneers. It was a humble affair, and many larger attempts at co-operation had failed. But these men chanced to have hit on the right plan for realising Owen's dream. Their rules were—the sale of goods at market prices, followed by division of surplus profit among members in proportion to their purchases. This secured democratic interest in the management of the business, while eliminating profit at the expense of the consumer. It was on these lines that the Co-operative movement reached such enormous development before the century closed.

The practical success of the movement was helped in the 'fifties by the zeal with which its idealist aspect was preached both by the Secularists led by Holyoake, the pupil of Owen, and by the Christian Socialists whom Maurice had inspired, especially Tom Hughes, the author of *Tom Brown's Schooldays*. The attempts of the shopkeepers to establish a boycott of the

movement only increased its strength. In the 'seventies the Co-operative Societies added production on a considerable scale to their original activities.

The Co-operative movement was of more than financial importance. It gave many working people a sense that they also had 'a stake in the country.' It taught them business habits and mutual self-help, and drew them together in societies that encouraged the desire for education and self-improvement. 'It is,' writes one of its historians, 'in its intellectual and moral influence upon its members, even more than the financial savings that it effects and encourages, that the Co-operative movement has wrought a beneficent revolution among tens of thousands of working-class families, and has contributed so largely to the social transformation of Great Britain.'

The movements by which the new Britain was striving to remedy the evils attendant on the Industrial Revolution—Co-operation, Factory Laws, Trade Unionism, Free Trade—were all, like the Industrial Revolution itself, British in conception and origin.[1]

The reformed legislature, and the reformed organs of administration which it had created, were helping on the general social improvement The State no longer sat by with folded hands. Contemporaneously with the realisation of Free Trade, a strong reaction against the wrong sort of *laissez faire* went forward, not only in the Factory Acts, but in Truck Acts, Mine Acts and sanitary legislation.

Truck is payment of wages in goods, or cash payments subject to conditions as to the expenditure of the wages. It had been made illegal by Littleton's Act of 1831. But the Whigs, though they have the credit of laying down the principle, had not provided for its enforcement, as they provided for the enforcement of the Factory Act of 1833 by the appointment of inspectors. Truck payments had only been put on their defence by an Act too general in its scope. Many employers continued to swindle their men by paying them in the goods they produced, or by forcing them to purchase at the 'tommy-shop,' where rotten goods were dealt out at

[1] So too was Sir Rowland Hill's idea of a postal delivery prepaid by an adhesive stamp His penny postage (1840), unlike some great British reforms, 'ran like wildfire throughout the civilized world,' increasing commerce, and enabling the poor, for the first time in the history of man, to communicate with the loved ones from whom they were separated.

extravagant prices. Truck was fought and beaten in a long struggle, chiefly by the Trade Unions, partly by the growth of larger capitalism that dispensed with middlemen and had no need to turn to such mean shifts for its profit; and partly by an elaborate code of anti-truck legislation for particular trades. Anti-truck clauses were inserted in the series of Acts that protected the life and health of the mining population, beginning with Shaftesbury's Mines Act of 1842.

The principle of State interference found another expression in the Sanitary Code which began in the 'forties as a result of the personal efforts of Chadwick of the Poor Law Commission.[1] His experience on that unpopular but conscientious tribunal had revealed to him the horrors of housing and sanitation, and the close connection of bad public health with the spread of pauperism. His energetic exposure of these evils compelled the Government to act.

The absence of sanitary control which had been characteristic of the nation's remoter past, had been continued during the first seventy years of the Industrial Revolution, with appalling results, which have been by no means altogether removed in our own day. The jerry-builder and the thrifty manufacturer in a hurry, had covered England with slums; trout streams had become sewers; rubbish-heaps festered unregarded till cholera or some milder epidemic threatened the well-to-do. The cottages of the rural labourer were no less disgraceful.

After ten years of agitation and collection of evidence, Chadwick secured the Public Health Act of 1848. This was the first compulsory measure of the kind imposed on the local authorities by the central government. A General Board of Health was set up for the whole country. It had power to establish local Boards of Health wherever there was not a municipal body to carry out the provisions of the law.

The Public Health Act was the late beginning of a great series of sanitary reforms. It was also an important step towards control of Local Government by specialist departments at Whitehall, of which the Educational Committee of the Privy Council and the Poor Law Board were other early examples. A system of constant and delicate interaction between central and local authorities grew up after the middle years of the nineteenth century, in many cases through the

[1] See pp 249–250, above

characteristic English device of central 'grants in aid' of local rates This system has never been proclaimed as a discovery in political science, but it became one of the most important elements of our State machinery. We thus managed to save from our own past what was good in the spirit of local initiative and independence, while compelling all to come up to a minimum standard insisted on by the State.

## CHAPTER XVIII

Evolution in the Church—Parliament, Church and Dissenters—Scottish Church Disruption—Ireland, 1830–47 famine and emigration—America and the Oregon settlement

THE original Oxford movement, as might be expected from the place and time of its birth, was scholastic and religious. In so far as it had any connection with the social and political sides of life, the connection is to be found in the hostile reaction of the minds of Keble and Newman against the liberal and utilitarian spirit of the early 'thirties, and the Whig proposals to secularise part of the property of the Irish Church. Nurtured in an Oxford then very remote from modern and secular influences, they conceived a new basis for religious and ecclesiastical conservatism in England. And the Anglo-Catholic movement, which they began, was allied, both in theory and practice, with a social and political conservatism which it has since very largely lost. The distance travelled by Mr. Gladstone's mind in the course of a lifetime, though exceptional, is symptomatic.

In 1845 the conversion of Newman to Rome destroyed his influence as the dominant force in the University. As if a spell had been snapped, Oxford swung round to more secular interests and more liberal thought,—so far as was consistent with Churchmanship, which was still a condition of residence at the University. What had been the Oxford movement, went out into the world and became a pan-Anglican movement. It began to penetrate the general body of the clergy.

It had not, like the contemporary Free Church movement in Scotland, a hold on large masses of laity. It was not Cuddesdon but Exeter Hall that could raise the winds of popular agitation. Mid-Victorian lay religion, a very powerful and

guiding force in all classes, was distinctively Protestant. The great Evangelicals, from the time of Wilberforce onwards, were laymen,—Shaftesbury, the Buxtons and many of the famous Anglo-Indian soldiers and civilians. But Evangelicalism had failed to breed great clerics, and was more interested in the religious life of the individual than in the Church.

The Anglo-Catholic movement, on the other hand, found new motives and standards for the clergy as such. They became more distinctively professional. They ceased to hunt, to shoot, to sit on the magistrates' bench, and to behave, as they had for the last hundred years, as a rather more learned branch of the squirearchy They no longer left 'enthusiasm' to Methodists.

With this new impulse the Church, from the 'forties onwards, began to make good the ground she had lost. She no longer regarded the Colonies and the industrial slums as outside her sphere because they had not been provided for by the parochial system of the seventeenth century. And as the clergy came in contact with this neglected outer world, it naturally did not appear to successive generations of High Churchmen exactly as the distant prospect of it from Oriel windows had looked at the time of the first Reform Bill.

But the process of change was gradual. In the 'thirties and 'forties the Church clergy of all sections regarded the Chartists with horror, and the Tractarians denounced all those who taught the people 'to rail against their rulers and superiors' In the 'fifties a new movement of democratic sympathy was introduced into the Church by the Broad Churchmen, Frederick Denison Maurice and Charles Kingsley, whose 'Christian Socialism,' though it was rather what we should now call 'Christian Radicalism,' proclaimed the doctrine that Christianity was futile unless applied to economic and social relations. But for some time to come, the average clergyman, particularly in the rural parishes, can hardly be said to have had popular sympathies In the 'seventies Joseph Arch found the rural clergy with some exceptions actively hostile to his movement for better agricultural wages. The penetration of the Church by the Anglo-Catholic movement, and the change of attitude of many adherents of that movement to society and politics, were both very gradual. But they began when Peel and Wellington were consuls.

The renewed activity of the national Church was one of the

most important phenomena of the nineteenth century. The way for it had been prepared by the action of Parliament, which in 1836 had caused ecclesiastical revenues to be redistributed Church revival was difficult so long as many of the bishops and other dignitaries enjoyed extravagant incomes and moved in an atmosphere of plurality, nepotism and worldly self-interest. A bishopric was often regarded as an opportunity not only to serve Church and State, but to provide handsomely for family and clients The unpopularity of the Church at the end of the old Tory regime was partly due to the political action of the Bishops in the House of Lords, and of the clergy on the magisterial bench; partly to the grievances of Dissenters; partly to the constant annoyance of farmers at paying tithes in kind; but very largely to the unequal distribution of Church revenues, an abuse in fact and exaggerated in common fame The impression left on the vulgar mind by the Church at the time of the first Reform Bill, was that prelates and pluralists drank port and hunted the fox, while poor curates worked and starved

Like Parliament, Municipalities, Universities, endowed schools, and all other official establishments, the Church in the eighteenth century had come to be regarded too much as a lottery for the benefit of a few lucky individuals, and too little as an institution endowed for a great public purpose At length a new age had come with new standards. The hour had struck not only for parliamentary and municipal, but for ecclesiastical and academic reform. Parliament, having succeeded in reforming itself, set about reforming the other institutions of the country.

Sir Robert Peel had in all things taken to heart the lesson of the Reform Bill. Loyal Churchman as he was, he saw that the Church must be helped by Parliament to set her house in order. It was no longer enough for her to cling to privilege. During his brief tenure of office in the winter of 1834–5, which he employed so usefully to adumbrate the Conservative policy of the future,[1] he appointed an Ecclesiastical Commission to inquire into Church revenues. His design was carried through by his Whig successors, with his constant support, and with the aid of the leading bishops, but in face of the opposition of Churchmen of the older school.

Under these conditions the Whig government, between

[1] See p. 264, above

1836 and 1840, passed a series of Church reforms. A Tithe-commutation Bill put an end to the quarrel that had been renewed in the English village every year since the Conquest and beyond, over the parson's tithe-pigs and sheaves. Tithes were commuted for a rent-charge made on all land, payable to the tithe-owners, whether clerical or lay. This was regarded as a convenience by all the parties concerned. It was not strictly speaking a subject of sectarian or political controversy, but it relieved the Church of a heavy load of unpopularity due to a system calculated to cause friction and dispute.

Another Act put an end to the worst abuses of plurality and non-residence. And, above all, a great internal redistribution of wealth relieved the Church of much odium, and equipped her for work in many districts hitherto neglected. The bishops, some of whom had their excessive incomes cut down, became stipendiaries instead of great landlords. A permanent Ecclesiastical Commission was established to administer revenues.

The work of the Ecclesiastical Commission was followed up by that of the Charity Commission, reconstituted with fresh powers by the Whig government in 1853, to deal with non-ecclesiastical Trusts. Endowed education and charity were in a state of corruption as bad as anything to be found in the Church. Brougham had long ago begun the exposure of the facts, as chairman of the original Charity Commission of 1818. The grammar-schools were at length shaken out of the torpor of a century, and endowments left for education or charity were no longer permitted to be consumed as sinecures.[1]

Although the Church, with the help of her wiser friends and leaders, had been reformed by Act of Parliament in the matter of the distribution of her revenues, she maintained her privileges and monopolies almost intact between the first and second Reform Bills. It was largely for this reason that the 'dissidence of Dissent' was so marked a feature of the period. The Dissenters, who believed that they were almost as numerous as the Churchmen, and felt themselves to be daily growing in importance and power, were galled by the badges of inferiority which the spirit of Church ascendancy still insisted that they should wear.

[1] See p 28, above Readers of Trollope will remember with a smile the sad case of *The Warden*, in these years of rigorous inquisition

Their exclusion from Oxford and Cambridge[1] tended to bar out their ablest men from the higher professional and political life of the age. This had the effect of supplying the Dissenting bodies with men of a very high type as preachers and leaders,—able men embittered by a sense of ill-usage and ostracism. It is only since Oxford and Cambridge have been thrown open to all creeds, that men who would formerly have been the leaders of a militant Nonconformity have been absorbed in the general stream of national life. This change has contributed with other causes to the diminution of the Dissenting bodies both in self-consciousness and power.

The other chief grievance of the Dissenters, which affected a much greater number of persons, was the right of a majority of parishioners to levy a rate on all for the maintenance and repair of the Church fabric. At the beginning of the century this ancient usage had scarcely been felt as a grievance, but with the increase of the Nonconformists in numbers and importance, it was resented as an injustice and a badge of inferiority. But even after the first Reform Bill they had not the political power to overcome the resistance of the House of Lords. In the middle years of the century the ill-feeling engendered by local contests over the Church-rate rendered it hard for Churchmen and Dissenters to live at peace. In some 1500 parishes where the Dissenters could secure a majority of votes in the vestry, the rate was refused altogether, and after long disputes in the law-courts such refusal was held valid in law. But in parishes where the recusants were in a minority, they had to pay, and the goods of the more obstinate 'passive resisters' were sold up.

In some of these Church-rate contests in northern industrial districts in the early days of Victoria, political and religious enthusiasm were strangely blended, thousands of votes were polled on each side, amid scenes recalling the ardours and humours of the Eatanswill election. Rival bands paraded with music and party favours, liquor flowed, intimidation and bribery were general, and on some occasions the military were called out to keep the peace, as though in the streets of Belfast.

The Whig statesmen were not Dissenters, though they

[1] See p 356, below In 1834 a University Tests Bill to open degrees to British subjects, irrespective of religion, was passed by the reformed House of Commons by a large majority, and thrown out by the Lords by a majority of 102

relied on the Dissenting vote But they were for the most part not enthusiastic Churchmen, and some, like Russell and Palmerston, had inherited or acquired a decidedly secular point of view. They failed to legislate for the Dissenters as such, but they relieved the laity from ecclesiastical jurisdiction in testamentary and divorce cases, which had come down unbroken from the Middle Ages. In the face of strong opposition from Gladstone, divorce was made obtainable in Court by persons of moderate means, instead of being confined, as formerly, to people rich enough to pay for a private Act of Parliament. 1857

The disruption of the Scottish Church was more closely connected with political history than was the Oxford movement. It was directly caused by the views on the relation of Church and State entertained by Sir Robert Peel and the British Parliament. But its ulterior causes and inner meaning lie far back in the depths of Scottish history and Scottish character.

It has been already pointed out that in the complete absence of popular institutions, prior to 1832, in a country so well educated and so democratic in spirit as Scotland, the Church had furnished the sole organ for the collective life of the people It has also been pointed out that in the middle of the eighteenth century the Moderate or Latitudinarian party in the Church had established its position as against the Evangelicals who upheld the narrower and fiercer tradition of the Covenanters.[1] In the age of David Hume, Adam Smith and Principal Robertson, the Moderates successfully protected the philosophers for whom the Scotland of the 'age of enlightenment' was justly famous. It was a victory of toleration of the first importance to Scotland and to mankind

The victory of intellectual freedom had been won in part by the law of 'patronage,' which enabled patrons to intrude Moderate ministers into the manses, against the will of the more fanatical democracy of the parish[2] As a result of the 'intrusion controversy,' small secessions from the Church had taken place, and the seceders had split up again into Burghers and anti-Burghers, Auld Lichts and New Lichts. But the

[1] P 33, above

[2] Readers of Galt's *Annals of the Parish* will remember how in 1760 the minister is 'intruded' by the help of a guard of soldiers

secessions were not yet large enough to be dignified by the term Disruption.

In Scotland as in England, Erastianism had been used to fight fanaticism. And in Scotland as in England, the victorious Latitudinarian party, safe in possession of the loaves and fishes, lost its vigour and virtue before the eighteenth century closed. Like the contemporary English Church, the Scottish Church failed to take up the fresh opportunities and duties of the changing age. While their evangelising spirit languished, the Moderates lost even their own peculiar virtue of tolerance, and under the influence of anti-Jacobinism became bigoted as well as official.

With the new century, the Evangelical party revived, but without the old fanaticism. The philosophers had done work that could not be undone, and with Walter Scott as the national mouthpiece it was impossible for the narrow spirit of earlier ages to return with the revival of their zeal. The Evangelical party found in Dr. Thomas Chalmers a religious leader with all Knox's singleness of heart, some of his power, but none of his harsher spirit.[1] In the ensuing conflict between official Moderatism and the Evangelical party, 'patronage' was as formerly employed to intrude Moderates on unwilling parishes. Chalmers, though a strong Conservative in politics and believing in the principle of establishment, held that freedom of religion in Scotland meant the freedom of the parish democracy to choose its pastor, and in this cause he was ready in the last resort to sacrifice the establishment itself as of less importance.

For ten years after the Reform Bill Scotland was convulsed by the 'non-intrusion' controversy. Having just acquired political and municipal self-government, new in the history of their country, many Scots were more than ever determined to reassert what they believed to be their ancient national rights of self-government in religion. Various attempts at settlement were made, like the Veto Act which, while permitting appointments by patronage, left the people a veto on a minister whom they disliked. But the House of Lords in its judicial capacity ruled out all these compromises, and reasserted patronage and intrusion as the fundamental law of the land.

1839

The Church Assembly, of which a majority was now Evan-

[1] McCrie's *Life of Knox*, 1812, had a great part in promoting the Evangelical revival

gelical, had no alternative but to have recourse to Parliament for fresh legislation. Their demands were pitched very high, and seemed to Sir Robert Peel and to many Conservatives both in Scotland and England inconsistent with the principle of Church Establishment and the rights of the State. Modification of the existing law was refused. Then Chalmers proclaimed the Disruption. A third of the Scottish clergy followed him into the wilderness, giving up their manses, stipends and prospects in life as their fathers had done before them in Stuart times. It was a great moral act and had a heightening effect on the life of Scotland, even among those who did not agree as to its necessity The Free Church was set up in parish after parish in a zealous rivalry of evangelisation with the Established Church

1843

In 1874 the Establishment itself obtained from Parliament the abolition of patronage, the original ground of the Disruption. In 1900 the various bodies outside the Establishment were amalgamated in the United Free Church of Scotland. And in 1929 the Established and Free Churches were happily reunited.

Catholic Emancipation and the coming of the Whigs to power had put O'Connell[1] into a position to drive bargains for Ireland at Westminster. Until the English and Irish Reform Bills had passed, he had the wisdom to support Grey's Ministry even when it prosecuted him. Grey would not meet his advances, and Edward Stanley as Irish Secretary seemed to have a personal quarrel with the Irish people, until he was removed to the Colonial Office in 1833. Althorp and Russell felt differently, and might have done something towards the conciliation of Ireland if they had been allowed to work heartily with O'Connell. But many of their own colleagues and supporters disagreed, and the House of Lords stood right across the path of conciliation.

1831-2

Meanwhile the rent and tithe wars were raging in Ireland. In Queen's County alone sixty murders were committed in one year, and agrarian terrorism dominated the whole province of Leinster. It was a detestable spirit, but it was not unprovoked. For the British Army was being used to protect wholesale evictions by landlords 'clearing' estates which they had never improved, and to distrain for tithe on behalf of an 'alien

[1] See pp 218-221, above.

Church,'[1] largely composed of absentees and sinecurists. Twenty-two Protestant bishops drew £150,000 a year, and the rest of the Church £600,000 more, very largely from the Catholic peasants In face of these conditions the Whig Cabinet was torn asunder between the policies of coercion and concession. The position was further complicated by the religious views of Graham and Stanley as to the sacredness of ecclesiastical property. They left the Cabinet and the party on that issue, when 'Johnnie Russell upset the coach' by an incautiously liberal pronouncement. Grey's retirement followed in a few months, after a Cabinet crisis about coercion.

1834

From 1835 to 1840 the reprieved Whig Government under Melbourne was dependent on O'Connell's parliamentary support. They paid him in liberal administration, and as much liberal legislation as the House of Lords would swallow. The Under-Secretary, Thomas Drummond, governed Ireland justly, holding the balance between Orange and Catholic, discouraging informers, and introducing Catholics into the police force, which he thoroughly reformed. But the good he could do in administration was hampered by the repeated refusal of the Lords to pass remedial laws. With difficulty he kept the bloody tithe war within bounds, until in 1838 the Whigs at length prevailed on Parliament to commute the direct payment of tithes for a fixed rent charge. So too, after many attempts at Irish Municipal Reform, the Ministry at length induced the Lords to accept the shadow of such a measure. O'Connell was chosen Mayor of Dublin and Catholics began to appear on other local bodies. These concessions could not, at that date, go far to reconcile the races, as they might have done thirty years before. Something like Gladstone's Church and Land Legislation of 1868–81 was wanted in the 'thirties. But England was always a generation too late.

With the return to power of Peel and the Conservatives, from whom O'Connell had nothing to hope, he threw himself in good earnest into the agitation for Repeal of the Union, or, as we should now term it, Home Rule. This policy united against him all classes and parties in Great Britain. But he

1841

[1] Disraeli invented this phrase, in his penetrating analysis of Irish discontent in 1847 But in 1868 he strove to defend the Church he had thus condemned, against its disestablishment by Gladstone, who in 1838 had written the high-flying volume on Church and State attacked by Macaulay The virtue of Victorian statesmen did not lie in their consistency, which is perhaps no virtue in a long political career

worked Catholic Ireland up to the same pitch of enthusiasm and unanimity for Repeal as formerly for Emancipation. Unfortunately he had not considered beforehand how the affair was to end. He was resolved, as always, to have no bloodshed, and this time Peel would not give way before mere agitation as in 1828. Peel called O'Connell's bluff. When Government forbade the monster meeting at Clontarf, to which all Ireland (1843) was looking forward as the long-expected crisis of the whole movement, O'Connell ordered submission. He was obeyed, but he lost in a day the confidence of his people.

The political influence of the Liberator had for some years been rivalled and now began to be outstripped by the more irreconcilable teaching of 'Young Ireland,' led by Gavan Duffy. It was the spirit of nationalism, based on literature and history, like the contemporary racial movements of the Continent It was in these respects the forerunner of the Gaelic League and Sinn Fein in our own day. But the appeal to physical force attempted in 1848 by Smith O'Brien and Meagher, lacked the fierce efficacy of the agrarian terrorism of previous years, met with no popular response, and was suppressed with ludicrous ease by a few policemen.

The years of the famine were indeed no time to prepare rebellions among people who had only the strength to hold out their hands for food For two consecutive seasons the potato crop failed, and in 1846 and 1847 the common task was to save eight millions of Irish alive. The peasants, abandoning their useless labour in the fields, squatted on the roadside, trying to break stones for relief work, and actually dying of hunger. Many of the resident landlords behaved well, but some of the absentee class continued in the midst of this frightful visitation to push forward the wholesale eviction of their starving tenants. The British Government bestirred itself, not only repealing the Corn Laws but carrying on food distribution, at first indeed under foolish restrictions, but later with increased efficiency. The people began to flee for their lives to the United States, seventeen out of every hundred dying on the voyage. As one of the emigrant ships was leaving Dublin harbour, it met the vessel that was carrying back O'Connell's body to burial in Ireland. A bitter cry arose, as (1847) the exiles bade farewell to the land they loved, and to the man who had been its only hope.

Over half a million died of famine and pestilence. And

the steady toll of emigration to America, which now first became a habit of the race, reduced the population of Ireland from eight millions in 1841 to six and a half in 1851, and to less than four and a half in 1901. It is certain that without a considerable reduction in numbers there could never have been the improvement in Irish prosperity with which the century closed. Eight millions could only subsist on the verge of starvation. But the manner of their going was fatal. Between 1849 and 1856 as many as 50,000 families were evicted from their homes. They were not so much helped to emigrate as thrust forth from Ireland. The economic exodus, though it was to a large extent necessary, took place under political and social conditions which made the descendants of those who landed in America hereditary enemies of Great Britain.

In Peel's day the difficulties between the old country and the United States were still those of two branches of the same race and civilisation, kept apart by historical, political and social differences that were beginning to be less acute as England grew more democratic, and as increased trade and more rapid communication began to dispel mutual ignorance. A steady stream of British working-class immigrants had set in to the United States, forming a fresh link between the two nations and confirming the transatlantic belief that the people in Britain 'were a very decent body, shamefully oppressed by a haughty group of Peers and clergy,' though less shamefully now than in former years. In spite of Castlereagh's great services to the cause of peace on the Canadian border, the old Tory view of America had as a rule been contemptuous, whereas the modern Whig was patronising and the Radical friendly except about slavery. In spite of *Martin Chuzzlewit*, Dickens drew the ties closer, by revealing to Americans the existence of 'plain people' in England of a kind they could appreciate.

Peel's Ministry held power during the great crisis that settled whether the Pacific Coast should be divided up without a war between Britain and America. Several other causes of dispute were first cleared away. Aberdeen, almost immediately after taking over the Foreign Office, negotiated the Webster-Ashburton Treaty, which settled by compromise the long disputed north-east boundary between Maine and Canada. He then began, with less wisdom, to interfere in Texas and

1842

California, rebellious provinces of Mexico, with a view to preventing their annexation by the United States. That he attempted to promote slavery-abolition in Texas made him the more suspect in the eyes of the Southern slave-holding Democrats, then beginning to dominate American politics. They were also irritated by the activity of our fleet in suppressing the slave-trade, and accused us to their Northern brethren of using anti-slave-trade sentiment as a stalking-horse for enforcing against American shipping our right-of-search claims, of ancient and unpopular memory.

On the top of these distinctively Southern questions, arose the issue of the future of the north Pacific Coast, then known as the 'Oregon question.'[1] The settlement of that problem could no longer be postponed, as the pioneers of both nations were coming into contact on the disputed ground. Here American claims had nothing to do with slavery, but they were excessive. The war-cry of the victorious Democratic party at the election of Polk to the Presidency in 1844, was 'Fifty-four forty or fight,' meaning that they would at all costs annex the whole Pacific Coast up to the border of Russian Alaska at the latitude of 54° 40″. This would cut off Canada from the Western sea.

Between 1815 and 1847 the population of the United States had grown from eight to seventeen millions, but the vast immigration of non-English races was only just beginning. America's claims on Texas, California and the north Pacific Coast were beyond her momentary needs and power of expansion, but not beyond her requirements in the near future. In the 'roaring 'forties,' her aggressive democratic idealism, when it registered such vast territorial claims in advance, was inspired by a wise prophetic instinct. But Canada, too, had a destiny, and for that reason, if our claim on the southern part of Oregon was inadmissible, so was that of the United States on the northern part, Vancouver Island and the future British Columbia.

Peel was one of the most wisely pacific Ministers that England ever had. He understood that the social and economic situation in Great Britain and Ireland could not stand the strain of a war with our chief customer and the source of our cotton supply. He was no fratricide, and was appalled at the prospect of war with America. Nevertheless, he was prepared to fight rather than yield the whole Pacific Coast. Fortunately,

[1] See pp 178-9, above, and Map there

the American people did not really wish for war with us. And perhaps, if the truth were known, the Polk administration, when once the election was won, was not so very anxious to fight in order to add more 'free' States to the Union, and so increase the strength of the anti-slavery party.

England refrained from further interference about Texas and California, which the United States annexed after the Mexican war. And at the very moment of his fall, Peel crowned his immense services to his countrymen and to the world by bringing into port not only the Repeal of the Corn Laws, but the Oregon Treaty, that settled the western frontier between the British territories and the United States. The boundary line following the forty-ninth degree of latitude, which Castlereagh's treaty had carried up to the Rockies, was continued to the coast. The compromise of 1846 can be seen on the map to-day, securing to Canada and to America respectively a just development on the Pacific, and securing to both nations the peace that has never been broken along four thousand miles of unguarded frontier.

1846–8

1846

## CHAPTER XIX

The abortive revolutions, 1848–9: British attitude—Palmerston—Napoleon III—The Crimea and Florence Nightingale

THE year 1848 was the turning-point at which modern history failed to turn. The military despotisms of Central Europe were nearly but not quite transformed by a timely and natural action of domestic forces. It was the appointed hour, but the despotisms just succeeded in surviving it, and modernised their methods without altering their essential character. The misfortunes of European civilisation in our own day sprang in no small degree from those far-off events.

In 1848 nearly all the despotic Governments of the Continent were overthrown, but nearly all recovered power in the course of a year. The failure of the revolution to consolidate its success was due to want of experience and wisdom among its leaders; to the strife of constitutional monarchists with republicans and of middle-class liberals with socialists; and finally to the antagonism of races. In the wide dominions

ruled from Vienna, racial animosity was the principal cause first of the success and then of the defeat of the revolutionary movements. Mazzini could persuade each of the peoples to demand its own freedom and nationality, but could not persuade them to make common cause, or to rise to the height of his idea that the nations were complements one of the other.

Europe after the fall of Napoleon was subject to an iron law, often overlooked, but always in the end proof against the high aspirations of the nineteenth century—the fact that Prussia, Russia and Austria were more powerful on the Continent than France and England. It is true that the three Eastern despotisms acted together as seldom as the two Western powers. But they always stood together on the vital question of Poland, and they did not desert one another in the decisive political crisis of the century. In 1849 the King of Prussia refused the request of the Frankfort Parliament that he should take the lead of Liberal Germany, to the exclusion of Austria; while Russia aided the young Emperor Francis Joseph to re-establish military despotism throughout his Austro-Hungarian dominions.

The reduction of Austria's rebellious subjects was rendered possible partly by the aid of Russia, partly by the refusal of the Magyar Parliamentarians under Kossuth to treat the non-Magyar nationalities of Hungary as anything better than subject peoples That refusal drove back Slavs and Roumanians into the arms of the despots of Vienna. Kossuth, in his subsequent exile, was regarded by his American and English sympathisers as a hero of liberty, which partly he was. But it may be doubted whether any man since Robespierre did so much injury to the Liberal cause. He deflected the Magyar national ideal from liberalism to chauvinism. The Magyar oligarchy, crushed in 1849, came to terms with their Austrian enemies after 1866 in a copartnership of dual race ascendancy, and dragged Austro-Hungary to the final abyss.

In Germany the course of the revolution of 1848 was no more fortunate. The Germans indeed could more easily have been united on a basis of freedom. They had no race-divisions like Austria-Hungary. There was not, as in Italy, an Austrian army occupying the land, to suppress every native movement But in 1848 Germany was anti-Liberal, if not in heart and mind, at least in energy and will. The Parliament of Frankfort, which was to have united her, lacked the powerful spirit of

Pym or Franklin, of Mirabeau or of Cavour. If the King of Prussia would not, Germany could not. Her men of genius and her instincts for action were dedicated to other ideals. She was destined to be united, not in 1848 on a basis of freedom, but in 1866 and 1870 on a basis of military Kaiserdom.

The failure of 1848 permanently to overturn military despotism in the centre of the Continent was fatal to the healthy development of Europe as a whole. Austria and Germany, from their geographic position, radiate influence on all sides, and their bulk lies athwart the mutual intercourse of the States that surround them. Russia, as a result of 1849, was still left isolated from contact with freedom. If Germany had been liberalised, the Czardom would ere long have been reformed.

Italy, on the other hand, was not cut off by physical causes from French and English influence. Italy's tragedy in 1848–9 was only the prelude to her deliverance of 1859–60. The Italians had the wisdom to learn the prudential lessons of their first failure, without abandoning the faith, common to Mazzini and Cavour, that freedom was essential to true nationhood.

In France the issues of 1848 were different. The French already enjoyed national unity, Parliamentary institutions and popular self-expression, which were the objects of the revolutionaries in other lands. If King Louis Philippe's bourgeois government headed by Guizot—a great historian blind to the lessons of history—had had the sense to extend the franchise, there would have been no excuse for revolt in France. As it was, the Government had against it the two rising forces of Catholic reaction on the one side and working-class aspiration on the other. And since Louis Philippe, in spite of some rather gross intrigues in Spain, did not offer a spirited foreign policy to satisfy French pride, he was haunted by the ghost of Napoleon, the emotional rallying-point of all Frenchmen discontented with Government. The monarchy of the Citizen King fell in the uprising of Paris in February 1848, which gave the signal of revolution to the rest of Europe.[1]

When, in the weeks that followed, the barricades were rising in city after city, and the princes of Europe were flying

[1] Actually the revolution of Sicily, January 1848, came first It was the result largely of English influence and sympathy The rebels against King Ferdinand ('Bomba') proclaimed for the island the constitution of 1812, which Lord William Bentinck had procured for them during the British occupation in the time of the First Napoleon

from their palaces, or hastily signing new constitutions, while class was arming against class, and race against race in the wild confusion of universal overturn, the British people looked on at a spectacle that could not fail to interest, but scarcely seemed to concern them. The popular victory over the Corn Laws two years back, and the far-spreading tide of new prosperity and well-being removed all fear of revolutionary contagion. The Chartist flame had been burning low for half a dozen years past, and its last flicker was the famous procession to Parliament in April 1848. So far from over-awing Lords and Commons, the incident was more memorable for the alacrity with which the middle classes turned out as special constables, than for any formidable display of working-class effervescence.

As between the foreign 'reds' and 'blacks' English sympathies were divided and lukewarm. It was difficult to understand what was going on across the Channel, but there was satisfaction in the thought that we were not as other nations. Our social and political troubles, it was held, lay behind us. wisely solved in advance—by Queen Elizabeth, William of Orange, Pitt, Lord Grey, Mr. Cobden or Sir Robert Peel, according to choice—and above all by the calm good sense of the British people. In the middle of the European revolutions the first part of Macaulay's history was published, and attained at once a popularity and influence analogous to that of Scott, Byron or Dickens. There were many grounds for its success, but one was that it presented a reasoned eulogy of Britain and things British, as that age understood them. Nor could the historian resist the temptation of inserting a passage proudly contrasting 1688 at home with 1848 abroad.

This same feeling of self-satisfaction, or pious thanksgiving, underlay the emotions of Englishmen three years later at Prince Albert's Great Exhibition, held under the glass pleasure-dome in Hyde Park. The unfortunate Europeans, having failed to master our secret of combining liberty with order, were invited, as a consolation prize, to come and admire the peace, progress and prosperity of Britain. The Great Exhibition, the first of many such in all the capitals of Europe, began a new era of international trade advertisement.

1851

Although in 1848 there had been English sympathisers with each of the opposing parties on the Continent, there had been no movement to wage war on behalf either of foreign princes or of foreign peoples. There was no Burke among the

Conservatives of that day. And the more advanced Liberals were restrained from the crusading spirit by the peace doctrines of the Manchester school, then at the height of its influence during the years between its Corn Law triumph and its Crimean catastrophe. Mazzini, the noblest of the many exiles then sheltering in our island, altogether failed to persuade England that it was her interest as the leading Liberal power to fight for the victory of freedom in Europe. But on the Continent all men believed that the sympathy and moral weight of Great Britain was, if not friendly to the revolutionaries, at least hostile to the despots, and particularly to all things Austrian. This impression was mainly due to the personal policy of the Foreign Minister, Lord Palmerston.

Palmerston was very seldom out of office between 1808 and 1865, but he never lost his boyish enjoyment of life. The older he grew in the Foreign Office, the less was he restrained by its courtesies and traditions. The awful burden of public care had early marked Pitt and Peel as men set aside from their fellows. But Palmerston was untamed by fifty years of official responsibility and routine This was part of the secret of his power. Between the abolition of the Corn Laws and the second Reform Bill serious political issues were at a discount, and people liked to watch 'Old Pam' performing with such obvious zest, nonchalance and courage. Here plainly was a big man, yet one cast in the common mould, whose thoughts and motives everyone could understand, in contrast with the rival enigmas of Disraeli and Gladstone.

Palmerston became a national institution on his own account. Though in alliance with the Whigs since 1830, he was at heart neither Whig, Tory nor Peelite. In so far as he adhered to the doctrines of any party, he may be said to have remained a follower of Canning. Like his dead leader, he trusted the English people and rested his power on appeals to public opinion, while somewhat inconsistently opposing Parliamentary Reform. Throughout the period of his greatest influence, he kept the Whig-Liberal party bound to a domestic policy almost as negative as that of Walpole. Russell's spas-
1852 modic and half-hearted attempts to extend the franchise, fell
1854 flat on the indifference of the public and the hostility of his most powerful colleague Radicals like Bright, who were in real earnest about Parliamentary Reform, regarded Palmer-

ston's commanding position in the counsels of the Liberal party as more fatal to progress than the official opposition of avowed Conservatives. They wished in vain that he would cross the floor of the House. They could only wait until he died, and he was an unconscionably long time about dying.

On the other hand, in foreign politics he was at once a Radical and a Jingo. Whenever there was a despot to be insulted, he joyfully insulted him, but always in the name of Britain's power and renown. He held it a disgrace that we should not speak our mind on Austrian atrocities, for of whom or of what should we be afraid? If a British subject was ill-treated, were it only a Gibraltar Jew of doubtful honesty like Don Pacifico in Greece, he risked a breach with France to 1850 support the man's most extravagant claims, and appealed to the British public on the theme of protecting the 'Civis Romanus' all the world over. Such levity was quite as shocking to Peel and Aberdeen as to Cobden and Bright, and even Disraeli thought it misplaced. But Palmerston triumphed over them all.

He inherited from Canning the tendency of his policy, but not the practical wisdom of his measures. As Foreign Minister he achieved nothing tangible for the cause of liberty[1] In 1848 his chief object was to prevent a European war. Although the year before he had sent Lord Minto on tour through Italy to encourage the Liberals there, when the crisis came he asked France and Charles Albert of Piedmont not to march to the help of the Milanese against the Austrians If Charles Albert had taken that piece of advice, Italy would never have been united under his son. Again, in 1849 Palmerston approved the invasion of Hungary by Russia, much to the disgust of the Manchester men, who thought that he was violent when he should be moderate, and acquiescent when he should protest. But with all his faults, it was owing to him, to his generosity and to his open speech, that Britain's name was associated with the cause of freedom at a time when our public opinion was wavering, and when our Court and official influences were mainly on the side of reaction abroad.

In his conduct at the Foreign Office, Palmerston was under the fire not only of the regular Conservative Opposition and of the small Manchester group, but of his Whig and Peelite

[1] He was Prime Minister in 1859-60, but it was Russell as Foreign Secretary who helped Cavour through the crisis that made Italy

colleagues. Those of them who, like Russell, shared his liberal sympathies, dreaded his headlong methods, and all of them resented his attempt to withdraw the Foreign Office from Cabinet control, and to make himself alone answerable to the public for its policy. On one occasion the Cabinet held a special meeting to forbid him to receive the exile Kossuth in his house, but could not prevent him from openly demonstrating his sympathies, or from declaring that a less popular visitor to our land, the Austrian Field-Marshal Haynau, flogger of women, ought to have been 'tossed in a blanket.'

The statesman who was most of all opposed to him in temper and opinion was Lord Aberdeen. Trained in the school first of Wellington, and then of Peel, Aberdeen was now chiefly anxious to maintain the peace of Europe, which he believed could only be prolonged if existing boundaries were respected. An affection for the treaties of Vienna, however laudable from a Pacificist point of view, necessarily involved a friendly neutrality towards Austria and the despotic cause.[1]

Last but not least, Palmerston had to deal with the Court. The Queen had in 1840 married Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. Her personal sympathies, which she could seldom distinguish from her political inclinations, were instinctively on the side of all German-speaking princes. In her mind, Milan, Venice and Hungary were the possessions of the Austrian Emperor, and there was an end of the matter. Coached by Prince Albert, who had mastered European politics among so many other subjects, she tried to control Palmerston. She established the point that his dispatches must be submitted to her before they were sent off, and in this way she and her husband, who were not afraid of detail and hard work, were able to contest the foreign policy of the country inch by inch and day by day. But she had learned Melbourne's constitutional doctrine thoroughly, and never attempted to override her Ministers' policy if it proved to be the settled determination of the Cabinet as a whole.

Nevertheless, when the public began to find out that Albert was opposing Palmerston, there was a loud outcry against

[1] Aberdeen, as Wellington's lieutenant, 1830–3, had been very unpacific in his hostility to France and Louis Philippe, while Palmerston, as Grey's colleague, had been pacific and pro-French Later their parts were reversed Aberdeen, as Peel's lieutenant, learnt to love peace and to tolerate Louis Philippe, with whom Palmerston, as Whig Foreign Minister in the 'forties, was always quarrelling.

the interference of a German princeling in British policy, and questions were asked as to the constitutional position of the Queen's husband. It was a subject at once delicate and obscure. If Queen Elizabeth had ever married, or if Queen Anne's husband had been less negligible, there might have been a happier and more informing precedent than that afforded by Philip of Spain. In this case the problem was shelved rather than solved, first by the good sense of Prince Albert, and finally by his death in 1861. In home affairs his influence over the Queen was on the whole liberal; he greatly admired Peel, was a strong free-trader, and took more interest in scientific and commercial progress, and less in sport and fashion than was at all popular in the best society.

Palmerston was the last man in the world to be browbeaten or cajoled by royalty. There was in him much of the aristocrat but nothing of the snob. Whiggish in his sympathies with continental Liberalism, he had developed a knack of appealing directly to British popular opinion that was too modern, too 'jingo,' and too democratic to be pure Whig. After his fashion he stimulated a new popular interest in foreign questions, and put the Foreign Office more directly in touch with opinion outside the circles of the privileged. Strong in the people's support, he played on the whole a winning game for a dozen years against Court and colleagues. But he had several bad falls in the course of it; and these accidents occurred always when he had put himself for the moment out of touch with popular opinion by too great deference to Napoleon III.

His first great mistake was when, in December 1851, he was too hasty in expressing approval of Napoleon's *coup d'état*. He had not waited to observe that it was strongly condemned not only by Crown and Cabinet, whom he was accustomed to defy, but by the people of England who alone kept him in power. He had against him, for the moment, both the pro-Austrian and the Radical party. Russell seized the opportunity to dismiss from the Foreign Office a colleague who was attempting to become a dictator. But only two months afterwards Palmerston was boasting that he had 'had his tit for tat with John Russell' by turning out the Whigs. After a brief interlude of Conservative government in 1852, Aberdeen's Whig-Peelite coalition received Palmerston back into the ministerial fold, in time for him to help to make the Crimean War.

Dec 1851

By the *coup d'état*, Louis Napoleon, nephew of Napoleon I and President of the French Republic, usurped despotic authority, and shortly afterwards became Emperor with the title of Napoleon III. It is at least arguable that something analogous to the *coup d'état* was unavoidable. The reactionary Chamber which it overthrew was a danger to the State: it was clinging to power after it had lost popularity, like the Rump when dismissed by Oliver. And Napoleon in the early part of his reign as Emperor was a good deal more popular than Cromwell ever was as Protector. He had thrust himself in between the Reactionary and Republican parties, neither of whom really stood on a broad basis of public opinion, and both of whom acquiesced sulkily in his usurpation because they hated each other worse than either hated him. On the one side the new Emperor represented the Catholic and anti-socialist reaction that followed on the events of 1848, while on the other he gave security against the more extreme forms of reaction after which the Royalist parties hankered He stood for the equality of all Frenchmen under government, which they valued more than freedom.

Nevertheless the *coup d'état*, accompanied as it was by a wholly unnecessary slaughter in the streets of Paris resulting from military mismanagement, destroyed Napoleon's pretensions to a moral position before the world. Now in some respects he aspired to a moral position, and he certainly needed one more than his uncle, who had had so many other resources. In his lifetime few gave credit to this 'cut-purse of the Empire' for the idealism and philanthropy that were blended with his inordinate personal ambition.

Like his uncle, Napoleon III appealed to the average Frenchman against the extreme parties in the State. And like his uncle he appealed to the professional feeling of the soldiers, and to the national desire for glory. A spirited foreign policy was essential to any Napoleonic regime. But was it to be conducted in the Liberal or the Catholic interest? He himself, a partisan by conviction of nationality and progress, preferred to fight in Liberal causes; but his wife and chief supporters wanted Catholic crusades. His twofold interference in Italy, against Austria but on behalf of the Pope, was a self-contradiction ultimately fatal to France. Those who feel equally bound to fight on both sides of a quarrel would find it safer, from a selfish point of view, to stay at home.

But on one point he was determined. He would never quarrel with England. A great student of history, he had underlined for his own avoidance those of his uncle's mistakes which he was wise enough to detect He read that hostility to England had lost France her colonies, and had in the end destroyed the Napoleonic power. Since he aspired to reconstruct a colonial empire in Africa and America, as well as to make France the leading country in Europe, he regarded it as a first condition that he should be friends with England. The weakness of the scheme, which became apparent in the last half of his reign, was that in so far as he succeeded in his Colonial and European projects, England was sure to become jealous. Her hearty alliance could not be given to a Power that aspired to primacy.

Though there was often talk of war, England never came to blows with Napoleon. But the English would never believe that he honestly meant them well, though history has proved it in the retrospect. The very name of Napoleonic Empire frightened us. Even if we could have trusted him personally—and it was not easy to trust the author of the *coup d'état*—we could not see the Colonial and European power of France increasing year by year without grave misgivings about the future. Who could guarantee the attitude of the next emperor? Even those Englishmen who knew enough of Napoleon to trust him, believed that France loved us little. The traditional feud with England had not yet been overlaid by a fiercer hatred of the Germans Napoleon's life seemed our only security So when Cobden and Bright preached confidence in French intentions, they did not always carry conviction.

But in the early 'fifties there was another Power whom we feared and distrusted even more than France. Since the interference of the Czar Nicholas in Hungary in 1849, the shadow of Russia seemed to lie over Europe as well as over Asia Napoleon, who was looking out for an adventure, was anxious to draw England along with him, for if not herself involved in any enterprise he might undertake she would certainly suspect and oppose it. He saw his opportunity in an anti-Russian alliance, which was the more attractive to him as he had a personal score to pay off against Nicholas.

So in 1853 we had to choose between our two bugbears—

the Emperor Napoleon and the Czar—both of whom sought our friendship. The Balance of Power, according to the British view of that decade, was threatened by France and by Russia severally. When Bright said that the Balance of Power was a fetish, he was wrong in theory if he held it to be a thing indifferent, but right in practice because the balance then actually existed if we had been content to leave well alone. Our difficulty in deciding whether France or Russia was the danger, showed how nicely adjusted the balance really was.

It is impossible to seek the real causes of the Crimean War in its ostensible object, for the terms of settlement between Russia and Turkey, which we ourselves proposed in the 'Vienna note' of July 1853, were accepted by the Czar and refused by the Sultan! Thus, without real object or occasion, we slid into war, contrary to the policy of the peace-loving Premier, Lord Aberdeen, but much to the satisfaction of his colleagues, Palmerston and Russell.

Although one result of our Crimean folly was to prolong Turkish rule over the Christian races of the Balkans,[1] the motive was not love of the Turks, to whom we were indifferent. The motives were, first a desire for military adventure that seized the English people after forty years of peace, a mood that involved a very dangerous doctrine of war for war's sake, clearly stated at the time in Tennyson's 'Maud'; the pacific ideals of the Great Exhibition of three years before were thrown to the winds, and it was said that what England wanted was not 'a good peace' but 'a good war.' The second motive was the theory of the Balance of Power, and a belief that Europe and Asia were in danger of Russian aggression; Russell told the House of Commons that we were fighting 'to maintain the independence of Germany, and of all European nations.' The third motive, not entirely distinguishable from the second, was the Liberal hatred of the 'Cossack Czar,' his tyranny over the Poles and his reactionary influence in Europe, especially his suppression of Hungarian liberties. It is true that Palmerston had at the time condoned his inter-

[1] In the first months of 1853, before the events leading to the war had shaped themselves, the Czar Nicholas had talked to our Ambassador at St. Petersburg about Turkey as 'the sick man,' for whose certain death provision must be made He proposed that England should take Egypt, and that Servia and Bulgaria should be independent principalities. The proposal was rejected as highly immoral

ference in Hungary, and that our statesmen refused to hold out any hopes to Poland in connection with the war. But the belief that we were fighting for liberty was genuine among the British people.

Nor can it be denied that the war helped in the long run to liberate Italy, for it drove Russia out of Central European politics, and enhanced the influence of France. In this sense the blood shed in the Crimea was not shed in vain, though Balkan Christians might have had a different point of view. But the results so advantageous for Italy came about as much by chance as by design. For at the beginning of the war we made every endeavour to induce Austria to fight on our side, and if Austria had consented, it would have been more difficult for France and England a few years later to take a leading part in depriving her of her Italian possessions As it was, Austria's neutrality left her isolated during the next critical decade, for it alienated not only France and England, but Russia, who had also claimed the help of Francis Joseph in return for the Hungarian campaign of 1849.

When Austria refused to join us, Count Cavour, the ablest of European statesmen, already Prime Minister of young King Victor Emmanuel of Piedmont, stepped into Austria's place, and sent the Bersaglieri to fight by the side of the French and British Guards before Sebastopol. The one man besides Napoleon III who really knew what he was doing in the whole affair, the Minister of this little State with a population of five millions, secured to the Crimean War a Liberal character and Liberal consequences, which it would certainly not have had if our statesmen had succeeded in their efforts to persuade Austria to take part.

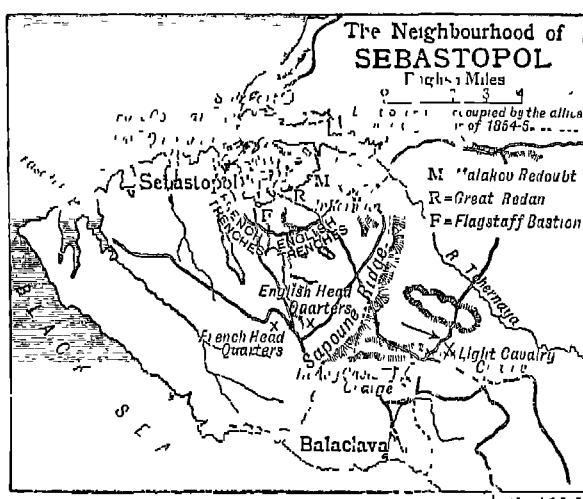
The capture of Sebastopol, the great Crimean arsenal from which the Russian fleets dominated the Black Sea, was chosen as the allied objective. It was attained after a year's campaign and siege. This constituted practically all the war, except a futile naval expedition to the Baltic, and the gallant but finally unsuccessful defence of Kars in Armenia, by the Turks under the Englishman Fenwick Williams.

Sebastopol would have been taken within a few days of the landing of the French and English in the Crimea, if they had chosen to march into it at once from the north. But the French general, St Arnaud, who surpassed Lord Raglan in incom-

petence, insisted, even after the initial victory of the Alma, that the allies should march round the fortress to the south side and begin a siege in form The enemy were given time to throw in reinforcements, and to prepare the defence works under the great engineer Todleben.

Sept 1854

The besiegers were soon put on the defensive. They were unable to invest the town from more than one side, and were outnumbered by the arrival of fresh Russian field armies. The British, on the right, were most exposed to the attacks of these forces, and bore the brunt of the defensive battles of Balaclava

Oct – Nov. 1854

and Inkerman. The first of these, celebrated for two gallant cavalry charges commemorated by Tennyson, and the second consisting of a desperate infantry action at close quarters in the mists of a November dawn, demonstrated that the British soldier could fight as well as ever. But he was without tents, huts, knapsacks, healthy food or the most elementary medical provision The little British army nearly disappeared in the 'Crimean winter,' as a result of the breakdown of organised supply and transport. The French, and the Italians when they subsequently arrived, were better off in these respects. The Russians, with whom official incompetence was a matter of course, were perishing by myriads on the long route marches to the Crimea.

That a nation leading the world in new methods of industrial organisation should be unable to provide for twenty

thousand soldiers half a dozen miles distant from her fleet in the port of Balaclava, would be incredible without some knowledge of the army and the army chiefs of that time. The breath of reform, which was transmuting commerce, Parliament, Municipalities, Church and education, had left the army untouched. The services which the army had rendered against Napoleon seemed to imply that it needed no reform. And the pacific atmosphere of the intervening age drew away public attention from things military. The Duke of Wellington, who died in 1852, had been Commander-in-Chief for many years, and had used his matchless authority to preserve the army in all things as like as possible to the great instrument with which he had conquered Napoleon. While the arts of peace were being revolutionised by ever new devices in machinery and organisation, the Duke saw to it that the cannon, the muskets, the drill, the discipline, and the strategy of war remained unchanged Even abuses, like the purchase of commissions and the overlapping of authorities were as dear to him as to the smaller men around him. The efficient staff and the good generals who had served him in the Peninsula had disappeared, and no effort had been made to train their successors. Fortunately the splendid regimental traditions which were the great bequest of Wellington's campaigns, remained over to save us in the Crimea and to be transmitted with fresh honours—the names of Alma and Inkerman added on the flags to those of Vitoria and Waterloo—to keep alive in the records of the regiments the soul of an army not accustomed to yield.

The deficiencies in military preparation were due both to the obscurantist spirit of the Horse Guards and the War Office, and to the economic spirit of the Treasury and the public. One thing the Duke had been asking for during the last years of his life—a larger army. And Ministry after Ministry, in full accord with the general sentiment, had refused it Nor did the Duke, who did not believe in democracy or in journalism, ever willingly head an agitation to educate public opinion.[1]

That age enjoyed a blessing of which ours has known too little—freedom from competitive armaments. It could scarcely

[1] The fact that the Duke was asking for an army increase only came out in 1847 because one of the Duke's letters was published, much to his indignation There was a momentary panic but the Ministry and public found in the fall of Louis Philippe a good excuse for abandoning an increased army budget.

then expect military efficiency when war came at last. After all it did not very much matter if many of the regiments still used smooth-bore muskets, even though the value of rifles in war had been demonstrated over and over again for nearly a hundred years past. There was security in the fact that other powers were equally improvident. The philosopher may well regret that the nations did not agree to go on fighting with smoothbores for yet another century!

It was not, however, necessary that our whole army should perish in the trenches before Sebastopol for want of shelter, clothes, food and medicine. The remnants of the force were saved, reinforced and supplied owing to two developments characteristic of the new age. One was the newspaper correspondent, a person unknown in Walcheren or the Peninsula. The other was a modern army hospital under Florence Nightingale.

William Russell of *The Times* exposed the state of things he saw before Sebastopol, with a freedom which would not have been permitted either in earlier or later wars, and which in fact revealed much to the enemy. But the value of his work, in the circumstances, far outweighed any attendant disadvantage. Nothing but public exposure could have shaken the military authorities of that day out of their lethargy. *The Times* informed and roused the British people only just in time to save the army. One result of the agitation was the fall of Aberdeen, long unpopular as a pacificist, and the substitution of the more energetic Palmerston as Prime Minister.

Jan. 1855

But ere that, a still more important measure had been taken by Sidney Herbert, Aberdeen's Secretary at War. He had sent out Florence Nightingale in an official capacity. The fury of the British public over Russell's revelations caused all successive War Ministers to give her such a measure of support that she was able to put her foot on the dragon of official obscurantism at the front. The triumph of a woman at the seat of war over highly placed officers and hoary military traditions would be astounding in any age, and then seemed miraculous. But Miss Nightingale was a woman of administrative genius, and of more than masculine force of character, the stronger for the calm dignity of its outward manifestation. She saved the sick and wounded of the British army in spite of its medical chiefs, by creating at Scutari a modern base hospital, the first of its kind, with trained women nurses and

necessary material. She brought down the death rate at Scutari from 42 per cent. to 22 per thousand.

She emerged from the war with the only great reputation on our side. For the rest it was a 'soldiers' war,' deadly to the good name of generals and of statesmen. Miss Nightingale used the position she had acquired in the hearts of her fellow-countrymen to make permanent changes in our national life. She saw to it that her work should not be a mere picturesque incident in the history of a single war, but that her methods should become an institutional part of normal civilised activities. Though she was now an invalid confined to her sofa, she ruled and legislated unseen. With the help of her friend, Sidney Herbert, again War Minister in the early 'sixties, she remodelled the Army Medical Service, and reformed barrack accommodation.

It was not only all future generations of British soldiers who were to bless her name. The Red Cross movement all over the world, starting from the Geneva Convention of 1864, was the outcome of her work and influence. So, too, were the great reforms in civilian hospital construction and management, and the establishment for the general public of nursing by trained women in place of the horrors of Mrs. Gamp. Florence Nightingale's life gave a personal impulse, at once emotional and administrative, to the contemporary advance of science on its humanitarian side.

Whatever Italy or anyone else may have got out of the Crimean war, England's gain from it was the life work of this woman—an immense acquisition of moral territory, if all its secondary consequences and ramifications be followed out. Modern hospital work in peace and war owes to this Crimean episode the saving of many more lives than the 25,000 that Britain lost on the shores of the Euxine, of which Miss Nightingale ascribed 16,000 to bad administration. To her work was due a new conception of the potentiality and place of the trained and educated woman.[1] And this in turn led, in the 'sixties and 'seventies, to John Stuart Mill's movement for woman's suffrage, which Miss Nightingale supported, and to the founding of women's colleges, when at length some

[1] Mr Cook quotes a letter from Lady Verney, dated April 1856 'What Florence has done towards raising the standard of women's capabilities and work is most important It is quite curious every day how questions arise regarding them which are answered quite differently from what they would have been eighteen months ago'

provision was made for the desperately neglected higher education of one-half of the Queen's subjects.

In September 1855 Sebastopol fell, after the Malakoff earthwork had been stormed by the French, and the British had failed before the Redan. The honours of the battles lay with England, of the siege with France. The French had been in the greater numbers, and their organisation had never collapsed so miserably as ours. France emerged from the war as the leading power in Europe, as Napoleon had planned. He had got what he wanted from the Crimea, but his very success made it doubtful if he could retain the friendship of England.

It was the ruler of France who, thus satisfied, forced the unwilling Palmerston to make peace. In March 1856 the Treaty of Paris ended the war. Turkey was set on her legs again, both in the Balkans and Armenia, with the formal recommendation to be kind to her Christian subjects. Russia was prohibited from keeping warships or arsenals in the Black Sea; in 1870 she treated this restriction on her sovereignty as a scrap of paper, England vainly protesting.

At the general Congress of Powers that followed the signature of peace, Cavour, with France and England as patrons, succeeded in having the sufferings of Italy discussed, to the rage of the Austrian representative, who saw the future that a discussion on such terms portended.

At the same congress an important step was taken in international law The Declaration of Paris, to which England together with the other powers adhered, laid it down that privateering should be abolished, that a neutral flag should cover enemy goods if not contraband of war, and that blockades to be valid in theory must be effective in practice.

1856

If British prestige had on the whole lost by the Crimea, the loss was speedily made good by the events of the Indian Mutiny, where all that is most competent in statesmanship and soldiering was represented by the men on whom fell the sudden burden of the crisis.

1857

# CHAPTER XX

## India from the Napoleonic wars to the Mutiny

THE struggle with Napoleon, which in the days of his expedition to Egypt had threatened the British rule in India,[1] in its later stages gave to Britain the monopoly of power and trade throughout the East. In India itself the allies of France had fallen one by one, when Lord Wellesley destroyed 'Tippoo Sahib,' and curbed the Marathas. And in the next ten years the commercial war between England and Napoleonic Europe drove the French, Dutch and other European merchantmen off the India and China seas. The Cape, Mauritius and Ceylon fell permanently into our hands, and until the end of the war we held the Dutch Empire in the Eastern Archipelago.[2]

1799–1805

1805–1815

A new sense of the security of our rule in the East, together with the fulness of the Company's money chest, led to progressive improvement in the methods of the British Raj The noble traditions of the Indian Civil Service were created by public servants like Sir Charles Metcalfe and the Scots sent out in such numbers by Dundas Though still owing their original appointments to a system of personal favour and political patronage, they were already of a very different type from the parasites and adventurers through whom and against whom Clive and Warren Hastings so often had to work. In the first twenty years of the new century our administration already afforded, within its own area, security from the ravages of war, brigandage and the worst forms of domestic oppression. Local police and local courts were instituted, and a standard of fair taxation and just government was set up, such as had not been known in Indian States. The British were entering into the third period of their relations with the East. A hundred and fifty years of quiet trading had been followed by fifty years of conquest not unaccompanied by plunder. The third period, of organised rule for the benefit of the Indians, had now fully set in.

The new era was marked by a readjustment of the privileges and powers of the East India Company. It was still preserved as the intermediary through which the British Cabinet Ministers preferred to govern, though its political power was a shadow. But the abolition in 1813 of its trading monopoly in

[1] See p 106, above

[2] See p 139, above

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INDIA
in 1906,
illustrating the growth of
BRITISH TERRITORY
and
SUPREMACY
English Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
Chitral
(1895)
Peshawar
CASHMIR
[1846]
PUNJAB
(1846) Simla (1816)
BRITISH BALUCHISTAN
(1879-1887)
UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA & OUDH
Delhi
Doab (1801 1803)
Oudh
[1765] (1856)
RAJPUTANA
[1818] AJMERE
Sind
(1843)
BENGAL
[1757] (1765)
Calcutta
(Fort William 1696)
ASSAM
(1826)
EASTERN BENGAL & ASSAM
Up Burma
(1886)
BHOTAN
Pindaris (1816)
CENTRAL
Bhonsla
[1803] (1853)
BERAR
(1853)
PROVINCES
Orissa (1803)
Bombay
(1662)
Satara
(1849)
Peshwa
HYDERABAD
Nizam
[1798]
The Circars (1766)
MADRAS PRESIDENCY
Mouths of the Irrawady (1853)
GOA
(Portuguese)
MYSORE
[1799]
Madras (1639)
COORG
(1834)
Pondicherri (French)
Tanjore (1800)
TRAVANCORE
[1788]
Karnatic
CEYLON
(1802)
( ) Marks date of Annexation
[ ] " " " Subsidiary Treaties, or Establishment of Supremacy
British India
Protected States
Independent
Emery Walker sc.

India marked a big step in the direction of the new economic doctrine of open world competition, in place of the old conception of trade as a function of chartered and limited companies Its trading monopoly in China was continued for another twenty years.

While inside the Company's territory reigned peace and justice novel to oriental States, beyond the border a dreadful anarchy had broken out through the whole of Central India. Though Lord Wellesley had curbed the Maratha power, it had not been finally broken, and his far-sighted plans for the permanent settlement of Central India by the system of 'subsidiary treaties' had not been carried through. In the supposed interests of peace and economy his successors had refused any longer to interest themselves in the disputes of princes outside British territory. This well-meant but retrograde policy of declining the responsibilities, after we had assumed the position of paramount power, resulted in anarchy more complete than had been usual under the Moghuls. The dread Pindaris, robber bands of mixed race and religion, some Afghans, some Marathas, rode devastating, torturing and burning throughout the territories of the Rajput chiefs and the Nizam of Hyderabad, who claimed our protection as of right. Finally the Pindari hordes threatened our own province of Behar. Sore against its will, the British Government was forced to take up the broken thread of Wellesley's policy, and to go forward until every State in the peninsula had a fixed place in the scheme of the Pax Britannica

1811-16

The resumption and fulfilment of Wellesley's policy were effected by Lord Hastings, Governor-General from 1813 to 1823. With the tall athletic figure of a soldier and aristocrat, he had long been known in home politics, under the name of Lord Moira, as a rather unaccountable politician, the friend at once of the Prince of Wales and of the Irish people. He was to prove a great pro-consul. His initial task was to reduce the Gurkhas of Nepal, who had invaded our territory, to the state of friendly alliance in which they have remained ever since. It was the first campaign of the British in the great hill ranges bounding the peninsula, and our contact with the short-set warriors and mountaineers of Nepal was the beginning of the mountain craft of our Indian Army, in which the Gurkhas themselves afterwards took so great a part when enlisted in our service. A portion of their western territory was made

1814-16

over to the British Empire, which henceforth marched with the Chinese along part of the Thibetan border.

Lord Hastings then turned to the problem of Central India. It was clear beforehand that to break up the Pindari bands they must be pursued at large across the territories of many princes, and that this pursuit would involve us in the graver task of finally destroying the independent power of the Maratha chiefs, some of whom were hand and glove with the Pindaris. But Hastings, with the concurrence from home of George Canning, then President of the Board of Control, entered boldly on the complicated series of military and diplomatic operations known as the Pindari war and the third Maratha war. He emerged triumphant, giving final peace to Central India on the basis of subsidiary alliances and the recognition by all Indian princes of British overlordship in foreign relations. Lord Hastings was able to treat the native States and rulers with a generosity that Warren Hastings and Wellesley had not always shown, partly because the position of the British Governor-General was far stronger and more secure than formerly, both at home and abroad.

1816-18

Between the departure of Lord Wellesley and the coming of Lord Hastings, we had given a fair trial to the system of a limited and local responsibility for what happened in India. It had broken down. Unwillingly and half unwittingly we shouldered the inevitable burden laid upon us by fate, no less a task than to give unity to the heterogeneous races of the sub-continent through the medium of the British rule and the English language.

The policy of accepting all responsibilities as paramount power in the Peninsula, had involved us in the Maratha and Pindari wars and had achieved the settlement of Central India. The same principle involved us in the first Burmese war. The Burmese were in those days an aggressive military power that had never yet measured itself against an European army. They now occupied Assam, an outlying Indian State incapable of self-defence, and thence threatened and assailed British territory. Their reduction cost two years of difficult and expensive warfare, that led to our protectorate over Assam, and annexation of most of the sea-frontage of Burma. The rest of it was annexed by Lord Dalhousie after a second Burmese war in 1852, and Upper Burma, including Mandalay, in 1886

1824-26

In this way the guardianship of India led to the extension of our rule outside the Peninsula over a people of Thibeto-Chinese origin, differing from all the Indian races in habits and religion. This same guardianship over the external approaches to India was destined to involve us in relations with Persia, Afghanistan and Thibet. But in none of those countries could the problem be solved by annexation, as in Burma, where the people proved singularly adaptable to the British methods of government, where access by sea and river was easy, and where no Great Power lay beyond.

After the first Burmese war, there followed ten years of peace before the advance began again on the western frontier. This interlude takes character and unity from the policy of Lord William Bentinck, who represented in India at a propitious moment the liberal and humanitarian spirit of the new age in Europe. He made no change of policy, but he brought into fuller light a doctrine implicit in the theory and practice of his predecessors, namely, that the object of our Government in India was to promote the welfare of the Indians.

Bentinck successfully abolished Suttee,—the burning of Hindoo widows,—in despite of prophecies that this piece of interference with religious custom would endanger the State. He himself was anxious as to the result, but he was supported by reformers of Indian birth, and the danger-point was safely passed. He also began the suppression of the Thugs, a caste of hereditary murderers who terrorised the roads. He promoted steam communications on the great rivers, and took many measures for the material prosperity of the millions committed to his care. He raised the status of officials of Indian birth, clearly perceiving that the British must train the Indians to the work of administration.

1828–35

When in 1833–4 the monopoly of the China trade was abolished,[1] the East India Company ceased to be a trading concern, and retained merely the shadow of political power of which the substance had long ago passed to the Ministers of the Crown. The new charter embodied the tendency of Bentinck's policy in the words:—'No native of India, or any natural-born subject of His Majesty, shall be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment by reason of his religion, place of birth, descent or colour.'

It was partly in relation to this question of preparing the

[1] See p 312, above

Indians to help administer their own country, that Bentinck approached the famous controversy which Macaulay's Education Minute decided. Macaulay was sent out in 1834 as the first Legal Member of Council under the new charter. He soon won the confidence and friendship of Bentinck. He drew up the Indian Penal Code, with lasting success. And he persuaded the Indian Government to adopt English instead of any oriental language as the medium of instruction in the scheme of State-aided higher education which Bentinck was pushing forward. The present position of India and the possibilities of its future have been deeply affected by this decision.

On the one hand the bringing up of orientals on an alien literature, largely devoted to the love of liberty in forms natural to an advanced Western democracy, has had many unhappy results. It has been said that 'we attempted to raise a race of administrators on the literature of revolt.' While another class of critic has pointed out that the contempt expressed in Macaulay's Minute for oriental learning was in large measure the result of ignorance and want of imaginative sympathy.

But it must be remembered on the other side that only the English language was capable of giving the races of India a common tongue for communication with each other and with the British. And it is arguable that, in spite of present dangers, the sense of Indian national unity which has resulted from this new *lingua franca*, may in the end subserve the political and administrative welfare of the peninsula. The revival of Indian science, philosophy and literature in our own day under such leaders as the Tagores is due in no small degree to their knowledge of the literature and science of Europe. The teaching of English has effected what we may, by historical analogy, call the 'renaissance' of Indian thought. And it is at least possible that although the decision of 1835 has hastened the peculiar troubles of India as we now know them, it has prevented the growth of the worse trouble that must eventually have arisen from a deliberate policy of segregating the British and the Indians in water-tight compartments of thought and knowledge, so far as Government was able to do so, and endeavouring to prevent the spread of Western science and literature in a country governed by a progressive Western power. Such an attempt would largely have failed. Many natives were determined to obtain the educational key to Western learning, both for its own sake and because it was also necessarily the

key to advancement in the Anglo-Indian world. Macaulay pointed out that already in 1835 'we are forced to pay our Arabic and Sanskrit students, while those who learn English are willing to pay us.' And Sir Charles Metcalfe in the same year, while foreseeing the unrest which Western learning would very likely cause in India, nevertheless declared 'It is our duty to extend knowledge whatever may be the result; and spread it would, even if we impeded it.'

Undoubtedly the new Anglo-Indian education partook too much of the literary as distinct from the practical, but in 1835 scientific education scarcely existed in England, and it could not therefore be improvised in India at that date. But the decision in favour of the English language rendered possible the subsequent development of scientific teaching, and had been asked for on that express ground by the far-seeing Indian reformer, Raja Ram Mohan Roy. It may have been an evil that 'the literature of revolt' was put so lavishly into the hands of Indians, but if the wrong text-books were chosen, that was a mistake in administration under Bentinck's successors, and was not implicit in the original decision that English should become the common language of educated India.

In 1838 the interlude of peace came to an end, and the north-westward expansion of British India was resumed, at first in circumstances disastrous and discreditable beyond any precedent in Anglo-Indian history. Lord Melbourne had, in an evil hour, appointed Lord Auckland as Bentinck's successor.

1835

By this time the sense that Russia would ere long be a dangerous neighbour was beginning to be felt in India, while in England the Whig Ministers, from among whom Auckland came, had grown more and more hostile to Russia. Palmerston as Foreign Secretary regarded Czar Nicholas, the oppressor of Poland, as the embodiment of encroaching military despotism, opposed both in principle and interest to the world-power of Britain. This Palmerstonian doctrine, which eventually led the Whigs round from the anti-Turkish sympathies of Fox and Grey to the policy of the Crimea, increased the growing uneasiness in India.

It would have been well indeed to provide against the ultimate arrival of Russia on the scene by preparing beforehand close and friendly relations with the warlike Afghan

tribes, who, wisely handled, were capable of making their widespread labyrinth of mountains the most impassable of 'buffer' States between two great Empires But Auckland determined to reduce Afghanistan to vassalage. He dethroned the able and popular Amir, Dost Mohammad, and attempted to rule the tribes through the agency of his rival, Shah Shuja. The policy at first met with apparent success, and for two years our troops occupied Kabul. Then the tribes rose on behalf of Dost Mohammad. The British forces, 15,000 strong including camp-followers, were destroyed in their retreat through the winter mountains. One survivor reached the fort at Jalalabad. This staggering defeat, followed as it necessarily was by the abandonment of the attempt to dethrone Dost Mohammad, shook our prestige and affected our relations with the Sikhs during the next half-dozen years, and with the Sepoys in the year of Mutiny.

1839–41

Jan 1842

The unsuccessful attack on Afghanistan was followed by the wars and annexations of Sinde and the Punjab, the two independent States of the river-plain then lying between the frontier of British India and the foot of the Afghan hills

The Whig Ministers, the authors of the unfortunate attempt to dethrone Dost Mohammad, fell in 1841, and Peel's new Government sent out as Governor-General the able and headstrong Lord Ellenborough. After a campaign had taken place to rescue the prisoners and restore the honours of our arms, Ellenborough was fully prepared to withdraw from his predecessor's impossible undertakings in Afghanistan. But he himself carried through an equally aggressive though less impolitic interference with Sinde, which had come under British influence as a basis of recent operations against the Afghans. General Sir Charles Napier conquered the Amirs of Sinde at the battle of Meeanee, and then as administrator gave the advantages of British rule to their country Its annexation he described in his Diary as 'a very advantageous, useful, humane piece of rascality.'

1843

The annexation of Sinde has often been stigmatised, with questionable justice, as the one case of unprovoked aggression in the expansion of British rule over India. No such bad eminence was attached to the conquest of the Punjab, which completed the subjugation of the river-lands of the north-west.

Sikh dominion over the Punjab rested on the military

qualities of the dominant sect. The Sikhs, who had but one caste, were a democratic religious brotherhood of what may, by analogy, be called 'Protestant' Hindoos. They were embittered against Islam by an ancient history of revolt against the persecuting Moghuls of Delhi. For many years past the Sikhs had been guarding the gates of India, preventing the debouchment on to the plains of Mohammedan hill tribes, or of invaders from Central Asia. For the last half-century the barbaric craft and valour of Ranjit Singh had given unity to the Sikh State. He had had the wisdom to keep friends with the British, and the strength to hold in awe his turbulent vassals and legionaries. He had even joined with us for objects of his own in the Afghan adventure His death in 1839, like the death of Oliver Cromwell, let loose an anarchy of fanatical regimental officers, intriguing against each other in rival committees. The great military machine, that only Ranjit had had the power to keep idle, began—

> 'To eat into itself for lack
> Of somebody to hew and hack'

To save the tottering State, Ranjit's widow launched the army across the Sutlej to meet the British, and slay or else be slain.

The two Sikh wars that followed were characterised by more severe fighting than any that the British and sepoys had formerly had to face. The European arms and training that Ranjit Singh had given to his stubborn religionists enabled them to contend on nearly equal terms with the Queen's and the Company's regiments. But once General Gough had broken the army, the Punjab was subdued with ease.[1]

1845-6
1848-9

The Sikhs had begun the second war in revolt against a generous settlement granted them after their first reduction. They were punished by the annexation of the Punjab, decreed by Lord Dalhousie, who was just beginning his great period of office as Governor-General. The rule of the brothers Henry and John Lawrence in the Punjab prepared the loyalty of the Sikh nation against the unexpected trial of the Mutiny year, and created a tradition which went far to cancel any recent symptoms of weakness or violence in the British Raj.

1849

1849–56 The Governor-Generalship of Lord Dalhousie saw the

[1] The chief battles were—Moodkee, Firozshah, Sobraon, Dec 1845 to Feb 1846, and Chillianwallah and Goojerat in Jan and Feb 1849

completion of the internal and external framework of British India. The second Burmese war resulted in the annexation of Rangoon and the mouths of the Irrawady, where the new government became so popular that in the year of Mutiny it was safe to strip Burma of British troops. 1852

Progress and Reform were the watchword of the hour in the British Eastern possessions. It was characteristic that in 1853 the Indian Government accepted wholesale Macaulay's proposals for the throwing open of the Indian Civil Service to free competition, thereby sacrificing the kind of patronage which British statesmen would not surrender as regards the Home Civil Service, save grudgingly and by stages during the next seventeen years.

Dalhousie, bold in his reforming zeal, disturbed the deep conservatism of the native mind. Railways and telegraphs, with which he covered India, were a terrible and suspected magic. But if they helped to cause the Mutiny they more certainly helped to quell it: the mutineers called the telegraph wire 'the string that strangled us.' Then again the evangelising zeal of some of the best Englishmen in India, lay as well as clerical, helped to alienate the Brahmans. Western influence was making itself increasingly felt in many different ways, and could not fail to cause alarm and reaction.

In taking thought for the welfare of the subjects of Native States, Dalhousie favoured a policy of gradual annexation. He laid down the rule that, in the case of a prince dying without natural heirs, his sovereign rights should 'lapse' to the paramount power, so that the British Government could, for reasons of public policy, annex the State if it so wished, instead of allowing an adopted heir to succeed. In accordance with this 'doctrine of lapse,' as it was called, several Native States were added to the Company's territories, while Oudh was annexed simply on account of gross maladministration. It followed that Oudh, in the Upper Ganges valley, became the centre of Indian discontent. The mutiny, when it came, was localised round that region and confined to the Bengal army. Dalhousie's policy, strong and just if somewhat over-eager, had ensured the respect and loyalty of the great Native States of the centre and south, as well as of the sepoy armies of Bombay and Madras. And, thanks to Dalhousie and the Lawrences, the newly acquired North-Western frontier, where trouble might most naturally be expected from the lately

conquered Sikhs and the lately victorious Afghans,[1] became in the hour of need the chief source of strength and safety.

Dost Mohammad, whom we had so foolishly and vainly tried to keep off the throne of Afghanistan, had not unnaturally been our enemy during the Sikh wars. But in 1855 Dalhousie and John Lawrence made a treaty of friendship with him, and next year Dalhousie's successor, Lord Canning, protected him from attack by the Persians, who had been stirred up by Russia to occupy Herat in Western Afghanistan. 1856-57 Canning sent an expedition to the Persian coast, captured Bushire and caused the evacuation of Herat. Grateful for this relief, Dost Mohammad, during the Mutiny in the ensuing summer, kept Afghanistan friendly for Britain, a fact of supreme importance.

Meanwhile, the Sikhs of the Punjab received at the hands of John and Henry Lawrence the kind of government that speedily reconciled them to British rule. The brothers, differing on a question of policy, agreed to send in their resignations on the same day, for Dalhousie's decision. He decided to leave John as sole Commissioner for the Punjab, and removed Henry, who when the Mutiny broke out was found at the storm centre of Lucknow as Chief Commissioner for Oudh. His predecessor there had been tactless, but owing to his better management the local magnates of Oudh did not throw in their lot with the military mutiny at the outset, when such a junction might have had terrible results.

The Mutiny, as its historic name implies, was a rising of soldiers, not a revolt of civilians. Nevertheless, there were social, racial and political causes for the soldiers' discontent. It was felt all over India that change and Westernisation were being pushed on too fast, but the feeling was strongest in recently annexed Oudh. The Bengal army was largely recruited in that region from among high-caste Brahmans and Rajputs, peculiarly sensitive to grievances, both general and personal.

In 1856 a new enactment that all sepoys who enlisted in future must be prepared to cross the sea if required, had aroused among them fresh fears of outrage on caste. At the same time the belief that the cartridges for the new Enfield rifle were being greased with the fat of the sacred cow and the abhorred pig, united Hindoo and Mohammedan sepoys

[1] Pp. 317-318, above

against us. Since the rumour was based on fact, due to an unfortunate oversight, the situation was scarcely improved by Government denial, though made in good faith. All Eastern armies are liable to become overbearing in peace time after a long course of conquest, and the Bengal army felt themselves to be the lords of India. Above all, in spite of Dalhousie's protests, the proportion of British to Indian troops in the peninsula was still as one to five, and most of the artillery was in the hands of sepoys.

May 10, 1857

The Mutiny of the Bengal army began at Meerut. Its immediate occasion was a display of unwise severity by incompetent officers, who did not know how to quell the storm they had raised. Some of the mutineers made straight for Delhi, where there was not a single British regiment. Delhi fell into the hands of the movement, Lucknow all except the Residency, and Cawnpore after three weeks of gallant defence. It was in this Upper Ganges region that the issue was fought out and won during the summer of 1857, by the little band of British then actually in India, and by the Indian troops faithful to their cause. Their boast that 'alone we did it' is substantially true, though there were many months of severe fighting after the arrival of reinforcements from England.

The old King of Delhi was dragged into the limelight and proclaimed Moghul Emperor by the mutineers, an act which gave a Mohammedan complexion to the movement in that region. It did not at once break up the union of Mussulman and Hindoo, on which the hopes of the Mutiny rested, but the news of it in the Punjab had the effect of throwing the wavering Sikhs heartily on to our side. They had no wish to see their old Mohammedan oppressors once more lording it over India, and were prepared to march to the storm of the Moghul capital.

Thenceforward the newly conquered Punjab instead of being a danger became the base whence Delhi was reconquered. Nothing was to be feared from the Afghans under Dost Mohammad, and John Lawrence found himself free to send the already almost mythical Nicholson and his column to aid the little army that was clinging to the Ridge outside Delhi. Again and again the defenders of the Ridge had beaten back the assault of overwhelming numbers of mutineers issuing from the city gates. The arrival of Nicholson's small reinforcements with siege guns emboldened them to attack

and capture the city with its myriads of armed fanatics. This amazing adventure began on September 14 with the blowing in of the Kashmir gate, and after six days' street fighting, in the course of which Nicholson was killed, Delhi remained in the hands of the British. It was the decisive moment of the Mutiny.

At Lucknow early in July Sir Henry Lawrence had been killed by a shell, but his work and influence survived to inspire the defence of the Residency, which he had organised and begun. In September, a few days after the capture of Delhi, Havelock and Neill, who had already reconquered Cawnpore and had now been joined by Outram, effected the first relief or rather reinforcement of Lucknow, fighting their way through the town into the Residency.

As yet no soldier had landed from England, but in November the troops from England under Sir Colin Campbell again relieved the Lucknow Residency after desperate street fighting, and enabled the garrison to evacuate that glorious ruin in safety. In March 1858 the city of Lucknow was finally captured by Sir Colin. The end was now in sight, but an unfortunate proclamation by the Governor-General threatening to forfeit lands in Oudh, threw the local magnates at length on to the side of rebellion, too late to affect the issue, but with the result of prolonging the strife.

Meanwhile, in the early months of 1858 Sir Hugh Rose, by his brilliant campaign crowned by the victory of Gwalior, stamped out the flame in Central India before it was able to spread to the South. If we had failed at Lucknow and Delhi it might have been different, but in fact Western, Eastern and Southern India remained loyal—all Sinde, Punjab and Assam; most of Bengal; all Madras and Bombay; Rajputana under the guidance of George, the third of the Lawrence brothers; the Native States of Mysore and Hyderabad, and the Maratha princes. Dalhousie's 'doctrine of lapse' was abandoned after the Mutiny, and the Native States were thenceforth regarded as essential buttresses of the structure of British India.

It had been a mutiny of part of the sepoy army, not a racial rebellion. This makes it the more regrettable that the struggle had been so ferocious as to leave bitter memories. It was difficult to restore the sense of 'glad confident morning again,' in the relations of Englishmen and Indians. Nana Sahib, once the pet of London drawing-rooms, had, in

circumstances of treachery almost as horrid as the cruelty itself, massacred the white women and children at Cawnpore. His crime had the effect he intended of giving to the conflict something of the nature of a war of colour. There were reprisals, though only against men. And a limit was set to revenge by the wisdom of 'clemency Canning.' Though heartily supported by John Lawrence, his humane policy lost the Governor-General much popularity with his enraged countrymen.

The Mutiny was followed by a long period of material improvement and quiet paternal government, with few wars or striking events of any sort. After this tranquillity has come our own era of change. The demand of Indians for self-government is the result in general of the world forces which are stirring the somnolent East, and in particular of the unifying and educating work of the British in India. The difficulties of the present era of transition have been enhanced by that streak of blood, and of suspicion sprung from blood, long running underground, which can be tracked to its source in the year of the Mutiny.

Some formal changes were made in 1858. The old East India Company rule, long obsolete in fact, was abolished in name The Governor-General became the Queen's Viceroy. But in spite of their proud new title, the successors of Wellesley and Dalhousie found the sphere of independent action reduced by the telegraph wire and the steamship. The government became more and more a dual consulship of the Indian Secretary in London and the Viceroy at Calcutta. Indeed improved communications have altered the conditions of life for all Anglo-Indians. They have been enabled to enjoy closer and more frequent connections with the homeland, and to become more and more self-sufficient as a white society, a change that has meant both gain and loss.

John Lawrence, Viceroy from 1864–9, remodelled the Indian Army. The Queen's and the former Company's troops were amalgamated. In accordance with the lessons of the Mutiny the artillery were made wholly European, and the proportion of European to Indian troops was fixed at not less than one to two. In 1868 the new Indian Army was employed oversea in Africa in the almost bloodless occupation of the capital of Abyssinia by Lord Napier of Magdala, owing to our quarrel with King Theodore. We have never since had

a serious dispute with the Abyssinian State, a fact of some importance after we became its neighbours in the Sudan

In 1876 Disraeli's policy procured for the Queen the title of Empress of India.

## CHAPTER XXI

The last days of Whig-Liberalism—'The Triumvirate' helps Cavour to free Italy—Cobden's Commercial Treaty with France—The American Civil War—Canadian Federation—Denmark—Death of Palmerston, 1865

IN 1857 Palmerston as Prime Minister fought and won another battle against the collective wisdom of Parliament, in his old 'Don Pacifico' style of seven years before.[1] In dealing with China over the affair of the *Arrow* he abused the strength of Britain and brought on a war originating from an unworthy quarrel. So thought not only Cobden, but the Peelites, Lord John Russell, and Disraeli's Conservative party, who all combined to defeat him in the House. He appealed to the electorate, and came back victorious, having extinguished at the polls the weakest of the parties allied against him, the 'Manchester School.' The defeat of Cobden and Bright in the house of their friends, in those northern constituencies where they had for so many years been personally identified with the self-consciousness of the industrial community, was due as much to their former opposition to the Crimean War as to the Chinese question of the hour.

Feb 1857

But their long battle with Palmerston, the most profound political antagonism of that easy-going period, resembled the alternate rise and fall of Punch and the Policeman, in rapid exchange of knock-out blows, each less fatal than appears at the moment to the applauding spectators. Hardly had the men of peace crept back at by-elections into the arena whence they had been expelled by Palmerston's 'Chinese' dissolution, before we find them again heading the alliance of his enemies, and again defeating his government, this time in a manner fatal to its continuance The combination of parties—Tories, Peelites, Russellite Whigs and Manchester schoolmen—was the same as that which had beaten Palmerston on Cobden's Chinese motion a year before. But this time he could not hope

[1] P 297, above.

to appeal from the House to the nationalist passions of the electorate, because the motion of Bright and his friend Gibson charged Palmerston with neglect of his country's honour. The complaint was that his Foreign Secretary had left unanswered the rather insolent dispatch of Napoleon III's Minister, on the subject of the Orsini bomb outrage which had been plotted by refugees in England. On this question Palmerston had the country against him, as on the occasion of his former complaisance to Napoleon over the *coup d'état*. Feb 1858

Another brief interlude of Conservative government under Derby and Disraeli ensued on Palmerston's fall. But after the General Election of 1859 the Conservatives found themselves still in a minority, and were replaced by a Cabinet of Whig-Liberal reunion under Palmerston, Russell and Gladstone. The kaleidoscope of sections and parties remained fixed in this new formation for the next half-dozen years. The government of the 'Triumvirate,' as it was called, after the three leaders whose co-operation was the condition of its survival, dealt with the Italian crisis on liberal principles, and with the American Civil War and the Danish question on no principles at all. In home affairs its motto was to let sleeping dogs lie. 1859-65

Palmerston's last Ministry was in fact the final phase of the old Whig-Liberalism which the first Reform Bill had brought into power, the alliance of the 'ten-pound voter' with the great Whig families. The reforms which that combination was capable of inspiring had been carried, and its motive force was spent. Palmerston, tamed by age and by repeated proof that he could not flout all his colleagues all the time, submitted with a good grace to share power with Russell as his Foreign Minister. The days of his dictatorship were over. But he yielded points less willingly to Gladstone, whom he felt to be his own antithesis both in policy and in character. Gladstone, now again Chancellor of the Exchequer, had, in middle age, become the rising hope of the younger Liberals and of the forces of the unenfranchised who, under John Bright, were already beginning to batter at the gates. But all those folk would have to wait till Palmerston died; after him the deluge would come, dreaded by fashionable Whig and Tory society under the name of 'American democracy.'

The question on which the Triumvirate worked most in

harmony was the Italian. They took office in the middle of 1859 the summer campaign of Magenta and Solferino, when Napoleon, in alliance with the Piedmont of Victor Emmanuel and Cavour, was driving the Austrians out of the Milanese plain into the Venetian quadrilateral The outgoing Derby government, inimical to the Italian cause as a disturber of peace, had felt no emotion to counteract the distrust that it shared with all Englishmen of Napoleon's bid for European supremacy. On the other hand, the incoming Liberal Cabinet was dominated by three men who were all of them enthusiasts for Italy, though each was in a different degree fearful of French aggression.

The change at Downing Street came at the very moment when English help could be most useful to the Italian cause, namely, at the moment when France and Italy were beginning to quarrel. In July 1859, a month after the new British Ministry had come into power, Napoleon made peace with the Austrians at Villafranca, giving liberated Milan to Piedmont, but ascribing the rest of Italy to its reactionary rulers, foreign and native. Napoleon himself would have liked to do better for Italy, but he dared not shed more French blood for a cause which his Clerical supporters at home detested, particularly as France was being threatened by the Prussian armies on the Rhine. Moreover, even if he could have had his own way, he would not have wished to see Italy united and strong, for then she would become independent of France. He aimed at a confederation of small, self-governing Italian States, presided over by a Liberal Pope and looking to France for protection. But there was no longer a Liberal Pope, the Italians had other aspirations, and the Napoleonic vision was not to be realised. Either Italy must be united, strong and independent, or else remain the slave of Austria and of native reaction.

Just when the limitations of Napoleon's policy were becoming apparent, at the end of his half-successful Lombard campaign, the new British Government appeared on the scene, to run up the bidding for Italy, and eventually to compel France to acquiesce in the unity of the whole Peninsula.

Throughout 1860 every great Power on the Continent, including France, was hostile to Italian unity But France was so far in favour of Italian freedom and Piedmont, that she would not willingly see the work of her 1859 campaign undone

by an Austrian re-conquest, diplomatically backed by Prussia and Russia. In this state of things, England, by her clear declaration that the Italians should be allowed to settle their own affairs, was able to keep the ring for Cavour and Garibaldi to work out at the chosen moment the unity as well as the freedom of Italy.

England's part in the creation of the Italian kingdom in 1859–60 was the most important and well-deserved success of British diplomacy between the Belgian settlement of Grey and Palmerston, and the close of the Victorian era. In many of the other great questions that we touched—The American Civil War, Denmark, Turkey—our statesmen displayed a lamentable ignorance of the forces with which they were dealing, and produced no lasting settlement of which England has reason to be proud. Only our Italian policy of 1859–60 was based on a real understanding of the people and of the facts. Therefore it succeeded, and helped to raise up a new national power, which for more than half a century remained England's friend, partly from memory of the transactions of that crisis, partly from political affinity and common interests.

Of the Triumvirate, Palmerston knew least about the Italian question, though he hated Italy's despots. Gladstone, while still a Conservative, had in 1851 studied on the spot the Neapolitan prisons and 'Bomba's' judicial system, and had been converted to the Italian cause by what he had then seen. Russell had lived for years in domestic intimacy with the Italian exiles in England. Through these foreign friends, and through Sir James Hudson, our Minister at Turin, he was kept in close touch with the successive phases of Cavour's labyrinthine policy. Hudson, through his personal friendship with Russell, was able to make British policy in Italy move fast enough to keep pace with the rapidity of events in a year of revolution.

First Hudson persuaded Lord John to accept the accomplished fact of the cession of Nice and Savoy to France, as being the necessary prepayment made by Cavour to Napoleon for permission to liberate any further portions of Italy. If Hudson had not made the real bearings of the question clear to Russell, the fury of Palmerston and of England in general at this transaction would very probably have involved us in a war with France, which would have been fatal to Italy and beneficial only to the Eastern despotisms.

April 1860

May–June 1860

In the summer, Garibaldi liberated Sicily by his adventure of the Thousand. The enthusiasm with which it was hailed in England was such as perhaps no other foreigner's enterprise has ever aroused in our island. Helped by the popular feeling for Garibaldi, Hudson persuaded Lord John, and through him the Cabinet, that the hour had struck for the complete unity of all Italians in one State—a solution to which Palmerston, Gladstone, Russell and Hudson himself had been averse until Garibaldi took Palermo. That event made a willing convert of England. But France, as well as Russia, Prussia and Austria, still continued hostile to Italian unity. In giving effect to this change of British policy, Hudson persuaded Russell not to become a party to Napoleon's design of sending the British and French fleets to Messina, to stop Garibaldi from crossing from Sicily to the Neapolitan mainland. Such action to check Garibaldi's further progress would have been in accordance with the policy which Cavour was constrained by France and Austria to announce in public, but contrary to Cavour's secret wishes, as Hudson well knew. Any Minister but Russell, nay, Russell himself with different coaching, might have stopped Garibaldi at the Straits, and that might well have been fatal to Italian unity.

There went so many miracles to make Italy—the miracle-men, Mazzini, Garibaldi, Cavour, the right king on the right throne, the thousand wonderful chances of battle and debate—that we sometimes overlook a miracle in that age second to none, that in 1860 a British Foreign Minister thoroughly understood, by years of previous study and from the best sources of daily information, the main question with which he was called upon to deal.

Palmerston's admiration of the French Emperor did not survive the affair of Nice and Savoy, in which he saw the beginning of another era of Napoleonic aggrandisement His formidable temper was at length stirred up against the man on whose behalf he had twice in years gone by suffered political ostracism. In the year 1859–60 the feeling against France ran high, led by *The Times* newspaper, and we came very near to war. If the Government had been a Palmerstonian dictatorship as in 1856, war would perhaps have broken out Fortunately Russell was better versed in the realities of the situation, and Gladstone, the Chancellor of the Exchequer,

came out as a belligerent champion of peace and economy, of a calibre to stand up even against Palmerston himself.

It ended in a victory for peace. Cobden, encouraged by Gladstone, went over to Paris on his own account, and with his marvellous persuasiveness began negotiations with Napoleon in person, which ended in a Commercial Treaty between France and England, the free-trade advantages of which bore down the clamour for war in our island. Beyond the Channel, where Protectionism was dominant, Napoleon's free-trade policy was a proof of his earnest desire to keep the peace with our country, even at the cost of unpopularity with his own subjects. At an ugly crisis peace had been preserved by what Mr. Gladstone called 'a great European operation' The credit was due in France to an 'enlightened despotism,' in England to the more democratic elements of opinion led by Gladstone from the Treasury bench, in alliance with Cobden and Bright.

1860

It was in the sweat and agony of that contest to avert war that Gladstone's friendship with Bright began, destined to bear notable fruit after Palmerston's death. The positive prizes they had secured in place of war—Cobden's Commercial Treaty and Gladstone's budgets of 1860–1, including the repeal of the Paper Duties[1]—are remembered as trophies of Palmerston's premiership, though certainly not of his policy.

A lasting benefit remained over to England from the war panic, in the shape of the Volunteer movement. This embodiment of the ideals and policy of Victorian England has grown in our own day into the Territorial Force, and has proved its value on the fields of France, though not, in the actual event, in conflict with Frenchmen. The song which Tennyson, as Poet Laureate, wrote for the original Volunteers of 1859, 'Form, form, Riflemen, form,' is a denunciation of Napoleon III:

> 'True we have got—*such* a faithful ally
> That only the devil can tell what he means'

To us Englishmen he meant better than Tennyson knew.

In 1863 Palmerston consented to a most generous act of

[1] In 1860 the Lords had rejected Gladstone's repeal of the Paper Duty, aimed at giving people cheap books and journals, Palmerston secretly applauding the rejection Gladstone next year put all his financial proposals together into one budget which the Lords could not amend and dared not reject This action first marked him out as the future Radical leader Much of the credit for the initiation of 'Cobden's Treaty' lies with Chevalier on the French side (see *Nineteenth Century*, Nov 22, A L Dunham)

foreign policy. The Ionian islands off the coast of Greece, in our hands since the treaties of 1815, were given to Greece at the desire of their inhabitants. It was done on the advice of Gladstone, who had been sent to study the question as Commissioner a few years before. Hellenic sympathies and Liberal principles were the motives of an action which has few analogies in history.

Scarcely had we escaped the danger of a meaningless war with France when a yet darker fate threatened us, the danger of becoming involved in the American Civil War on the side of the Southern slave-owners. Our escape from that entanglement, and the final victory of the North, followed immediately by Palmerston's death, opened out the way for the enfranchisement of the working classes and the recognition of democracy as the governing force in Great Britain.

1861-5

The issue in America arose from the demand of the Southern slave-owning States to dominate the politics of the whole Union, as the only means by which the ultimate extinction of slavery could be avoided. Slavery was indeed in no immediate danger of suppression. The abolitionist agitation had not converted the North, but it had maddened the slave-owners of the South, and driven them into a course of action which proved their undoing. For years they dictated to their fellow-citizens of the North, and bullied the whole Union. The Northerners, immersed in business, were more interested in developing the resources of the country than in conducting its politics, while the Southern gentlemen left the slave-driving to overseers, and interested themselves in affairs of State. But at last the apparently inexhaustible patience of the North gave out, and the choice of Lincoln as President-elect signified that a stand would be made.

Nov 1860

It was no part of Lincoln's Presidential programme to abolish slavery in the existing slave States, but he would no longer permit them to control the policy of the Federal Government, or to force their 'peculiar institution' on new States forming in the West. Their answer was to secede from the Union under Jefferson Davis as President of a new Confederacy. The North, under firm guidance from the new President, denied their right to secede, and waged war to bring them back into the national fold.

April 1861

Thus the origin of the quarrel was freedom against slavery,

but its final form was Union against Secession. The two issues had become identified. Either the Union would emerge one of the most powerful States in the world, and a democracy in every sense; or else a new world-power would come into being based on slavery as an ideal, while democracy, not yet established in Europe, would have proved itself, on its own soil, incapable of preserving great political units from disruption.

In England the upper ranks of society sympathised generally with the South, and the lower with the North. Since, however, the Northern sympathisers had no votes, the Southern sympathisers were vocal and important out of proportion to their numbers. Journalists and statesmen were not then obliged to appeal to working-class opinion, and they made England appear more 'Southern' than she really was.

The reason of this social cleavage on the American question was twofold. In the first place the poorer classes had then many relations in the Northern United States who often wrote home to say what a fine land they had found; for a generation past there had been a great flood of emigrants in that direction as well as to our own Colonies. America was therefore better understood in the cottage than in the mansion. For the upper and political classes had not then contracted the habit of intermarriage with Americans, which has in more recent times helped to change their attitude to the Republic. So little was America known to the readers of *The Times*, that when the great newspaper declared pontifically that Yankees were cowards and that slavery was not an issue in the struggle, Belgravia and its dependencies believed what they read. Such ignorance about the affairs of a great English-speaking community was in striking contrast with the close knowledge of Italy displayed in the same quarters. If Mr. Gladstone had watched a slave-auction in the South, as he had watched the Neapolitan political trials, he would not have said that Jeff Davis had 'made a nation'; and if Lord John had known Boston society as well as he knew the Italian exiles, he would have taken yet a little more trouble than he did to prevent the sailing of the *Alabama*.

The second reason for the cleavage of British opinion on the Civil War was that one section was dreading and the other eagerly expecting the advent of 'American democracy' in England by a further extension of the franchise. It is indeed remarkable that Gladstone, who was destined to be the chief

beneficiary of the next Reform Bill, espoused the Southern cause. But in the main English Reformers sided with the industrial and democratic North, and the anti-Reformers, Whig and Tory, with the gentlemen of the Southern Confederacy.

John Bright put himself at the head of the democratic elements favouring the North. In these four years of the American Civil War, and the two years of the British Reform struggle that followed, the real battle of his life was fought and won. During the Corn Law controversy he had only been Cobden's lieutenant. In opposing the Crimea he had only been one of two, though his eloquence, the reflection of deep moral qualities, had then begun to give him a place apart in men's minds, in spite of the unpopularity of his views. But from 1859 onwards, without dividing himself from Cobden, he had struck out a policy of his own on franchise reform in which Cobden, always sceptical as to the intelligence of the working class, refused to take a share. Cobden continued to believe in the future of upper middle-class Liberalism, at a time when the upper middle-classes were becoming Conservative. And, therefore, when he died in 1865, he was no longer in the commanding position of leadership that he had occupied twenty years before.

Bright on the other hand was uniting the lower middle-class and working-classes in a new radical party, more formidable, because less alarming to property, than the old Chartism with its purely working-class standpoint. In the 'sixties Bright was the political leader of the town artisans, not on a ' class-conscious ' basis, but as a part of the nation claiming their rights as such. The ' class-consciousness ' seemed rather to be chargeable against the aristocracy and wealthier bourgeoisie who denied political power to the majority of their fellow-citizens. ' If a class has failed,' said Bright, ' let us try the nation.' Trade-Unionism, engaged in securing better wages and conditions, and mellowed by the general prosperity of the country, had forgotten its socialistic ambitions of the Owenite period, and encouraged its members to fall in under Bright's banner to fight for Parliamentary Reform, alongside of the radical portion of the ' collared classes.' The Protestant Christianity and Bible knowledge of the vast audiences whom Bright addressed, put them in sympathy with the form and spirit of the Quaker's moral appeal, as also with a part at least of Gladstone's idealism. If Bright was a demagogue, he knew

*none of the* baser arts of the trade, and his singleness *of* mind stood him in good stead with that generation of men.

The issue was greatly influenced from overseas. The Colonies had just been granted self-government without any limitation of the suffrage—a powerful argument against the restriction of the franchise at home. And now the principle of democracy as a practical form of government was undergoing ordeal by battle in the United States.

The Civil War was a question in every way suited to John Bright. He knew much more about America than did the Foreign Office or the Cabinet. The question of slavery stirred the deeps of his compassion and put him in touch with what was best and most powerful in the England of that day. He had the sense to 'swallow his formulas' of pacificism for the occasion. For three years he lived in daily dread lest bloodshed so unexampled should induce the North to make terms with slavery and end the war before it had completed its work. He saw no less clearly that if the great experiment of the North American Republic broke up in disaster, democracy would be discredited all the world over as having been tried and found wanting. These things he and William Edward Forster and a few others taught to the people of England.

Although there was a strong Southern party in Great Britain there were no partisans of slavery. The Southern sympathisers tried to ignore the slavery issue, but it emerged and beat them in the end. Conservatives regarded the planters of Georgia and Carolina as 'Cavaliers' and high-spirited gentlemen oppressed by a set of low-bred Yankee tradesmen and farmers. A section of Liberals, headed by Gladstone, thought they saw a brotherhood of small States rightly struggling to be free against a tyrannous empire. And many reasonable men of all parties, though disliking slavery and the slave-owners, believed after the initial Northern defeat of Bull Run that the North could never conquer the South; and that even if, contrary to all form of likelihood, it was ever able to overrun the South with its armies, it could never remake the nation by force, any more than George III could, by destroying Washington's army, have remade the Empire which he had alienated. Indeed in 1861 it needed faith to believe in any such possibility.

These views, not unnatural among people singularly ignorant of America and the Americans, were confirmed by the

policy which Lincoln at first thought it necessary to pursue. For a year and a half he refused to declare the emancipation of the slaves, and represented the war as being fought on the issue not of slavery, but of union. These declarations, which were only half the truth, deceived no one in America, but deceived many in England. They were made to conciliate those border States still faithful or divided in allegiance, where slavery existed, though under different conditions from down South. But when at length in October 1862 Lincoln proclaimed the freedom of the slaves in the rebel States, he dealt a very serious blow to English sympathies with the South. From that time forward our Southern party, forced against its will into the position of a pro-slavery party, declined every month in power.

If it had not been for the avowed Southern sympathy of politicians and journalists, the official acts of the British Government need not have given very grave cause of offence to the North. The worst offender in the Ministry was Gladstone, who, unaccustomed to do anything by halves, gave vent to his enthusiasm for the new Southern 'nation' in a public speech at Newcastle in 1862. Palmerston knew better how to restrain himself in utterance, and Gladstone's indiscretions made him by antagonism more discreet. But at heart he was less friendly to Americans as such, and felt for their republic an old-world jealousy and dislike which he had inherited from his master Canning. Russell, who as Foreign Minister was the most important of the three, was the most friendly to America, and did his best to be correct, though he failed to understand the issues of the war.[1]

At the outset, Russell had angered the North by a proclamation of neutrality which accorded to the rebels the privileges of combatants; but the North itself in practice granted these privileges while denying them in theory. Russell enraged the South no less by refusing to recognise their government, and by abstaining from the intervention which was the ultimate hope of the slave-owning confederacy. If Europe never intervened, all the heroism of General Lee's armies could not ultimately hold out against superior numbers and resources, provided the North remained united and in stubborn earnest.

[1] It is noticeable that the able contemporary essays in which Lord Robert Cecil, the future Lord Salisbury, attacked Russell's mismanagement of the Danish and Brazilian questions, also attacked him for his friendliness to Lincoln's government during the Civil War

Christmas 1861 was the moment of greatest danger in the relations of America and Britain. Jefferson Davis had sent over two men, Mason and Slidell, to stir up England and France to interfere on the Southern side. Mason, who was coming to our country to match himself against the grave astuteness of the American Minister, Charles Francis Adams, proved so unfitted for his task that Lincoln would have done well to have given him a convoy across the Atlantic. But unfortunately an over-zealous Federal captain took Mason and Slidell off the British ship *Trent* and carried them prisoners into a Northern port. It was an outrage on our flag which could not rightfully be defended. But the Northerners were so sore at the British attitude, and the insolence of the Press on both sides was so great, that it required considerable moral courage for Lincoln to release the men, and it was some time before he decided to do it. Luckily Russell at the Foreign Office desired with his whole heart that peace should be preserved. Under the steadying influence of Prince Albert who, from his death-bed, painfully exerted his last energies to have the wording of our dispatches on the subject modified, our demands were so framed that America was able to give way without loss of self-respect.

Apart from this accidental crisis, the question of interference, from beginning to end of the war, arose out of the blockade. In curious reversal of the old quarrels of Napoleonic times, we stood for those troublesome rights of neutrals, and America for the detested right of search. The North blockaded the Southern ports, to starve the slave-owners out by preventing them from selling their one great export, cotton. The Lancashire mills had then no other source whence to obtain raw cotton, either in the Empire or in foreign countries. That section of the British upper class which desired for political reasons to engineer a war to destroy the Union, was able to show to the unemployed men and women of Lancashire that only the breaking of the blockade could give immediate relief to their distress. But the appeal was made in vain to a population that had learnt to think for itself. Lancashire tightened its belt and suffered willingly for the cause of freedom. New sources of cotton supply were hastily organised in India and elsewhere, and before the end of the war the worst of the crisis was over, and the monopoly of American cotton had been broken.

Napoleon III had reasons of his own for desiring the

victory of the South. He designed to set up a French protectorate in Mexico and Central America, and that could never be done in face of the Monroe Doctrine backed by the full force of the Union. Being therefore not unwilling to see the Union destroyed, he would have liked to draw England into a policy of joint intervention. But Palmerston, though he loved America little, loved Napoleon less, and desired, no more than Canning, to see a restoration of the transatlantic power of France. After the Northern success at Gettysburg in the summer of 1863, the question of interference receded into the background as the Southern prospects grew less roseate. The final surrender of Lee's army to Grant and the moving accident of Lincoln's assassination in the hour of victory, converted English statesmen and journalists once and for all.

April 1865

The Civil War had left over a legacy of indignation against England in just those sections of American opinion where we were accustomed to find our best friends. The North had always been more friendly to us than the South, but we had forfeited Northern sympathy. Yet we had not made ourselves any better liked in the South, which ascribed its ruin to our half-hearted backing. Prior to 1861, the relations of Britain and America had been moving steadily towards an understanding, as Britain became more democratic and America less isolated. The animosity aroused by the Civil War, coming on the top of the great immigration from Ireland, checked this fortunate process, but could not wholly reverse it.

In particular, the Civil War left the inheritance of the *Alabama* claims. In July 1862, by a grievous and bitterly repented error of negligence on the part of Russell, a disguised privateer had been allowed to escape from Liverpool docks. Once at sea, she had hoisted the Southern colours, and began her long and destructive warfare on the commerce of the United States. Large compensation was undoubtedly due for definite losses inflicted on American property. Unfortunately, the truculence of the Northern mood after the victory was won, and resentment against the recent British attitude, took the form of grossly exaggerated demands, including hundreds of millions for 'indirect claims,' on the abstract ground that the *Alabama* and her consorts had prolonged the war by two years. Bright denied that they had prolonged the war by a day. The question dragged on for a decade, causing grave ill-feeling on both sides. It was finally handled by Gladstone as Prime Minister with a

moral courage in the cause of peace and justice which went far to compensate for the 'mistake of incredible grossness' that he confessed he had made in his Newcastle speech of 1862. The just settlement of the *Alabama* question in 1872 before the Geneva tribunal, which rejected the 'indirect claims' and assessed the others at fifteen million dollars, was one of the landmarks in the history of international arbitration, and put an end to a period of strained relations between the two parts of the English-speaking world.

Five years before the *Alabama* settlement, the creation of the Dominion of Canada by the statesmanship of the Canadian, Sir John Macdonald, had brought into being a 'United States' of British North America [1] This stage in Imperial evolution had been hastened by the dangers arising from the less friendly attitude of the Republic after the war The Federation of the Canadian Provinces defined and stabilised their relations with their southern neighbour, in spite of the novel difficulties of the Fenian movement on the border There was no longer serious question of Canada joining the United States. Under the new constitution, the Dominion included all the provinces (except Newfoundland) of the Pacific and Atlantic seaboards, together with Upper and Lower Canada, once more distinct units, but now linked in the common federation The constitution, being federal, resembled that of the United States, but it left more power to the central government.

1867

In the following twenty years Macdonald's great project of the Canadian Pacific Railway materialised, in spite of many difficulties, including those encountered by the engineers in driving a permanent way through the Rocky Mountains. The faith of a group of men, of whom Donald Smith, Lord Strathcona, was the foremost, carried this laborious achievement through to completion in 1885. The great railway and its branches gave reality to federation, and enabled the economic life of Canada to run westward and northward on its own territory, instead of only southwards across the border. The provinces on the two oceans were thereby united in fact as well as in law, and the great resources of the centre and north were opened out.

Connection by railway was a condition of political unity alike in Canada, South Africa and Australia. The chief

[1] See p 263, above, and Maps pp 57 and 179

Australian railways, built by the socialistically inclined governments of the various colonies, often at a temporary loss, put an end to provincial isolation, and eventually led to the union of all the Australian Colonies in the Confederation of 1901 [1]; the form of their union is indeed somewhat less close than that which has bound together the different provinces of Canada since 1867. The economic unity of South Africa had been made by the railways,[2] before the Union of 1910 became possible. This union, unlike the Australian, bound the component Colonies of South Africa even closer than the Canadian Federation. In Canada alone political union had preceded the construction of the greater railways, because of the urgency of showing a united front in relation to the neighbour Republic. But the completion of the railway system over the Rockies was essential to the reality and permanence of the new political structure.

Thus in the 'seventies and 'eighties the relationship between Britain, Canada and the United States took on its modern features, which have since undergone development rather than change.

In 1863–4, while the American Civil War was still raging, the Danish fiasco had marked the end of Palmerstonianism in our dealings with Europe, where forces were rising too formidable to be treated by us in the cavalier fashion that had passed muster for twenty years past. The question at issue was the race problem of Schleswig and Holstein.

The status of the two provinces, partly German and partly Danish in race and feeling, was in dispute between Germany and Denmark. Germany was represented by Prussia and Austria in alliance, but in effect Bismarck directed their action. England, concerned as co-signatory of a former Danish treaty, tried to negotiate a compromise, but the Danes at first, and the Germans later on were decidedly unreasonable. When Bismarck bullied, Palmerston rashly said that if Denmark had to fight she would not fight alone, and Lord Russell's dispatches as Foreign Minister were calculated to convey a like impression.

1863-4

British sympathies were with Denmark, partly because she was the small country, partly because her Princess Alexandra had recently married the Prince of Wales. But neither the British people, the House of Commons, nor the royal

[1] See pp 417-8, below. [2] See Map, p. 413, below

family with its Germanophile head, had any real intention of going to war with the combined powers of Central Europe. And since several members of the Cabinet were opposed to the bellicose policy of the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary, the Queen's energetic expression of her views bore a weight which they never carried in cases where the Cabinet was of one mind and supported by public opinion.

For Britain, the prospects of war were bleak in the extreme. We had no allies. Russell and Palmerston had alienated Napoleon by repeated refusals to do what he wanted, both in America and in Europe. Russell had also alienated Russia by protesting against her infamous tyranny in Poland the year before, which Bismarck had been careful to aid and abet. If it was the object of Palmerston and Russell to oppose the rise of Bismarckian Germany, they should have prepared the ground. But they had consistently alienated France and Russia and had taught the British public to believe that the balance of power was threatened, not by Germany, but by Russia and by France. They had chosen for us a position of isolation. It followed, though they did not see it, that we must adopt a policy of non-interference. And such in fact became the Gladstonian policy in the coming era

The forces now moving on the European field were too big for us to face without allies. We had no army that could hold its own against Prussia and Austria. In these circumstances the decision to stand down and see Denmark overwhelmed in war, though undignified, was more sensible than the threatening language we had used at first, which Bismarck had treated with a contempt justified by the event This ignominious episode served as a useful warning, and put an end to the Palmerstonian method of dealing with European countries.

Early next year the news of Lincoln's victory gave a shattering blow to the domestic conservatism which Palmerston had so long imposed on English Liberals. But nature had not made him of the mould to be depressed by the failure of his plans or the confutation of his prophecies. His countrymen liked his pluck, and found in him a magnificent mirror of their own qualities. At the General Election of July, destined to be the last held under the old franchise, a majority was returned pledged to support him for personal rather than political reasons. In October the old man died in harness, Britain's popular Minister to the last. He had been a lover of life, and

1865

life had repaid him in full. He is less likely to be forgotten than many wiser statesmen, for he had filled great parts for many years, and when he was on the stage no one could take his eyes off the play.

## CHAPTER XXII

Mill, Darwin and the new era—Bright, Gladstone and Disraeli enfranchise the town labourer, 1866–7—Gladstone's Reform Ministry, 1868–74—Irish Church and land—The Education Act—University, Civil Service and Army Reform

THE victory of the North and the death of Palmerston, together gave the signal for another era of Reform, corresponding in importance to the legislation of the Whigs during the five years after Wellington's fall. If the events connected with the second Reform Bill and its sequel were less sensational than those of the first, it was because the idea of change was no longer new and shocking, and because the supremacy of the national will had proved itself in the former battle against privilege. In 1832 the nation had been made supreme and had been so defined as to include half the middle class. In 1867 it was defined again so as to include the rest of the middle class and the working-men of the towns. The immediate consequence, between 1868 and 1875, was a long list of reforms, including, under the Liberals, Irish Church and Land Acts, popular education, army reform, the opening of the Civil Service and the Universities to free competition; under the Conservatives, sanitary and municipal legislation and new laws to assist Trade Unionism; and finally, after another interval, the inclusion of the agricultural labourer in the national franchise in 1884, leading a few years later to the establishment of local self-government in the rural districts.

In this adaptation of our institutions to the new theory that Britain was a democracy no less than her own Colonies or America, Bright and Gladstone showed the way, by inspiring public opinion and directing Parliament, while Disraeli so 'educated' the Conservative party that it offered no such resistance to these changes as it had opposed to the first Reform Bill, and even took the lead in parts of the process.

Behind the statesmen of the transition stood the philosopher, John Stuart Mill, whose writings were at the height of

their influence in the 'sixties and 'seventies. He had been bred up by his father as a Benthamite of the strictest sect, but his life's work was to purify Bentham's utilitarianism of its pedantry, and to bring it up to date in an age that was gradually outgrowing *laissez faire* It was Mill's doctrine that everyone ought to take part in the election not only of Parliament, but of responsible local bodies, so that the whole people should learn to take an interest in all that concerned them, from drains to foreign policy, from the village school to national finance.

But Mill knew that democratic machinery did not in itself secure good government. He desired to see specialist departments of State supervising the action of the elected local bodies, and making the knowledge acquired in one place available everywhere 'Power,' he said, 'may be localised, but knowledge, to be most useful, must be centralised.' He brought together in a consistent theory the lessons of the administrative experience of the age of Chadwick, the dovetailing of central with local government, the interplay of democratic impulse and specialist guidance, by which modern England more and more learnt to thrive.

Mill used his influence, when at its height, to popularise the idea of the equality of the sexes. It was not in his day carried out in politics, but even before he died (1873) it greatly affected social thought and custom, and about that time the laws began to be reformed as regards women's property and personal rights The only important part of Mill's political philosophy which has not been carried into effect as law, is his eager advocacy of the representation of minorities by the system known in his day as 'Mr. Hare's scheme,' and in ours as Proportional Representation.

Mill's treatise *On Liberty*[1] had many effects outside the political sphere It was a plea for freedom of thought and discussion, which in the early Victorian era were much limited by social convention, though very little by law Mill taught that what was needed in the England of that day was a change of attitude in the direction of freedom to express new ideas in word and action. The rising generation grew up with this creed. Jowett's influence was at war with old orthodoxy in Oxford, while the mid-Victorian literature,—represented by Matthew Arnold, George Eliot, the Brownings, and Meredith,

[1] The dates of the publication of his principal works were : *On Liberty*, 1859 , *Representative Government*, 1861 , *Subjection of Women*, 1869.

though the last was not yet recognised by the public,—was instinct with the principle of freedom and experiment, always within the limits imposed by sound learning and the social sense. Victorian literature, essentially liberationist, was not revolutionary. As art, it had its own various traditions and standards distinct from those of journalism, which did not overshadow the world of letters till the Education Act of 1870 had had time to create a reading public co-extensive with the nation.

In the year that Mill's *Liberty* appeared, Darwin published the *Origin of Species*, and next year, in the famous arena of the British Association meeting at Oxford, Huxley vindicated at the expense of Bishop Samuel Wilberforce the right of science to investigate and teach, without having first to square its results with Mosaic theology. The more obvious implications of the Darwinian theory of the descent of man were slowly working themselves into common thought during the new Reform epoch.

Science was not yet a part of the established order In the past, most investigation had been done by individuals like Priestley or Darwin working at their own expense and on their own account, and this era of private initiative was only gradually passing into the new era of endowed and organised research. In the 'fifties the Natural Sciences Tripos had been set up at Cambridge, largely owing to the intelligent patronage of the Chancellor of the University, the Prince Consort, whose royal presence was able to charm away opposition to new-fangled learning in just those academic quarters which were usually most obscurantist. In the 'sixties science was making itself felt as a power in the land. And so long as it was still struggling for freedom and recognition, with the word 'evolution' inscribed on its banners militant, it could not fail to exert an influence favourable in a broad sense to liberal reform.[1]

The Whig-Liberal majority which Palmerston's name had 1865 helped to secure at the General Election in the summer, became in the autumn the inheritance of his surviving colleagues. Russell, who had lately withdrawn to the Upper

[1] It was remarked that in the Governor Eyre controversy, which convulsed politics and society in 1866, Darwin and Huxley were both on the side of the humanitarians and Liberals, against the severity shown in repressing the negroes in Jamaica

House as an earl, succeeded to the premiership, but the moving force in the Cabinet and in the Commons was Gladstone, in alliance with Bright below the gangway 'Gladstone will soon have it all his own way,' Palmerston had prophesied; 'whenever he gets my place we shall have strange doings.' Even before Palmerston's death, Gladstone had in 1864 sent a shudder through the country houses of England by the following declaration on the franchise :

'I contend that it is on those who say it is necessary to exclude forty-nine fiftieths of the working classes that the burden of proof rests. Every man who is not presumably incapacitated by some consideration of personal unfitness or political danger, is morally entitled to come within the pale of the constitution.'

No wonder that Disraeli said his rival had 'revived the doctrine of Tom Paine.' No wonder that at the General Election next year Gladstone lost his seat for Oxford University, and went instead to a Lancashire constituency, 'unmuzzled,' as he significantly declared. The links with his past were snapping one by one.

But the ex-Palmerstonian majority which he had now to lead in the Commons contained a 'tail' of young men of fashion, the scions of great Whig houses who might just as well have been the scions of great Tory houses so far as their opinions were concerned.[1] When therefore Gladstone introduced a Reform Bill, lowering the Ten Pound voting qualifications in the boroughs to Seven Pounds, even this very moderate measure, which fell far short of the household suffrage of Bright's programme, was regarded by these elements in the party as too advanced. The revolt of this section, which Bright nicknamed 'the Cave of Adullam,' because everyone who was discontented or in distress resorted there, was led with sincerity and oratorical power by Robert Lowe. But the prudence of a great leader was a gift denied to him. He turned the controversy into a class question, by contending that working-men as such ought to be excluded from the franchise on account of their moral and intellectual unfitness. Lowe's rash tactics converted a decorous discussion on a

March 1866

[1] A study of the evolution of Whig families to Conservatism, and of many other social and political phenomena of the late 'fifties and early 'sixties, will be found in one of the greatest of political novels, Meredith's *Beauchamp's Career*

measure of 'bit-by-bit Reform' into a battle over first principles that let loose throughout the country the passions of rival classes

The working-men, at first indifferent to the fate of a Bill which only proposed to enfranchise a small fraction of their number, were stung to fury by the character of Lowe's opposition to it, and a great franchise agitation, led by John Bright, soon aroused feelings which could never be satisfied by so half-hearted a measure as the Bill of 1866. The Conservative party, under Disraeli's guidance, would very probably have let the Bill pass through both Houses if they had not been carried away by the example of the white-haired champion on the ministerial benches opposite. Lowe had, besides, offered them a chance of throwing out the government. A combination of the Conservatives with forty Whigs from 'the Cave' defeated the Bill in Committee, and the Russell Ministry resigned.

June 1866

The cause of working-class enfranchisement gained in the end by this apparent disaster. A Bill that was at best only a half-measure was cleared out of the way. And the incoming Conservative government of Lord Derby, with Disraeli for its moving spirit, had now to deal with a situation of the utmost gravity of their own making They were in a minority in the Commons, yet they dared not appeal to the country. They had to settle the franchise question, which was now raging like a fever in the nation's blood. The new Government was indeed in a position, if it so wished, to pass a much stronger measure than that of Russell and Gladstone, because it could ensure the acquiescence of Conservative opinion in both Houses. If the party would abandon its former convictions, stultify the vote by which it had just gained office, and throw over Robert Lowe, and if Disraeli would pass 'the doctrine of Tom Paine' into law, a signal service could be rendered to the Empire, such as Peel had rendered over Catholic Emancipation and the Corn Laws.

The Conservative party was well disciplined. The decision would be that of its chiefs, and their counsels were dominated by the transcendent abilities of a man singularly open-minded both as to the main political chance and as to the best interests of the community. Disraeli, looking with a foreigner's eyes on England, often saw things that were not the most evident to the natives. He had put together in youth a collection of political ideas, known to the public through the characteristic medium of his novels. These ideas were, like himself, a

mixture of extravagance and penetration, of sentimentality and realism. He specially delighted in combinations which seemed paradoxes to that age: he believed in the Jews and in the Church of England; in the political influence of the Crown, in the 'territorial aristocracy,' that is, in the Tory part of it; and finally, giving the middle classes a skip, he believed in the working-men. It is true that he ended his career as the idol of the despised middle classes, but that was still in the future

In the first half of Queen Victoria's reign, the position of a Conservative leader who believed in the working classes was bizarre, like so much else in Disraeli's outfit But genius can afford to be odd. And now, by the defeat and resignation of the Russell Ministry, a situation had suddenly arisen in which a Conservative leader who believed in the working classes could become the man of the hour, and deliver the nation from a position that might soon be one of considerable danger.

Yet even Disraeli would not have ventured to 'dish the Whigs' and to take the famous 'leap in the dark' of working-class enfranchisement, but for the agitation in the country over which Bright presided in the autumn of 1866. The usual order of proceedings was that in each of the great centres of industry in the North and Midlands, the bulk of the male population of all classes, including the Trade Unionists marshalled under their banners, would march past Bright in a monster review, some two hundred thousand strong, generally on a moor near the city. In the evening he would address a mass meeting in words of classical eloquence and Radical vigour, that were reported at full in the papers next day. That was all, but it was enough [1] It was different from Chartism, because it was based on class union instead of class division. The middle and working classes, the one under-represented, the other scarcely represented at all, had come together to demand the franchise. In vain the country houses were filled that Christmas with ladies and gentlemen abusing Bright. In their hearts they were afraid, with that wise old English fear of their countrymen when thoroughly roused, which has done as much to save England as many more heroic virtues.

[1] The pulling down of the Hyde Park railings by a great crowd that had been denied permission by the Government to hold a Reform meeting inside also gave people to think It was the only violence used More would have caused reaction

One keen-eyed watchman was drawing his own conclusions. Disraeli, 'always an opportunist on Reform,' as his biographer tells us, 'would not admit in the autumn that the success of the agitation which Bright was conducting showed that the country had determined to obtain Reform; but in January [1867] he found the evidence conclusive. As soon as Disraeli reached that point he acted with promptitude and decision.'

It was characteristic of Disraeli's determination to solve the problem in a spirit above that of party, that at the beginning of the session of 1867 he privately consulted Bright as to what measure of Reform would lay the question to rest. The counties, he said, did not matter; it was an affair of the industrial working class.

Disraeli had many years before told the world that industrialism had created a new 'nation' cut off from contact with the governing class. At length he was convinced that it could no longer with safety be left outside the Parliamentary system. In the last twenty years it had increased enormously in numbers and prosperity. It was becoming the most characteristic part of modern England. Now that the Cleveland iron deposits had been opened up, the output of British steel exceeded that of all the rest of the world together, and the yearly export of British goods, which twenty years before had been under sixty millions, was now three times as great. Such a country, Disraeli perceived, could no longer be governed by the 'territorial aristocracy' on whom he had once pinned his faith, and since he had never shared the Whig idealisation of the middle class, he was reduced to admit the political claims of the artisan.

In seeking a logical basis on which the new borough franchise could rest, Disraeli rejected the idea of another makeshift lowering of the money standard of ten pounds. He preferred to give the vote boldly to every householder who paid rates—a principle that would sound large enough to satisfy Reformers, and respectable enough to please Conservatives. But the ratepaying franchise, in the form in which he first introduced it to the House, was so hedged round with 'securities' that it was not in fact at all a large measure of enfranchisement Reformers regarded the new Bill as worse than useless. But in the course of Committee, the position was reversed once more. There was still a Liberal majority in the House, skilfully led by Gladstone and Bright, and its pressure

gradually forced the not wholly unwilling Disraeli into dropping the 'securities' one by one.[1]

When the Bill left Committee it was to all intents and purposes household franchise for the boroughs. Being sent up to the Lords by a Conservative government it passed at once into law. Lord Cranborne, formerly Lord Robert Cecil and afterwards the great Lord Salisbury, in vain denounced the betrayal. There was no one capable of playing the young Disraeli to the old Disraeli's Peel.

The upshot of these

> 'purposes mistook
> Fallen on the inventors' heads,'

these confused Parliamentary operations of which no one of the statesmen concerned had quite foreseen the issue, was that the governing classes had recognised the needs of the new era with a wise alacrity, when once they were brought up against the facts, while the rising democracy had asserted its claims with singular dignity and good sense.

One distinct part of the nation had been left out of the reckoning—the field labourer.[2] Though agriculture was still flourishing, and the farmers' daughters were buying pianos, little of this prosperity percolated through to the labourer's cottage. The continued refusal of enfranchisement to the tiller of the soil, after it had been extended to the town worker, the continued absence of local self-government in the counties for half a century after the towns were self-governing, the suppression of Joseph Arch's attempts to form an Agricultural Labourers' Union, when other Unions were increasing in power and prosperity, strengthened the growing impression that the agricultural world was a back-water, and not a part of the forward stream of modern British life. The best of the field labourers desired more than ever to get away from social

1872-3

[1] In Committee a 'lodger' franchise was added But far the most important change in Committee referred to the personal payment of rates which Disraeli's Bill made the condition of enfranchisement In many boroughs the landlord usually paid the rates and charged them in the rent. Thus most working-men would be still kept out of the vote Disraeli, however, greatly to men's surprise, at the last moment accepted a clause promoted by Bright, which made personal payment of rates compulsory for all occupiers, and so made working-class enfranchisement a reality Two years later this expedient was repealed and compounding for rates was again permitted by law, but without disqualifying the occupier for the franchise

[2] There were also large numbers of industrial workers, especially miners, who still had no vote, owing to residence outside a Parliamentary borough

and economic helotage to the freedom and opportunity of city life, and the drift to the towns was strong among the best men. When, some ten years after the second Reform Bill, corn prices fell and agricultural depression set in, the rural community, socially and politically behind the times, and sullenly divided against itself, was incapable of dealing with its own distress

The first effect of the new franchise was the return at the General Election of 1868 of a Liberal majority from which the old Whig element had disappeared. The newly enfranchised working-men chose no representatives of their own class as such, but greatly strengthened the Radical element in the Liberal party The demand for domestic reform, made stronger by the delay which Palmerston had imposed on it in every department except finance, had behind it the mind and spirit of the new age. Since the days of Peel the load of economic misery had been lifted, and most even of the poorer sections of industrial society were enjoying a prosperity which neither their fathers nor grandfathers had ever known. Partly for this reason there was a singular absence of class antagonism. The bulk of the working and middle classes and of the leaders of the professional and academic world were united in demanding religious equality, educational opportunities, and the release of the public services from aristocratic control. In 1868 Conservatism and Socialism were both temporarily in abeyance It was a mood not likely to last for long, but the use made of it by Gladstone in his first and greatest Ministry went far to equip the country with modern services and institutions, without which it would have been ill-prepared to face the social and imperial problems of days to come.

1869–1874

Even before the General Election, while Disraeli as Prime Minister was still nominally holding the power which his own Reform Bill had undermined, Gladstone secured the assent of both Houses to the abolition of compulsory Church rates, and so laid to rest one constant source of sectarian bitterness[1] In the autumn, the General Election took place; it was fought on the specific issue of Irish Church disestablishment, and more generally on the merits of the new Liberalism, which

1868

[1] See p 284, above The question of Church rates had been fiercely agitated for forty years, but it was not till 1866 that Gladstone voted for the abolition The change in his views on Church and State had been complete, but very gradual

might be defined as old Radicalism made presentable. The elections were also a vote of confidence in Gladstone as the man of the hour. When the results were announced, Disraeli resigned, and his rival formed his First Ministry. The Liberal-Radical alliance was sealed by the entry of Bright into the Cabinet, though his presence there was of little more than symbolic importance, owing to the breakdown of his health and the permanent decline of his powers. Russell had already retired, full of years and honour, while the hirsute and eminently unaristocratic figure of W. E. Forster, whom Gladstone put in charge of education, made visible the fact that government by the Whig families was not to be revived.

Dec 1868

Gladstone, now close on sixty years old, was approaching the climacteric and brief perfection of his political genius. After thirty-seven years of Parliamentary life he had reached the end of the long bridge conducting him from the old Toryism to the new Liberalism Now, as he touched solid ground once more, he shook off the embarrassment and suspicion that had handicapped his career as a 'Liberal-Conservative.' Nor had he yet developed the aptitude for miscalculating forces and mismanaging men which marked his more amazing but less fortunate old age. Incomparable as a legislator, he was second to none as a Parliamentarian and as an orator. He had all Bright's power of idealist appeal to the new electorate and to an age not yet disillusioned, all Peel's traditions of the honest and indefatigable public servant. His advent to power quickened the pulse of national life Against him was set a man, his counterpart in political genius, dramatically his opposite in every point of mind and character. Since Pitt and Fox there had been no such rivals on the famous floor. Owing not a little to the personalities of Gladstone and Disraeli, the historic glamour and prestige of the British House of Commons were heightened during the first generation of real democracy, and for a while Parliamentary life had a stronger hold than ever on the imagination of every class.

The great operation of 1869 was the disestablishment and partial disendowment of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Ireland England and Gladstone had both changed their minds on this question since the day, thirty-five years back, when Russell had broken up a Whig Government by an injudicious remark to the effect that the revenue of the Irish Church

was larger than was required It was now held no sacrilege to sever the connection of this same Irish Church with the State, and to leave it as a self-governing corporation with very nearly three-quarters of its former revenue. The rest was to be devoted, not to religious purposes of other communions, but 'to the relief of unavoidable calamity and suffering not touched by the poor law.' This complicated measure, affecting so many interests and susceptibilities, was drawn up and handled by Gladstone with consummate care and skill.

Thus an ecclesiastical revolution, the largest since Tudor times, was proposed by one of the most devoted Churchmen in the British Islands, and met with singularly little opposition. The English bishops were the reverse of truculent. The Queen was anxious above all to prevent a constitutional deadlock. The country had just voted upon the question at the polls. The Lords therefore did not throw the Bill out on second reading, and their amendments were not insisted upon to the breaking point. Indeed, throughout Gladstone's first Ministry, the House of Lords destroyed far less Liberal legislation than either before or after. The work that the country expected from Gladstone was done the more quickly, and the Conservative reaction was the less long in coming.

In the age of Palmerston, all British classes and parties had been singularly uninformed and indifferent with regard to Ireland. Since the famine, little had been heard of the stricken island, and Englishmen vaguely hoped that the great emigration was solving her obscure problems. There was then no active Irish party at Westminster, such as later, under Parnell, laid an embargo on the time and attention of the House. The Irish representatives were still usually attached to one or other of the great English parties. This age of indifference was brought to an end by the Fenian outrages.

Fenianism was the first reaction of the new Irish America upon the British Isles. It was the return of the emigrant ships of the famine, a quicker return than that of the *Mayflower*! The end of every great war leaves a certain proportion of the combatants in an unsettled state, prepared for any project of violence. And so, when the armies were disbanded after the American Civil War, many of the late Irish conscripts devoted their military experience to attacks upon England in both hemispheres. The Americans, alienated by the recent attitude

of our Press and Government during their own difficulties, looked on with mingled feelings while their new fellow-citizens, for whom indeed they had no particular love, attempted armed raids across the Canadian border. Then followed Fenian outrages in Ireland and England. Police barracks were attacked in Ireland. At Clerkenwell a gunpowder explosion killed a dozen people and injured a hundred more. But the most famous case was that of the so-called 'Manchester martyrs' in 1867. Two Fenian prisoners were rescued from a prison van in the streets of Manchester, and the policeman in charge was shot dead. The perpetrators were hanged, but some sympathy was felt for them even in England, the more so as they declared that they had not intended to kill their victim. But upon the whole there was a fierce and alarming contrast between the views of the general public in the two islands. To the average Englishman the Fenians were simply rebels and assassins. To the average Irishmen they were simply idealists and martyrs.

Gradually, under the tutoring of Fenianism, the British awoke to the fact that there was still an Irish problem. Gladstone was the first of British Prime Ministers who gave it his full and sympathetic attention. When, in December 1868, a telegram from Windsor had first indicated that he was about to be called to the head of the counsels of the British Empire, the message had found him at his favourite recreation, cutting down large trees on his Hawarden estate. 'After a few minutes,' wrote an eye-witness, 'the blows ceased, and Mr. Gladstone, resting on the handle of his axe, looked up and with deep earnestness in his voice and with great intensity in his face, exclaimed: "My mission is to pacify Ireland." He then resumed his task, and never said another word till the tree was down.'

In the first year of his premiership, by the disestablishment of the 'alien Church,' he removed one of the branches of the 'upas tree,' as he himself called it, of Irish woe. That part of the national grievance which arose from unjust religious privilege became a thing of the past. But in the second of his Irish labours, the agrarian question, he met more stubborn resistance from vested interests in Ireland, and was supported by less understanding and sympathy in Great Britain. For, in our island, while the movement of the hour both in Nonconformist and intellectual circles was all against

religious inequality, a landlord's rights of free contract in England and Scotland were as yet scarcely challenged. Nor were there many, except Gladstone himself, who understood the vast difference between a rural landlord in England and his counterpart in Ireland—the former putting money into the land and making improvements for the tenants; the latter merely drawing rack-rent which he often spent in England, leaving the tenants to do everything for themselves, and often evicting them wholesale without compensation for their improvements or consideration for their sufferings. In the rural England of that day the man who suffered was the labourer employed by the farmer; the tenant farmer himself was a man of substance and consideration. In Ireland, on the other hand, the tenant farmer was the helpless victim of a system, nominally of free contract, actually of grave oppression.

Gladstone grasped the essential differences between the English and Irish land systems which lay concealed under an identical nomenclature and almost identical laws. In 1870 his first Irish Land Act began the long series of measures by which the British Parliament interfered with the 'free contract' of Irish landlord and tenant The most that could be done in the then state of opinion in England was Gladstone's Act, which gave the force of law to the custom prevalent in some parts of Ireland—known as 'Ulster tenant right'—of compensation for disturbance and for unexhausted improvements. But it did not protect the tenant against raised rent, nor did it give him security of tenure. It did some little good in itself, but it was chiefly important because it was the first of a great series of Irish agrarian laws. This new effort on the part of England to remedy social injustice in Ireland did not cease till the landlords were bought out on a vast scale, and the agrarian grievance wholly removed in the early years of our own century. But unfortunately the change was much slower than the realisation of religious equality, and the agrarian agitation had time, in the intervening years, to poison still further the sentiment of the Irish peasant towards England

1870

The same year, 1870, was the year of the great Education Bill. Hitherto primary education had been supplied by voluntary schools, the majority conducted on Church principles, aided by a small State grant.[1] Only about half the children of

[1] See pp. 163 and 247, above

the country were educated at all, and most of these very indifferently. England, for all her wealth, lagged far behind Scotland and several foreign countries. Germany, who had conquered Austria in 1866, and was now engaged in conquering France, was in the forefront of all men's thoughts that year, and she attributed her successes to the schoolmaster as well as to the drill-sergeant. It was characteristic of the two nations that whereas the German people already enjoyed good schools but not self-government, the rulers of England only felt compelled to 'educate their masters' when the workingmen were in full possession of the franchise. It was felt that for so important a purpose as voting for Parliament, if for nothing else, it was good that a man should be able to read

One reason why our statesmen had so long shrunk from attempting to set up a national system of education, was that any proposal on the subject which the wit of man could devise, must involve its authors in the fiercest sectarian controversy. Before the second Reform Bill a national system would almost certainly have been arranged on lines very favourable to the Church, though not without violent protest from her opponents. Now, however, it was expected that the opposite would be the case. The middle and working class Nonconformists who formed so important a part of Gladstone's electoral supporters, looked to see the establishment of a system of publicly controlled schools supported from public funds. Such schools, they expected, would in the course of time replace the Church schools, to which it was assumed that no increased public grant would be given. Such a measure would no doubt have aroused the strongest opposition from the Church and the latent Conservative forces of the country, and would not improbably have been thrown out by the Lords The actual course of events was, however, very different. Contrary to expectation the Liberal Government steered not against Scylla, but into Charybdis.

The Bill of 1870 was the work of W. E. Forster, a Churchman, though of Quaker origin. He doubled the State grant to the existing Church schools so as to enable them to become a permanent part of the new system, while he introduced publicly controlled schools only to fill up the large gaps in the educational map of the country. These new schools were to be paid for out of the local rates and governed by popularly elected School Boards.

Gladstone welcomed Forster's Bill, glad to find that some-

one not himself had shouldered the responsibility of giving such generous terms to the Church.[1] Important concessions were made to the Nonconformists in Committee, particularly the famous 'Cowper-Temple' clause prohibiting denominational teaching in the publicly controlled schools. But the breach between Gladstone and many of his most ardent supporters was irreparable. It led to angry scenes in the House of Commons, and convulsed the constituencies. It was in protest against the Bill that Joseph Chamberlain, a Unitarian manufacturer, emerged into national prominence as the leader of midland Radicalism. His hold on Birmingham was already growing at the expense of that of Bright, who was too unwell to protest against the Education Act until it was too late to affect the issue

Liberal disunion was still unhealed at the election of 1874, when Gladstone paid the penalty of having alienated the Church over the Irish and University questions, while at the same time losing the support of her enemies over education. He had performed his various tasks as national legislator without too nicely considering the electoral consequences.

England had obtained, better late than never, a system of education, without which she must soon have fallen to the rear among modern nations. A school had been placed within the reach of every child, at a very low charge, and the local authority might, if it wished, make attendance compulsory. Between 1870 and 1890 the average school attendance rose from one and a quarter millions to four and a half millions, while the cost per child was doubled. In 1880 primary education was made compulsory for all, and in 1891 it was offered free of all expense [2]

Meanwhile secondary and higher education were gradually emerging from the shameful state in which they had lain when the century began.[3] The Charity Commission had now been active for many years, and the Endowed Schools Bill of 1869

[1] His biographer tells us that 'his private interest in public education did not amount to zeal, and it was at bottom the interest of a Churchman ' But the cause of University Reform was deeply indebted to Gladstone in person

[2] Mr Balfour's Bill of 1902 abolished the School Boards elected *ad hoc*, and gave power over education to the County Councils and to certain larger Borough Councils, who work through Education Committees The same measure put the Church schools on the local rates, and in return gave the public education authorities a large measure of control over voluntary schools, including the nomination of one-third of the managers

[3] See pp 27-28 and p 283, above.

carried still further the work of putting ancient funds to modern uses and abolishing sectarian tests.

The higher education of women at last began to receive attention. In the course of the 'seventies, a group of wise enthusiasts in this cause founded women's colleges at Oxford and Cambridge. The academic authorities soon invited women to attend the lectures and compete in the examinations, though not to become members of the University. This new move greatly stimulated women's education elsewhere.

In 1873, under the inspiration of Professor Stuart of Cambridge, University Extension began, that is to say, the Universities sent out some of their best men to lecture to audiences at a distance from their walls. This movement stimulated local demands for higher education, led to the formation of some of the local University Colleges, and ultimately assisted the formation of those new Universities in great industrial centres which so strongly differentiate the higher education of our day from that with which our fathers had to be content. The Extension Lectures also led, in the twentieth century, to the further development of tutorial classes for working-men, and to the Workers' Educational Association.

Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, with the exception of the new Universities of London[1] and Durham, Oxford and Cambridge held their old monopoly in the English academic world. Their eighteenth-century slumbers[2] had been broken, and movements of reform inside the two Universities had set up a system of vigorous competition in examinations for a number of subjects. But the advantages of Oxford and Cambridge were closed to half the nation by religious tests imposed in the interest of the Established Church, while the clerical and celibate character imposed on College Fellows, the almost complete supersession of the University by the individual Colleges, the close character of the elections to Fellowships, and the prevalence of absenteeism and sinecurism, rendered them incapable of meeting the demands of the new age, particularly in non-classical subjects, humane or scientific. Such impotence in the higher spheres of intellect and research must eventually have ruined the country in peace and in war, when matched against foreign rivals who valued scientific and educational progress. The timely reform of Oxford and Cambridge by Act of Parliament saved the situation.

[1] See pp 223-224, above. [2] See pp 26-27, above

This great work was accomplished in three stages, spread over a period of thirty years (1850–82). The impulse came partly from an intelligent minority in the Universities themselves, men like Jowett at Oxford and Henry Sidgwick at Cambridge, partly from the public demand that the national Universities should be open to all the nation. Great political interest was taken in academic questions during this epoch, partly because religious and sectarian questions were involved.

The first stage, in the 'fifties, marked the initial victory over a strong and indignant opposition, offered in both Universities to the principle of parliamentary interference. When once the right of interference had been established in fact, the work of all subsequent inquiry and legislation was rendered more easy. The turning-point in this first crisis was the Oxford Act of 1854, passed by the Whig-Peelite Government, by the help of Gladstone's local knowledge, energy and mastery of the art of legislation.

The second stage, the Tests Act of 1871, was the work of Gladstone's own Ministry. It did that which he would bitterly have opposed only a few years before. It opened College Fellowships and academic posts generally to men of all varieties of religious profession[1] When once the sectarian question was laid to rest, controversy about academic reform escaped from the atmosphere of party politics in which it had previously moved. Indeed, the third stage of the movement, by which Parliament provided Oxford and Cambridge with their modern statutes, was initiated by a speech in the House of Lords by Salisbury, as the representative of a Conservative Government, dwelling on 'idle Fellowships' and other academic abuses with a radical vigour. By the ensuing legislation of 1877–82 the college system, peculiar in its full development to the two senior Universities of England, was still preserved, but was so modified and regulated as no longer to impede the progress and freedom of academic studies.

During the first half of the century, the permanent Civil Service had been jobbed. The offices at Whitehall had been the happy hunting-ground of Taper and Tadpole. Whig and Tory Ministers looked on all such patronage as the recognised means of keeping political supporters in good humour.

[1] See p 284, above, on some unexpected consequences of this change.

The public services were filled with the nominees of peers and commoners who had votes in Parliament or weight in the constituencies. Since the privileged families were specially anxious to provide maintenance at the public expense for those of their members who were least likely to make their own way in life, the reputation of Whitehall for laziness and incompetence was proverbial. Heavy swells with long whiskers lounged in late and left early. It was only possible to carry on administration with any degree of efficiency by supplying the departments with able chiefs brought in from outside.

Long after the more shameless and direct forms of parliamentary bribery prevalent under Walpole and George III had been suppressed, Civil Service jobbing was regarded as an indispensable attribute of government. Indeed, when Peel in his political purism discontinued the lavish distribution of honours and peerages on which Pitt had relied,[1] the Civil Service was the only field even of modified corruption left to Victorian statesmen. It is all the more credit to them and to their age that they were induced to give it up.

The Indian Civil Service, which had even in the days of 'old corruption' been more carefully selected than the Home Service, was in 1853 thrown open to all by the way of competitive examination[2] But England in the days of Palmerston followed suit more slowly as regards the departments of Whitehall. Sir Charles Trevelyan, a public servant of great zeal and of long experience first in India and then as permanent head of the Treasury, made himself the protagonist of the new system. Competitive examination, derided at first as a pedantic eccentricity, proved its practical value by results, till at length it came to be generally regarded as the best means of avoiding jobbery and securing able men. From 1855 onwards it was introduced into Whitehall by slow degrees, a subject of acute controversy at every stage. At length in 1870 Gladstone's great axe fell Patronage was abolished in almost all the public offices, and the normal entrance to a career in the Home Civil Service was made to depend upon open competition.

This change has perhaps done as much for the efficiency

[1] This custom has again, in our own day, taken on very large proportions, partly, no doubt, because the opening of the Civil Service to competition has closed the other channel by which Government used to reward its followers If so, it is the less pernicious of two evils, because a State can afford to traffic in offices even less well than to traffic in titles

[2] See p 319, above

and good government of the country as many more renowned political measures. At last the career was open to talents Machinery had been set up for a partial solution of the problem so often stated by Carlyle—how to find the ablest men to govern,—though the sage himself had now taken to cursing and nothing would please him. To select men for practical careers on the report of examiners showed also a belief in higher education, which was something new in England Instead of social qualifications or wealthy friends, trained intellect was to be a young man's best passport. The Universities and the cause of higher teaching benefited greatly by the change.

In the following year a measure inspired by the same spirit, and advocated largely by the same group of men, opened promotion in the army to gentlemen of moderate means. The custom which made it necessary for an officer to purchase his commission from his predecessor at every step, forbidden by William III, had been permitted again by Queen Anne, and regulated by her successors by Royal Warrant. But the 'regulation prices' were unlawfully exceeded, and an officer, having bought his commission, had in practice the right to sell it for what he could get from some one of his subordinates. The result was that poor men were passed over. They had no chance of promotion, except occasionally in time of war, since commissions vacated by death could not be sold.[1] The army chiefs, even when they wished to make promotions by merit, had not the power to promote a man who could not purchase his step.

The Commander-in-Chief, the Duke of Cambridge, was not, perhaps, temperamentally over-zealous in the cause of promotion by merit. His influence, and that of the Queen his cousin, were strong against the abolition of Purchase, and it was argued that the regulation of the army was in some special sense a prerogative of the Crown. Against this reading of the constitution Gladstone and his able War Minister, Cardwell, tactfully but successfully contended. The Queen, who never forgot Melbourne's early lessons, gave way with a good sense which her strong opinions and personal bias rendered the more

[1] If an officer, therefore, was killed in action, his widow got nothing in return for the large sum which he had given for his commission, and which in many cases he had borrowed If Purchase had not been abolished, the late war against Germany would have ruined the families of countless officers Besides, we should have lost the war

admirable. Cardwell's army reforms were carried through, but by way of compromise the Duke of Cambridge, who heartily disliked them, was left as Commander-in-Chief until 1895.

The opinion not only of the Court and the Duke of Cambridge, but of the vocal part of the army also was against the change. Public opinion, however, was aroused against Purchase during the Franco-Prussian war, when the state of our fighting forces caused anxiety. As soon as the war ended the army was again forgotten, but the Government by that time stood committed. The abolition of Purchase was put through by Royal Warrant, after the House of Lords had prevented it from passing in the form of a statute. The House of Commons had voted compensation for existing holders of purchased commissions: the nation, said Gladstone, must buy back its own army from its own officers.

1871

Edward Cardwell was one of the public men whom Peel had trained. It fell to him to transform the British Army from what Wellington had left it, to what it was at the close of the century. In his reforms of 1869–71 he managed to combine increased efficiency with the economy for which Gladstone's Ministry was famous, by reducing the Colonial garrisons, a step which made for the ultimate military strength of the Empire by throwing upon Canada and Australasia the right and duty of self-defence. He abolished the system of dual control of the army, by which responsibility was divided between the Commander-in-Chief and the Secretary for War. The former was now definitely subordinated to the Minister.

Above all, Cardwell introduced the short-service system of twelve years—three or six with the colours and nine or six in the reserve. The long-service system, though loved by the Duke of Wellington, had grave defects. There were not enough young men in the ranks; there was no proper reserve to call out in time of war; and since men left the army too late to have any chance of taking up civilian life with advantage, the prospects of a common soldier's career were so unattractive that in nine cases out of ten necessity alone drove men to enlist. Cardwell's short-service system was a lesson learnt from the Prussian victory in 1866, which had proved that two or three years' training sufficed to make good soldiers, and that large reserve classes were essential.

The change helped both directly and indirectly the better prospect opening before the British soldier. His lot was slowly

but steadily improving from the time of the Napoleonic wars to the outbreak of the struggle with Germany in our own day. Before the century closed Lord Roberts could say of the men whom he commanded in South Africa, 'they bore themselves like heroes on the battlefield and like gentlemen on all other occasions.' It was not a dictum that would ever have passed the lips of the Iron Duke.[1] If a history were compiled describing the changes of one hundred years in the treatment of our soldiers and sailors, and in the regard entertained for them by their own officers and by the rest of the community, it would be an epitome of the nation's general progress in humanity, efficiency and social solidarity. For it was the century not only of hope but of solid achievement.

## CHAPTER XXIII

The Franco-Prussian War—The new era in foreign affairs—Fall of Gladstone—Disraeli's Ministry, 1874–80—Trade Union and social legislation—The Eastern Question—Disraeli, Gladstone and the Turk

In the summer of 1870 the irrepressible conflict broke out between the France of Napoleon III and the Germany of Bismarck. England was most afraid of France, but saw little reason to desire the success of either combatant. Both stood for a highly developed form of militarism, not likely to be improved in spirit by victory, and affording the world no prospect of future peace and goodwill.

Unlike his adversary, Bismarck knew what he wanted and how to get it. In foreign affairs the course of his *realpolitik* lay straight for the goal of Prussian power, and was never diverted by generosity, prejudice or passion At home, he had invented a new type of despotism. It was no longer merely negative, like the system of Metternich, the 'dead hand' stretched out to prohibit all change. Despotism under Bismarck had become an active principle in the van of progress. It was no longer timidly hostile to the mercantile class, the press, education and science, but harnessed them all to the car of government. Like the liberalism of Cavour's regime in Piedmont ten years before, Bismarck's despotism swept along with it on its path all the activities of the nation's life. It gave the lead to the

[1] See pp 126–127, above

patriotic spirit, which in 1849 had fought under the Liberal flag in Germany as elsewhere If Bismarck were to win the war with France, his system would exert an attractive power all the world over, and would become a formidable rival to those liberal ideas, mainly derived from England and France, which had for half a century been the chief motive power in the intellectual life of Europe.

The French Emperor, on the other hand, no longer knew where he was going either at home or abroad. He had failed to reconcile in practice the theoretic contradictions always involved in his 'Napoleonic ideas.' On the one hand, he stood for the general principles of nationality and plebiscitary liberalism in Europe. On the other hand, he supported the Vatican against the desire of the Italian people for Rome as capital, and he was himself the voice of France, refusing to allow the Germans to complete the edifice of their national unity. Moreover, his policy of thwarting Italian aspirations seriously damaged the best chance he had of thwarting German aspirations. All was confusion and weakness in the counsels of this man, who a dozen years before had been the arbiter of Europe.

In 1870 he entered the lists, with prestige already lowered by a decade of failure following on a decade of success. It was but one of his disappointments that England, to gain whose friendship he had in the past made great sacrifices, would at best be coldly neutral. Sick in body and mind, he knew, before the world proclaimed it, that his grasp on men and things was failing. Wherever he looked he saw irresistible forces rising to thwart every item of his policy, beyond the Alps, beyond the Rhine, and beyond the Atlantic.

Under cover of the American Civil War to protect him from the Monroe Doctrine, Napoleon had tried to establish a Latin Empire under French patronage in Mexico But the North had won, had shortly afterwards served him with notice to quit, and he had not risked a war on the other side of the globe against the veterans of Sherman and Grant. When the French troops were withdrawn, the Emperor Maximilian, whom Napoleon had imported from Europe, was caught by his Mexican subjects and shot. It was a bitter humiliation to the man who had sent him. 1867

At home Napoleon now desired to have Ministers responsible to Parliament, although his Empire was a despotism founded on the plebiscite, expressly as a substitute for govern-

ment by Assembly. A change of ground so fundamental was not easy of accomplishment. The French Liberals of the rising generation, whose support was essential for the success of a 'Liberal Empire,' were most of them Republicans at heart, taught by Victor Hugo's example in exile, and by Gambetta's fiery eloquence, to look askance at 'the man of December'[1] and all his works.

Meanwhile his Spanish wife Eugénie, at the head of the more reactionary Imperialists, held that he was betraying his own cause by toying with Parliaments. They saw in a German war the means of reviving the glories of the French Empire, and of the Roman Church. And he, in the physical weakness and moral apathy that now disarmed his energies, had not the courage to say them nay.

Bismarck meanwhile was moving from strength to strength. He had half created the German Empire by successful war against Austria in 1866. Napoleon would neither accept the new Germany as inevitable, nor boldly oppose it while there was yet time. He protested, intrigued, demanded 'compensations,' in Belgium or on the Rhine, for the growing power of Prussia. Bismarck nicknamed such demands 'the policy of *pourboires*.' Napoleon had still a chance of bringing Austria and Italy together into the field on his side. But he would not pay Italy her price of Rome as capital. Nor had he the command over his nerves to wait even one year, till Austria should have recovered from her last defeat, and be ready to fight Prussia again. In July 1870, at the hour appointed by Bismarck, he allowed the French Imperialist party to hustle him into the war he dreaded

The question which nominally gave rise to hostilities, the suggested Hohenzollern candidature for the throne of Spain, was so incompetently handled by Napoleon and his counsellors that, contrary to the real facts as Bismarck subsequently revealed them, France appeared to the world as the sole aggressor. Such was the impression produced in England on both Government and Opposition, although Gladstone said privately—'On the face of the facts France is wrong, but as to personal trustworthiness the two moving spirits, Napoleon and Bismarck, are nearly on a par.' All British parties were in favour of a strict neutrality.

[1] The name given to Napoleon III on account of the *coup d'état* of December 1851 See p 300, above

Indeed, when the war began it was not Germany we feared. Britons had sucked in fear of Napoleonic conquest with their mother's milk, while the idea of the dreamy Germans as a material danger to Europe was new and strange. Only a few years back their soldiers had been represented by our comic artists as funny little men strutting about under the weight of enormous helmets.[1] In 1870 these diminutive warriors shot up, in the English prints, into genial giants with bushy beards, singing Luther's hymns round Christmas-trees in the trenches before Paris. We were too ignorant of Germany to regard her as a serious rival. Only eccentric intellectuals like Matthew Arnold and George Meredith warned us that there was something in German professors and their *geist* that was at once admirable and dangerous.[2] Representative British thought of the day, whether Queen Victoria's or Thomas Carlyle's, was all for the German civilisation against the French. The small but influential group of Positivists, bred up in the school of French intellectual liberalism, were almost singular in their anti-German views.

Immediately after the outbreak of war, Bismarck produced a rod that he had been keeping in pickle for France, in the shape of the draft of a suggested treaty of 1866, written out in the handwriting of Benedetti, then French Ambassador at Berlin. This document had proposed the annexation of Belgium by France, as a *pourboire* in return for French consent to the union of Germany. British public opinion was deeply stirred. Gladstone wrote to Bright—'If the Belgian people desire, on their own account, to join France or any other country, I for one will be no party to taking up arms to prevent it. But that the Belgians whether they would or no, should go "plump" down the maw of another country to satisfy dynastic greed, is another matter.' Gladstone at once proposed a treaty to France and Germany, providing that if either combatant violated Belgian neutrality, Great Britain would co-operate with the other party in its defence, but without necessarily taking a share in the general operations of the war. By August 9, 1870, the signatures of Germany and France were obtained, and nothing more was heard of the Belgian question.

In the first week of September came the surrender of the

[1] *E.g.*, Dicky Doyle's *Foreign Tour of Brown, Jones and Robinson*, 1854.

[2] Matthew Arnold's *Friendship's Garland* and Meredith's *Harry Richmond* (*vide* chapter xxix), both published in the year of the Franco-German war, are curiously similar in their general doctrine as regards Germany.

main French army at Sedan, and the fall of the Napoleonic Empire. The next four months afforded the spectacle of the young Republic heroically attempting, under the inspiration of Gambetta, to make good the lost cause of France. Naturally British sympathies moved round not a little, but there was no question of interference. The German demand for the predominantly French provinces of Alsace-Lorraine threw a shade over the innocent beauty of the German Christmas-trees, and aroused Gladstone's intense indignation. But England had no wish to fight and there was nothing to be done.[1]

To keep England's moral indignation engaged elsewhere, and to prevent joint action by England, Austria and Russia on behalf of beaten France, Bismarck had secretly stirred up Russia to denounce the 'Black Sea' articles of the treaty of 1856. Palmerston had prolonged the Crimean War for half a year to obtain provisions which neutralised the Euxine, and prohibited Russia from keeping an arsenal on its shores or a navy in its waters. Such articles, denying Russia's sovereignty in her own ports, could wisely have been struck out of the treaty by consent. But this had never been done, and Russia now on her own account declared her intention of treating them as a 'scrap of paper.' We rightly protested against a manner and method of proceeding of such evil example, while Bismarck expressed pained surprise at Russia's precipitate action! But we could not fight for an arrangement which we felt to be of doubtful justice. And so, after a due course of diplomatic conferences, we swallowed the Russian proposals and Bismarck swallowed Alsace-Lorraine.

Oct 1870

March 1871

These transactions, though the misfortune rather than the fault of the existing Ministry, left an uneasy sense that Gladstone was not vigorous enough in foreign affairs. The *Alabama* claims award[2] of the following year increased this impression at the time, although posterity feels gratitude to the statesmen who avoided war with America. There was perhaps more substance for the suspicion that Gladstone's instinct for economy in taxation inclined him to shorten supplies for army and navy; at least it caused differences with some of his own colleagues, as well as furnishing Opposition with a text. Disraeli, with his keen eye for world movements and tendencies

1872

[1] Carlyle, then at the height of his fame and influence, preached the German view of the Alsace-Lorraine question in his letter to *The Times*, with great effect

[2] See pp 336-337, above

of the age, proclaimed the Conservative party as the champion of the external honour and safety of Britain, with a special interest in the Colonies and the Empire.

It was a new departure. During the middle years of the century, Palmerston as Whig Minister had voiced the nationalist sentiments of the country, while the Conservatives, alike under Aberdeen, Peel, Derby and Disraeli himself, had been distinctly a peace party, critical of Palmerston and his trumpetings. Neither had they shown any special interest in the Colonies, which were too democratic to arouse the enthusiasm of the territorial aristocracy. The shifting of party ground now observable in these matters was in the natural order of things, though the views and characters of Disraeli and Gladstone quickened the pace. So long as the professional and middle classes, who usually form the largest body of sensitive nationalist feeling, had been ranged under the Liberal banner, Palmerston had been their spokesman. They were now, for a variety of reasons, of which working-class enfranchisement was the chief, coming rapidly round to the new Conservatism. They brought with them their zeal for the honour and strength of Britain. And since an age of self-conscious Imperial expansion was at hand, this fact was destined to be of governing importance. Disraeli no longer spoke of the Colonies as 'a millstone round our neck.'

But the Conservative Imperialism which Disraeli adumbrated and which Salisbury and Chamberlain matured, each after his own fashion, was by none of them directed against Germany. During the remainder of the century British Imperialism more often came into conflict with France or Russia. Considering that Germany had become the dominant power in Europe this may seem remarkable, but the reason is clear. England was becoming less interested in Europe and more interested in colonies and in the world beyond the ocean Now while Bismarck cared little for German colonial expansion, France after Sedan, as formerly after Waterloo, attempted to make good in Asia and Africa what she had lost on the Rhine. France, therefore, again and again appeared as our chief colonial competitor, while the huge bulk of Russia overshadowed India and the East.

But on one occasion Disraeli was compelled to interfere in Western European politics, and against the German power In 1875 Bismarck, disappointed at the rapid recovery of

France, was meditating either a fresh war to crush her to the ground for ever, or the extortion of a virtual surrender on her part of her rights to independent action. Disraeli was by that time in office. 'Bismarck,' he wrote, 'is really another old Bonaparte again, and must be bridled.' For this purpose he effected a temporary combination with Russia that gave pause to Germany, and maintained European peace without the humiliation of France.

The incident passed over, but it was ominous, and indicated the underlying forces and temper of the new age. After the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine all Europe 'breathed a harsher air.' The sense of international goodwill and the brotherhood of the human race, which had lent an ideal halo to the commercialism of the Great Exhibition of 1851, had faded into air. Abroad, the inculcation of race hatred was becoming one of the functions of modern government and of modern education. The ethical and liberal interpretation of history, which had held the field for many years, began to give way before doctrines of race war and class war as the secret of evolution. Power began to replace justice as the standard of intellectual appeal. Napoleon III had gone, and with him went the last hopes of international Free Trade, for in Europe and America high protective tariffs were the legacy of war and the expression of international rivalry. And with the departure of Napoleon went his plebiscites, a form of respect for justice to which he had adhered even when he wished to annex Savoy and Nice to France. Polish liberty, Russian reform were made far more improbable by the material and intellectual primacy of the Germany that Bismarck had created.[1] This change of atmosphere in European thought and politics gradually and in milder forms had its reactions in our own island.

The years 1859–70 had seen three great revolutions accomplished—the national union of Italy on a basis of freedom, the national union of Germany on the basis of a progressive military despotism, and the closer union of the United States on a basis of negro emancipation. The 'sixties were the most formative years in history between the era of Napoleon and the revolutionary convulsions following the great war of our own day. But after 1870 the period of political change came to an end. Bismarck, who had for his own purposes aided

[1] The last great change for the good that took place in Russia, the freeing of the serfs, was in 1861.

Italy in 1866, having got what he wanted, ceased to be a revolutionary, and the hour of enfranchisement passed by. The problems of liberation which were not solved before 1871 remained unsolved in 1914. The new Europe saw, indeed, an enormous increase of material prosperity, great educational progress, and a turbid intellectual activity of every kind, but it succeeded in solving no problem of the first order. Whereas in eleven years Italian unity, German unity, and American abolition and State rights were definitely settled, the next forty-six years failed to bring a solution of any one of the great problems still outstanding: Russian liberty, German liberty, the Polish question, the Turkish and Balkan questions, the race questions of Austria-Hungary and the Irish question. And to these old problems which it failed to solve, the spirit of the new age added the universal ruin and slavery of competitive armaments.

But the gradual darkening of the world's more distant prospects, and the hardening of the international tone, did not interfere with the flood-tide of British prosperity The bettering of conditions of life for the majority of people was the material achievement of the Victorian age, parallel to its glories in literature, intellect and science.

In consequence of these improved conditions, Robert Owen's Socialism and all revolutionary tendencies, speculative or practical, were in abeyance in England between 1850 and 1880. It was an era of relative content The franchise was extended. The Wholesale Co-operative movement was helping to train the character and intelligence, as well as to assist the budgets, of countless working-class families [1] Trade Unionism grew steadily in the more highly organised industries, gradually put down the abuses of Truck payment, and secured as wages a large share of the increased profits of trade.

Between 1866 and 1875 this growing power of Trade Unionism, though still without a political organisation or programme, was brought into the arena of national politics over its own affairs.

In some of the old-fashioned Trade Unions, especially in Sheffield, terrorism accompanied by crime was resorted to against recalcitrant workmen. Many of these stories got about and added to the general antipathy towards Trade Unions which existed among the political classes of the day. This

[1] See pp 277-278, above.

feeling was not peculiar to one party, nor was it confined to persons out of sympathy with the working classes. Lord Shaftesbury, of Factory Act fame, wrote. 'All the single despots and all the aristocracies that ever were or ever will be, are as puffs of wind compared with those tornadoes, the Trade Unions.'

In 1866 the explosion of a can of gunpowder in a workman's house in Sheffield brought public indignation on the subject to a head. Next year, a judicial decision in the Courts seemed to deprive the Unions of the freedom which they had enjoyed for over forty years, under the laws secured for them by Place and Hume[1] The Judges decided that the Boilermakers' Union had no legal existence and could not, therefore, sue for a debt. The Lord Chief Justice added that the objects of the Union being 'in restraint of trade' rendered it an illegal association, this decision would clearly apply to all Trade Unions, which were thus deprived by the judiciary of a position they had enjoyed since 1825

At this stage the larger and better organised societies of the New Model[2] took the affair in hand. They detested the crimes of the badly managed Unions, which were to a large extent a legacy of the days when all combinations of workmen were illegal, when the kind of civil war described in *Shirley* was carried on by armed attacks on the houses of employers, by machine-breaking and violence to blacklegs The big Unions now demanded an inquiry which they were sure would exculpate the movement as a whole in its more recent developments They also demanded legislation to give them back the liberty of which the judge-made law was threatening to deprive them. Throughout the prolonged crisis that followed they were excellently advised by Tom Hughes, their champion in Parliament, and Mr. Frederic Harrison, the Positivist.

But the Trade Union world was not then organised for political action Although in 1868 the Liberal majority had been largely returned by the votes of the newly enfranchised workmen of the towns, Gladstone was far from satisfying the Trade Unionists by his legislation of 1871 By the Trade Union Act of that year, Trade Unions became indeed legally recognised and fully protected associations. No Trade Union

[1] Pp 200–202, above [2] P. 277, above

henceforth was to be illegal merely because it was 'in restraint of trade' Every Union was entitled to be registered ; and registration was to give it complete protection for its funds. Gladstone's Act left the Unions in such a position that it was supposed they could not be sued or proceeded against in a Court of Law except for certain very limited purposes. This was a great advantage of which they were deprived thirty years later by the next onslaught of the judiciary—the Taff Vale decision.

But what Gladstone's government gave with one hand it took away with another. For in the same year, 1871, it passed a Criminal Law Amendment Act which pronounced illegal various actions on which Trade Union power in time of strike largely rested. The Trade Unions, indeed, could not, it was then held, be sued for acts done by their members or at their orders But the individual workman could be imprisoned for various actions customary in a strike 'Watching and besetting,' that is 'picketing' workmen continuing at work during a strike, was made illegal even when done only by a single person.

Working-class discontent with this Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1871 was one of the causes of the Liberal defeat at the polls in 1874. Disraeli had the acuteness to learn this lesson. His sympathy with the working class, which in his youth he had expressed in his novels, was now becoming a factor in politics. By his Bill of 1875 the Criminal Law Amendment Act was repealed , violence and intimidation were left to be dealt with as a part of the general criminal code.

But the fundamental reason of the defeat of the Liberal Ministers in 1874 was that they had done their work. When Disraeli pointed to his opponents mustered on the Treasury bench as 'a range of exhausted volcanoes,' it was a jibe that contained a compliment The Temperance arrow had gone astray, but Gladstone had shot away his quiverful mostly into the bull's-eye, and for the present had no more measures to propose, either for Great Britain or Ireland—except, indeed, the abolition of the income-tax ! That he should actually have been able to prepare a Treasury plan for conducting the tax-payer into such a paradise, shows what an effective guardian

he had been of the national finances, but indicates how little he foresaw the future either of armaments or of social reform. Disraeli was returned at the polls,[1] and the income-tax has yet to be repealed.

1874-80 Disraeli first attained power as Prime Minister in his seventieth year. But ere he reached that eminence he had already achieved a great work, curiously similar to that of the statesman whose career he had destroyed a generation before. He had taught the Conservatives to accept the new democratic conditions, but unlike Peel he had 'educated his party' without impairing its unity or cooling its devotion to himself. Alike in opposition and in office he proved himself a master in the handling of colleagues and followers and in the conduct of the party fortunes—aspects of statesmanship in which Gladstone in later life was less successful

Disraeli did not come to Downing Street, like Gladstone six years before, pledged to a long and contentious programme of domestic legislation. His promise was to give a rest to 'harassed interests.' But he also kept his other promise, not to forget social reform.

Apart from the laws in favour of workmen's action when on strike, much useful work was done for housing, sanitation and the ever-growing factory code Disraeli's able Home Secretary, Richard Cross, consolidated and improved the mass of existing legislation on these subjects. The Public Health Act of 1875 marked a stage in the battle against disease to which Chadwick had committed the State a generation before. '*Sanitas sanitatum, omnia sanitas*,' said Disraeli, to enliven a subject more important than entertaining. The Artisans' Dwelling Act of the same year enabled local authorities to begin to deal with the horrors of the slum areas

In these and other ways Cross added many new functions to local government. Such Acts were parts of a general process, by which the central government, by means of 'grants in aid' of local rates and otherwise, encouraged municipal activity in innumerable departments of life. Drains, water, housing, public spaces, as well as education, were now being

[1] The election of 1874 was the first that took place under the provisions of the Ballot Act, passed by the Liberals in 1872 At the election of 1868 there were still the hustings and open voting

supplied or controlled by public authorities. The modern municipal system has been called 'an application of democracy to the supply of the wants of the household.' It is also an application of scientific bureaucracy to the task of rendering life under modern conditions possible in our crowded island. Ever since the Municipal Reform Act of 1835, government after government down to our own day has helped to build up and extend the system. Gladstone in 1871 had set up a new department called the Local Government Board, on to which the business of controlling and stimulating the action of local authorities has chiefly devolved. The work of Cross was merely the work of one Minister in a long series, but it was good work, and coming immediately after a great Conservative victory at the polls, it gave assurance of continuity in the national progress towards better conditions of life

It was a sign of changing times that the tide had at last turned against enclosure of commons. The great enclosures which had added immensely to the area under proper cultivation, had been made largely at the expense of the old-fashioned type of peasantry, now practically vanished from the land.[1] But since the middle of the century, enclosures of commons to obtain building-land and private grounds had begun seriously to affect the interests of the industrial population, who had more powerful friends than those whom the peasants had been able to muster. From 1864 onwards, a spirited agitation was conducted against the disappearance of public pleasure-grounds in the neighbourhood of great cities, and the 'lungs' within their crowded areas. Epping Forest was saved for Londoners, and many successful fights had been put up in the Law Courts against illegal enclosures that in a former generation would have passed unchallenged. The Commons Preservation Society was led by such Liberals as Shaw Lefevre and Henry Fawcett, but its supporters were not confined to one party and its influence was strongly felt in the Conservative House of Commons of the 'seventies.

It was also characteristic of the new age that the warm-hearted Samuel Plimsoll, the sailor's friend, by force of public opinion, and by dint of losing his temper at a lucky moment on the floor of the House, shamed honourable members into

[1] See pp 145-147, above

passing the first measure aimed at protecting the lives of mariners in the 'coffin ships' of the mercantile marine. But the Act of 1876 was only the beginning of such legislation, and was not in itself very effective.

Throughout the nineteenth century Russia was striving to advance towards Constantinople over the ruins of the Turkish Empire. She was drawn forward by imperialist ambition, by interest in the oppressed Christians of her own communion, many of whom were Slav by language and race, and by the instinct to seek a warm-water port—a window whence the imprisoned giantess could look out upon the world. The world, however, had no great wish to see her there.

Canning[1] had planned to head off Russia's advance, not by direct opposition, but by associating her with England and France in a policy of emancipation, aimed at erecting national States out of the component parts of the Turkish Empire. Such States could be relied upon to withstand Russian encroachment on their independence, if once they were set free from the Turk. The creation of the kingdom of Greece was the immediate outcome of Canning's policy. A small Serbian State of the same national type had already begun to struggle for existence during the Napoleonic wars The Bulgarian race was still wholly submerged. But Canning's policy gave hopes to them all.

Within a generation of the battle of Navarino, the Whig-Peelite Ministry forgot the tradition of Byron, reversed the policy of Canning, and sought to restrain Russia by the opposite method, namely, by propping up the rotten body of Turkish rule in Europe. The Crimean War succeeded in keeping Russia back for just twenty years. She was now once more on the move, in consequence of the rising of Serbs and Bulgarians against 'the unspeakable Turk.' Would England meet the new situation by reviving the policy of Canning, or the policy of the Crimea?[2] It was long since our people had been interested in the Eastern question, and much had happened in our island

1876

[1] See pp 213–214, above

[2] Gladstone, who had sat in the Crimean Cabinet, never would allow the case had been the same in 1854 as in 1876 Between the two dates there may indeed have been a change in the general European situation and in the relation of Russia to Europe, but as regards the Christian races inside the Turkish Empire the position was the same

since the siege of Sebastopol. It was therefore by no means certain what the British would on this occasion be pleased to think. In such circumstances all may depend upon a single man. The masterful lead given by Disraeli caused official England to revive the policy not of Canning but of Palmerston.

The pro-Turkish policy was again reversed in the following generation, when Lord Salisbury declared that we had 'put our money on the wrong horse.' It was Disraeli who made the Conservatives for a few years identify the Turkish cause with the cause of our own Empire, and it was Gladstone who compelled the Liberal party to become the channel of a no less powerful anti-Turkish sentiment.

There were dissentients in both camps. Lord Derby, the son of Disraeli's old chief, now his Foreign Secretary, differed from him and resigned, whereas Lord Hartington and Forster, the nominal chiefs of the Liberal party after Gladstone's retirement, hesitated to oppose Disraeli at critical moments, as did many of the Liberal members. But Gladstone, still in Parliament though nominally in retirement, roused one-half of the country behind their backs, and resumed the unofficial lead of the Opposition over their embarrassed heads.

The British people, when left to themselves, neither knew nor cared who massacred whom between the Danube and the Ægean. Byron's Greece had appealed to their imagination and historical sense, but the Balkans were a battlefield of kites and crows. It took the combined genius of Disraeli and Gladstone to arouse, on that obscure subject, passions as hot as any that Englishmen had felt about the doings of foreigners since the days of Burke and the French Revolution.

But on this occasion the rival factions were more evenly divided. On Disraeli's side was Clubland, the Services, the majority perhaps of the middle class with its nationalist susceptibilities, and, at the critical later stages of the affair, the mass of ordinary citizens whose instinct is to support their country in a quarrel to which Government has committed her. The London music-halls were hot against Russia, and a song that asserted our preparedness with a mild oath, first caused the war-party to be nicknamed 'Jingoes'[1] On the other side was the great majority of the working class, the great

[1] 'We don't want to fight,
But by Jingo, if we do,
We've got the men, we've got the ships,
We've got the money too'

majority of the religious world, and many who, like Ruskin and Carlyle, ordinarily cared little for party politics. Nonconformists and High Churchmen were for once agreed. Both were proud of Gladstone though for different reasons, and both were zealous for the martyrs of Christianity in the East.

When Gladstone said 'Five millions of Bulgarians, cowed and beaten down to the ground, hardly venturing to look upwards, even to their Father in heaven, have extended their hands to you,' there were many who could not bear that we should fight Russia in order to give them back to the Turk. Gladstone's appeal was passionate and idealist. The most famous sentence of his diatribes on the Bulgarian atrocities supplied a cant term for the policy which he advocated:

'Let the Turks now carry away their abuses in the only possible manner, namely, by carrying off themselves. Their Zaptiehs and their Mudirs, their Bimbashis and their Zus-bashis, their Kaimakams and their Pashas, one and all, *bag and baggage*, shall I hope clear out from the Province they have desolated and profaned.'

The successful idealism of his appeal, in an age moving fast towards materialism in politics, struck foreigners more than anything else in the incalculable conduct of our countrymen over the whole affair, and made 'Gladstone's England' popular among the Balkan Christians, in spite of the action of the British Government.

To Disraeli and to many others all this was foolishness. They saw danger in the Russian power, which they believed to threaten India already, and Europe in the long run. They feared to alienate our Mohammedan fellow-subjects by appearing to abandon the head of their religion to his Christian enemies. If Disraeli cared little about the Balkans, he cared much about India. He had proclaimed the Queen its Empress. He had, by an able stroke, bought for England an interest in the Suez Canal shares as the key to our Eastern possessions. It delighted him to bring Indian troops to Malta as a protection for the Porte and a warning to Russia.[1] If he thought the Czardom an abomination he was not far wrong. And although his strong Jewish sympathies inclined him to look too leniently on the Turk by comparison, we now know by bitter experience that he was right in supposing the Turk to have no monopoly in Balkan atrocities.

1876 · 1875 · 1878

[1] See note, p 99 above.

But in one respect Gladstone, for all his idealism, was more realist than Disraeli. Gladstone believed in nationality and Disraeli did not. Disraeli believed in 'race,' but he did not see why every race should demand as of right to express its genius through national freedom and self-government. His own race, of which he was so proud, throve and was famous for its own distinctive qualities, without being a nation. And so, except in the case of old-established 'nations' like England and France, Disraeli preferred cosmopolitan empires of the *ancien régime*. He had supported Austrian and papal claims against Italian aspirations. On the same principle he saw no reason why the Turk should not continue to rule over Serbs, Greeks and Bulgars. But national feeling was the great force of the century, and had become a motive power in all human affairs. *Realpolitik* could no longer leave it out of account. It was impossible, as events have since proved, permanently to subject Serbs, Greeks and Bulgars to the Turk.

For some ten years after the death of Palmerston, British intervention in the affairs of the Continent had been on principle reduced to a minimum. This state of things was now brought to an end. Disraeli was determined that England should be heard as a principal in the counsels of Europe. He would not consent that, because France was down and out, all great questions should be left to the decision of the three despotic Empires. There was much to be said for this policy in general; and much in particular for preventing the control of the Balkans and the Straits by Russia—although in 1914, under altered circumstances, we fought to place her in Constantinople itself. But Disraeli's vision, penetrating as it was, had limits in certain directions. He failed to see that England would have interfered with more powerful and lasting effect, and would have checked Russia more effectually, if she had supported instead of opposing the creation of independent Balkan States.

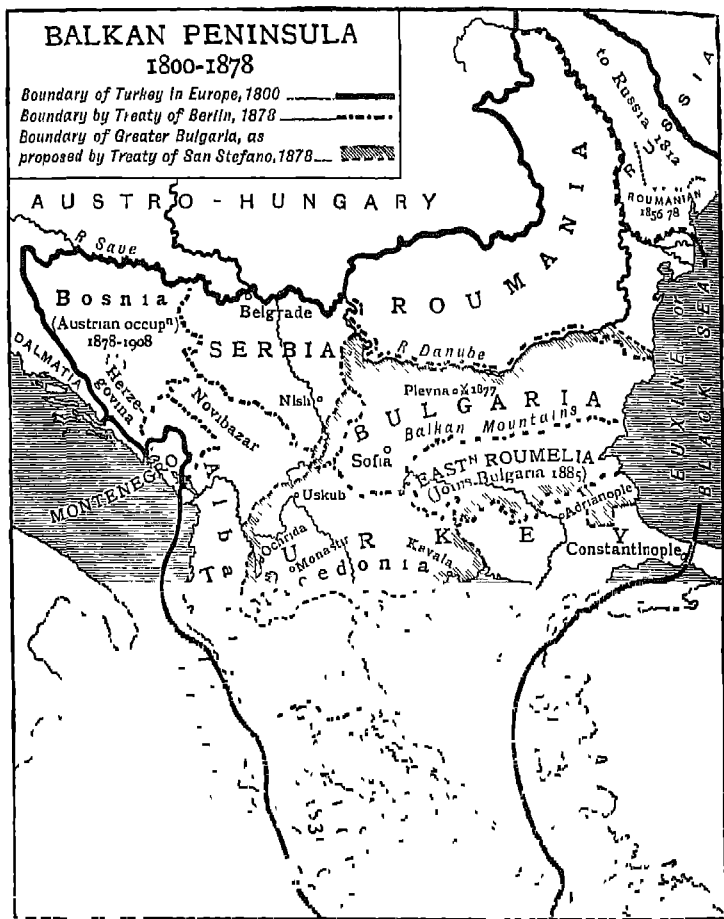
At the beginning of the affair, in May 1876, he declined to let England join the Concert of Europe in coercing the Porte into better government, because he feared, perhaps not unjustly, that such a course 'must end very soon in the disintegration of Turkey.' He refused to commit us to the difficult task of liquidating the Turkish problem in agreement with the other Powers. Having so refused, he could hardly be surprised that, in default of action by Europe, Russia went to

1877 war alone to save the Christian races from extirpation. After the liberation of Bulgaria in the protracted and obstinate campaign of Plevna, the Russian armies arrived under the walls of Constantinople, and there dictated the Treaty of San Stefano. March 1878

BALKAN PENINSULA
1800-1878

*Boundary of Turkey in Europe, 1800*
*Boundary by Treaty of Berlin, 1878*
*Boundary of Greater Bulgaria, as proposed by Treaty of San Stefano, 1878*

Emery Walker Ltd. sc.

Longmans Green & Co London, New York, Bombay, Calcutta & Madras

The crisis had been reached. Disraeli, now Lord Beaconsfield, threatened Russia with instant war and brought Indian troops to Malta to show that he was in earnest. By his spirited action he compelled Russia to refer the Treaty of San Stefano to a European Congress. In view of the magnitude and variety of the interests touched, such a reference was only right.

Since Derby now resigned, Beaconsfield chose Lord Salis-

bury to succeed him at the Foreign Office. Salisbury had little enthusiasm for the pro-Turkish part of his chief's policy. He had written in September 1876 that the 'alliance and friendship' with Turkey 'is a reproach to us, and that the Turk's teeth must be drawn, even if he be allowed to live.' Salisbury seems to have moved somewhat in the direction of Beaconsfield's views, as the course of events in 1877 increased his fears of Russia. But his presence as the Premier's right-hand man during the final crisis undoubtedly helped to bring about the compromise by which war was avoided

The essentials of this compromise were agreed to between England and Russia before the meeting of the European Congress, which took place at Berlin under the chairmanship of Bismarck, and formally substituted the Treaty of Berlin for the terms of San Stefano. Beaconsfield acted throughout with vigour, courage and success, and, if his point of view is accepted, with ultimate moderation. But the value in terms of human welfare which these great qualities had on this particular occasion in the world's history, can only be estimated by carefully contrasting the treaty he tore up with the settlement which he caused to be put in its place.

July 1878

In the light of subsequent events, many students of Balkan politics think that the Treaty of San Stefano was open to grave objections, but scarcely to those objections on which Beaconsfield laid most stress. At San Stefano Russia had decreed the setting up of Bulgaria as a large State, adding Macedonia with its mixed races to the territories that were indisputably Bulgarian. Beaconsfield's main objection to this big Bulgaria was grounded on the belief that it would prove the catspaw of Russia. No doubt it was meant to be so, but it never could have been so, owing to Bulgarian national feeling. That factor was overlooked by Beaconsfield, who saw nothing except Panslavism. Bulgaria, as events soon proved, turned against Russia, and she would probably have done so even more effectually if she had been more powerful, and had been put in direct contact with England and other countries through the Mediterranean seaboard assigned to her at San Stefano and taken away from her at Berlin. Beaconsfield made it his boast that he had kept Russia out of the Mediterranean. But in fact it was Bulgaria whom he had excluded. His identification of Bulgaria with Russia was a fundamental and fatal mistake The Russian authorities made themselves as odious

to those whom they had just liberated, as they did to the races in the Czar's Empire. Bulgarian feeling was a strong barrier against Russia's advance to the Mediterranean.

To our modern eyes the real objection to San Stefano lies not in its alleged increase of Russian power, but in its sacrifice of the fair claims of Greeks and Serbians, who would not have remained long quiet under an arrangement which ignored their racial rights and gave all the points to Bulgaria. Lord Salisbury felt this strongly, especially on behalf of Greece. But the merit of San Stefano was that it would have reduced Turkish power in Europe to a point not very much larger than what it is to-day. As a glance at the map will show, the boundaries of San Stefano, by cutting the Turkish territory in Europe in two, would have made Albania and the Western Balkans very nearly independent of Turkey in fact, though not in name.

Beaconsfield's success, as he himself saw it, consisted in restoring the European power of Turkey. It was done by handing back Macedonia to the Porte, without guarantees for better government That was the essence of the Treaty of Berlin as distinct from the Treaty of San Stefano. 'There is again a Turkey in Europe,' Bismarck said. He congratulated the British Prime Minister—'You have made a present to the Sultan of the richest province in the world , 4000 square miles of the richest soil.' Unfortunately for themselves, the inhabitants went with the soil.

Since Beaconsfield decided that Macedonia should not be Bulgarian, some arrangement ought to have been made for its proper administration under a Christian governor. Apart from all question of massacres, the deadening character of the Turkish rule is well known. Lord Salisbury seems to have wished for a Christian governor, but nothing was done in that direction.

A golden opportunity was thus let slip. The Balkans had been in the hands of the Congress of Powers. The Turkish claims had been shorn away by the knife of war, and no new claims had yet been made good by Greek, Serb or Bulgar. If, instead of deliberately restoring the plenary power of the Turk in Macedonia, they had divided up all the territory at their disposal among the appropriate races, putting 'mixed districts' under Christian governors, a great step would have been taken towards ultimate solution. But none of the parties to the Congress of Berlin could see so far. The opportunity went by,

and a succession of Balkan wars in the twentieth century was rendered inevitable.

British diplomacy also secured at Berlin that the new Bulgaria should be not only reduced in size but divided into two parts, the southern part to be called 'Eastern Rumelia.' This makeshift arrangement was abolished seven years later, with the active concurrence of Lord Salisbury, who came to acquiesce in the desire of the Bulgarians for union in one State. 1885

Another important outcome of the Treaty of Berlin was that Bosnia and Herzegovina, though freed from Turkey, were subjected, much against their will, to Austro-Hungarian rule. England promoted the arrangement, partly to win the consent of the German Powers to the general settlement, partly to prevent a chain of Slav States from extending across the Balkan peninsula. It had not yet occurred to us that we might come to fear the Teuton more than the Slav. This transaction rendered inevitable the ultimate collision between Serbia as the champion of Jugo-Slav nationality and the Austro-Hungarian Empire that denied it. With the connivance of England, Austria was given a great accession of unwilling subjects, and launched as a principal actor into Balkan politics. From her new basis in Bosnia and Herzegovina, she pursued her ambitions in Albania and Macedonia as representative of the Pan-German '*Drang nach Osten*.'[1] 1878

At the same time, by the separate 'Cyprus Convention' with the Porte, Beaconsfield obtained Cyprus from Turkey, and promised in return the protection of England for her Asiatic possessions, into which she once more promised to introduce reforms. But this alliance with Turkey practically went out of force on Gladstone's return to power in 1880, and was never renewed by any government, Conservative or Liberal. The Armenians therefore lost the benefits that they might have derived from the system contemplated by Beaconsfield, by which we were to extend our protection and friendship to Turkey in a permanent form, and thereby, it was hoped, exert influence for the good on her conduct towards her Christian subjects, through the action of our Consuls in Asia Minor. The difficulty was that such friendship and alliance,

[1] Austro-Hungarian occupation' lasted till 1908, when it was converted into annexation by a high-handed act which proved one of the direct causes of the war of 1914.

in fact if not in name committed us to defending the European power of Turkey in Macedonia, which was certain to be challenged by the arms of Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece as soon as an opportunity offered. And neither Gladstone nor the Salisbury of later years would ever have asked England to fight in such a cause

The Treaty of Berlin was received by the world with a sigh of relief, because a European war had been avoided. Even Gladstone thankfully admitted that Beaconsfield had so far failed that eleven millions of Christians had been released for ever from the Turk.

The country as a whole rejoiced to have secured peace—and 'Peace with Honour' as Beaconsfield proclaimed it to the crowds who welcomed him back to Downing Street on the night of his return from Berlin. If a dissolution had taken place in 1878 he would perhaps have obtained another lease of power.

During the prolonged crisis of the Eastern question, the Queen had been the strongest of partisans, desiring rather than fearing a war with Russia. Her enthusiasm was embarrassing to her friend the Prime Minister, whom she sometimes upbraided as too lukewarm in his own cause. Colleagues who refused to support him, and open opponents of his policy she denounced in unmeasured terms. Disraeli had for years been flattering his royal mistress with a lavish skill of which no statesman of British race would, it is to be hoped, have been capable. His rival, indeed, never lost that reverence for the monarchy which his high Tory upbringing had instilled, and felt a personal loyalty to the Queen which merited better treatment at her hands. But he alienated her not only by his views, but by his habit of industriously expounding them to her as if she were a public meeting. If the power of the Crown had still been what it was at the beginning of the century, Gladstone would never again have been in office

Beaconsfield's loss of popularity during the year and a half that intervened between 'Peace with Honour' and the General Election of 1880, was due in part to bad times at home, including the agricultural depression which at length, in an age too late, verified his ancient prophecy that without Protection British agriculture would decline.[1] People grew

[1] See p. 276, above.

tired of his spirited foreign and Imperial policy, when they found themselves involved in prolonged operations against the Afghans and Zulus. Yet both these wars, after a period of reverses, ended successfully: the one in the capture of Cetewayo and the break-up of the Zulu military State after the battle of Ulundi; the other, thanks to the marches and victories of General Roberts, in the setting up of a friendly Amir in Afghanistan, pledged not to listen to the persuasions of Russia.

1879

1879–81

But people at home were no longer in a mood to be pleased. They said that the Afghan war, which was not over when Beaconsfield fell, would never have been necessary if his treatment of Russia in the Balkans had not provoked her to intrigue against us in the Middle East. It is probable that, in spite of the rejoicings in London over 'Peace with Honour,' Gladstone's views on Turkey had made a more lasting impression in the provinces than many politicians knew

The Liberals were at this time ahead of their rivals in democratic oratory and electoral organisation. Gladstone's 'pilgrimage of passion,' known as the Midlothian campaign, introduced new features into the methods of political propaganda. The Queen was shocked that a man, who aspired to be for a second time her Prime Minister, should address crowds from the window of a railway carriage on the mysteries of foreign policy. But times were changing, and Gladstone with them. The National Liberal Federation, organised, partly by Joseph Chamberlain of Birmingham, on a basis of democratic local Associations, was popularly known by the American word 'caucus.' It gave to the humbler members of the party up and down the provinces more control over the policy of the chiefs than would have been tolerated twenty years before, when the country was still ruled from Brooks's Club. The 'caucus' was undoubtedly a step away from aristocracy—whether most in the direction of real democracy or most in the direction of wire-pulling was a matter of hot dispute.

1879

For awhile the Conservatives were outdistanced in electoral machinery suited to the enlarged franchise. The 'Primrose League' was still a few years in the future; its assiduous courting of the democracy by the upper class would not have suited Conservatives of the older generation. But the world was gliding forward irresistibly into new fashions and new

relationships of men and things. The Gladstonian victory at the polls in the spring of 1880, unexpected by the prophets of Pall Mall, did not lead to a period of Liberal legislation and government as successful as that of Gladstone's earlier Ministry, but it gave a great impulse to the democratising of political thought and method in all parties. Disraeli, too, had played his own part in that process. A year later he died in retirement.

## CHAPTER XXIV

Gladstone's second Ministry, 1880-5—South Africa—Egypt—County franchise—Ireland—The Home Rule split, 1886

GLADSTONE'S second Ministry was less successful than his first. In the time of the Franco-Prussian War and the *Alabama* claims, the negative and pacific treatment which he was most inclined to give to foreign and Imperial affairs had sufficed. In his second Ministry the world problems of a new age, beginning with South Africa and Egypt, dragged him unwillingly into a new set of questions which he disliked and of which therefore he was not the master. Only in Irish affairs he recognised the continuance of his old mission—'to pacify Ireland'—and sprang at it with all his old eagerness and power. But in spite of his new Land Act (1881), the Irish Question proved too much for him, too much for the Liberal party and too much for the British nation, that it threatened the whole British Empire was not yet so evident as it became in the following generation.

The difference between his first and second Ministry was no less marked in domestic affairs. In 1868 he had been elected to carry out a specific and consistent programme of reform, on the general principles of which the whole party and more than half the nation were agreed. The doctrine of John Stuart Mill was to be put upon the Statute Book. In 1880, on the other hand, Gladstone came into office pledged to no extensive measures at home except county franchise, an important completion of the old programme of Mill. For the rest, no one had worked out a new set of principles to meet the needs of the new age. It had sufficed the Liberals at election time to denounce Beaconsfield's conduct of foreign affairs.

The victorious party was not a tempered weapon, but a bundle of interests and electoral forces, old and new. While

Lord Hartington represented a Whig tradition already on the way to become Conservative, Joseph Chamberlain was maturing 'unauthorised programmes' of Radical taxation to hold capital to 'ransom,' and a land policy for the benefit of the agricultural labourer, popularly known as 'three acres and a cow.' Chamberlain's doctrine forestalled much that has since happened in legislation and finance. Unconsciously he heralded some of the Socialistic ideas which were just beginning, after a long interval, to re-emerge in the British Trade Union world. The leaders of the new radicalism, Chamberlain and Sir Charles Dilke, had felt the breath of the new age in regard to Imperial and Colonial questions, which they were not content to leave as assets to the new Conservatism. In this they differed from the Nonconformist old guard, still headed by John Bright, a venerable but no longer active figure.

For some years, the Liberal party was prevented from dissolving into its component sections by the authority and prestige of Gladstone Yet the day was coming when he should accomplish the almost incredible feat of driving out from it Hartington, Chamberlain and Bright by the same door.

The Conservative Opposition in the House of Commons was officially led by Sir Stafford Northcote, but without enough energy or vindictiveness to please four guerrilla warriors below the gangway, humorously styled 'the Fourth Party.' The foremost of the group was Lord Randolph Churchill. Though a 'Tory democrat,' and half a Radical in opinion, he was almost as much opposed to Gladstone in temper and attitude as Disraeli himself. A touch of genius enabled him, though new and untried, to provoke the great man with impunity, and these gladiatorial exhibitions at once raised him to the front rank in politics.

The Fourth Party made its fortune out of the Bradlaugh question: was the atheist member for Northampton, who had other claims to disapproval besides his theological views, to be allowed to take the oath of allegiance, the religious form of which could have no meaning to him, in order that he should sit in the House in accordance with the wishes of his constituents? It was sport to plague Gladstone and his Nonconformists in the name of morality and religion. This question was the first on which the Liberal party was divided. The most religious men in the House, including the Prime Minister, stood up for religious liberty, but were voted down when they

proposed a Bill allowing members to affirm if they preferred not to swear. After years of controversy and scandal, including a struggle on the premises of the House between the giant Bradlaugh and a bevy of police, the question was settled by his admission to the first Parliament of 1886, and two years later by a law permitting affirmation.

If the Fourth Party brought into the new House 'the pert and nimble spirit of mirth,' the 'Third Party' of sixty Home Rulers, led by the stern and humourless Parnell, brought with them the tragedy of Ireland. It was their plan to call attention to the grievances of the evicted tenantry by impeding the business of the Imperial Parliament. Their new policy of systematic 'obstruction' was ere long countered by the new rules of 'closure' But the first sessions of the Liberal majority, so triumphantly returned in 1880, were neither dignified nor pleasant.

The Beaconsfield government, in its last three years of office, had dealt with a serious situation in South Africa. The Boer farmers who, forty years before, had moved off into the distant interior in the search for independence and isolation from the British,[1] were being hard pressed by the Zulus, and had not yet been able to consolidate their farming households into a State capable of defending them against the common enemy. In order to save this outpost of white civilisation in South Africa, Beaconsfield's government crushed the Zulu military power,[2] having previously annexed the territory of the Transvaal Boers, while respecting the independence of the less distant, but more organised and wealthy Orange Free State.

All sections of the English Opposition to Disraeli, including both Hartington and Gladstone, had denounced this 'forward policy,' and their speeches against the annexation had been noted by the Boers, who unfortunately remembered them better than the speakers. When the Liberals came into office, they decided that the annexation could not be undone. All might yet have been well if they had at once given the Transvaal farmers the usual privileges of self-government within the Empire, which had been repeatedly promised even by the Conservative government. But for six months Gladstone, busy with other questions, left the Transvaal Boers to the unsympathetic rule of some very inferior men on the spot, who

[1] See pp 2[illegible]-257, above

[2] See p 381, above

misled the home authorities into believing that all was well and that Transvaal self-government could be postponed till South African confederation had been arranged at Cape Town.

At length the Boers were convinced that the Liberal party, in spite of all its talk at election time, would do nothing for them. Despairing of a peaceful remedy, they rose in arms in December 1880, and two months later defeated a small British force on the boundaries of Natal, by storming the steep sides of Majuba Hill.[1]

Feb. 1881

Ministers awoke with a shock to the serious nature of the situation which their neglect had created. Rather than continue the war which they now feared would extend into a race struggle all over the sub-continent, they granted independence to the Transvaal under the Queen's suzerainty. Three years later this convention was renewed without an express statement of suzerainty, but subject to the condition that the Transvaal Republic would make no treaty without the consent of Britain, except with the Orange Free State.

If indeed concession following defeat in the field was the less of two evils, as the Cabinet believed, it was none the less fraught with future mischief. It embittered the feeling of the British all over South Africa, and it gave the Boers the idea they were the better men and could do what they liked. Gladstone, after Majuba, had been forced to choose between two very dangerous policies, and all because he had not been at the pains, in dealing with a few thousand farmers in a remote corner of the Empire, to establish some relation between his action in office and the expectations that he and his colleagues had raised when in Opposition.

Disraeli, in the interest of our Indian Empire and trade, had purchased for us the Khedive's very large holding in the Suez Canal shares and thus acquired an interest in its management. This was the first step towards British control of Egypt. Gladstone had disapproved of that first step, but he himself was destined to move forward to the end of the passage. He had been sincere when in his Midlothian orations he denounced Beaconsfield's ideas of Imperial expansion, and demanded a reversal of general policy. But Imperial policy, though it may be diverted into new directions, is not so easily reversed when it is borne forward on the prevailing current of the energies

[1] See Map, p 413, below

of an adventurous race. Maugre his Midlothian doctrine, Gladstone himself was to effect the occupation of Egypt The spirit of the age and the exigencies of the local situation were to carry him whither he would not.

Egypt, nominally subject to the Sultan of Turkey, was actually ruled by a Khedive with but little interference from Constantinople. But the land was deeply in debt to foreign bond-holders, and was in a state of partial subjection to a number of European nations and interests. In 1881 the native army mutinied under one of its colonels, Arabi Pasha Military grievances and ambitions were on the surface of the revolt, but underneath it was an Egyptian nationalist movement, Mahommedan in sentiment, but hostile to the Turk as a foreigner, to Christians, native or European, and to the foreign bondholders, officials and financiers. In the course of the ensuing revolution, which was none too wisely handled by the Powers, the mob got out of hand and massacred fifty Europeans.

June 1882

Who could deal with the situation? The Sultan of Turkey refused And, strange to relate, France who had hitherto exerted a greater influence than any other nation in the internal development of Egypt and had, since Arabi's rising, drawn England into a joint interference, drew back at the critical moment, because her Imperialist statesman, Gambetta, had fallen from office No other Power would take up the challenge that Arabi had thrown down to Europe. Yet if Egypt were allowed to remain the prey of anarchy, the Suez Canal might be blocked and European interference would sooner or later be necessary. Would England then willingly see some rival Power established in the land which was the true meeting point of Africa, Asia and Europe? Gladstone unwillingly agreed with the majority of his colleagues that it was England's task to save Egypt and to put her once more on her feet. If he had foreseen that the overthrow of Arabi would be the beginning, not the end of that task, he might have hesitated longer. But he hoped to come out of Egypt as easily as he went in

July 1882

The bombardment of the forts of Alexandria by the British fleet, which caused the resignation of Bright alone from the Cabinet, was followed by the landing of a British army under Sir Garnet Wolseley, who destroyed Arabi's army by storming his camp in the desert at Tel-el-Kebir.

Sept 1882

The settlement of Egypt was a longer and more difficult work than Gladstone or his colleagues had foreseen, but they

chose the right man to do it. Sir Evelyn Baring, best known by his later title of Lord Cromer, had served his apprenticeship in Egyptian finance in Disraeli's time In September 1883 he was sent back to Egypt as British Agent and Consul-General. Working through the Khedive, he became in effect the Governor and transformer of Egypt.

Cromer's work was carried out under strange and difficult conditions, for England had no Protectorate or any defined position of authority. Nominally our troops were in Egypt as 'simple visitors,' and the policy that Cromer urged upon the Khedive was, technically, mere 'advice,' but it was advice to which he had to listen, for his throne depended on our support. On the other hand, his own power and ours with it were hedged round on all sides by the rights not only of the Sultan but of fourteen Christian States who possessed extraordinary privileges in Egypt under the 'Capitulations' Many reforms of administration and justice could only be carried out with the consent of every one of these Powers

The chief of the States concerned was France, and she was by far the most unfriendly. She remained, until the end of the century, hostile to our work and influence, often standing in the way of Egyptian reform except in return for value received. For although France had voluntarily retired at the critical moment in 1882, she did not like to see us filling the vacancy created by her own refusal to act. Her attitude was very human and highly inconvenient.

Yet Cromer performed, even in these circumstances, the Herculean labour of restoring Egyptian finance and building up the ancient prosperity of the land of the Nile. He renovated and modernised the system of irrigation on which its welfare depends. And he gave security to the peasant from the crushing exactions and constant injustice which had been his lot for immemorial ages.

A necessary condition of Cromer's achievement was his tenure of power for twenty years or more, because Egyptian finance, the key to all other Egyptian reform, had no chance of recovery except by a long course of retrenchment in everything except productive expenditure For this reason Baring's first object in 1883 was to withdraw the inefficient Egyptian garrisons from the Soudan, where they were isolated many hundreds of miles to the south and quite unable to hold their own against the barbarian hordes of the Upper Nile. Baring

knew that the Soudan could only be conquered and held when Egyptian finances and the Egyptian army had been re-made from top to bottom. The conquest of the Soudan was necessary in the long run to the peace of Egypt, as the conquest of the Highlands had been necessary to the peace of Lowland Scotland. But there is a time for everything.

The task of the moment being to get the troops out of the Soudan, Baring was none too well pleased when the home government chose General Gordon for this delicate task. The selection had been made in a manner characteristic of the new age, as a result of a newspaper campaign conducted by Mr. Stead, one of the founders of sensational journalism. If the enterprise in view had been a desperate attempt to conquer the Soudan with an inadequate force, no one could have been better chosen than the knight-errant of genius, the magnetic and mystical ' Bible Englishman ' who, with his walking-stick, had turned the fate of a civil war in China and who knew the Soudan well. But to obey orders, especially orders to retreat, was beyond Charles Gordon's capacity, as Baring suspected. Unfortunately Gladstone did not.

Gordon went to Khartoum and, as might have been foreseen, stayed there attempting to reverse the policy he had been commissioned to carry out. He asked for reinforcements to ' smash the Mahdi,' the new religious leader whose rule in the Soudan meant fanaticism, savagery and the slave-trade. Hartington was ' utterly bewildered ' by Gordon's telegrams. Gladstone was angry with him and with himself for sending him. He was gradually cut off and besieged in Khartoum by the gathering hosts of the Mahdi The situation in all its aspects was highly complicated and uncertain, and there was great variety of expert opinion as to the real position in the Soudan. But the upshot of it all was that the Government failed to send the relieving expedition under Lord Wolseley until just too late. As they struggled up the last stages of the difficult river journey, a thousand miles from Cairo, Khartoum was stormed and Gordon killed.

Jan 1885

To Egypt the event made, perhaps, little difference. Even if Gordon had been rescued, the conquest of the Soudan must have been postponed; and it was all accomplished in good time. But to England the difference was immense Gladstone's prestige never fully recovered from the blow. Coming on the top of Majuba, Khartoum created the impression that British

honour and interests were not safe in his hands, and the Home Rule policy which he soon afterwards adopted was heavily handicapped in advance. The conscious Imperialism of the national sentiment in the following generation received an impulse from the fate of Gordon. An idealist, a soldier and a Christian hero, he supplied to the popular imagination whatever was lacking in Disraeli as the patron saint of the new religion of Empire.

Only a few weeks before the tragedy at Khartoum, the Ministry had accomplished its greatest work and won its most popular triumph by passing the third Reform Bill. This measure extended to householders in the counties the franchise granted to householders in the boroughs in 1867. Since that date the need for including the inhabitants of the counties in the scheme of citizenship had been kept before Parliament and country by Mr. G. O. Trevelyan. The Bill now introduced by Gladstone added more electors to the constituencies than the two earlier Reform Bills put together It gave the vote not only to rustics but to large numbers of industrial hands, particularly miners, who had been hitherto disfranchised by the accident of living outside a parliamentary borough.

1884

But the new fact in English life was the enfranchisement of the field labourer. For the first time since the peasants' risings against enclosures under the Tudor kings, he became a person with whom the great ones of the land must reckon. The failure of Joseph Arch's recent attempt had shown that the farm hands were in no position to organise Trade Unions. Until they obtained the vote, all that they could do, if they were sufficiently discontented with their lot, was to leave the countryside; and in fact they were leaving it fast. It might be argued that, from the point of view of the just balance of classes, they were even more in need of the vote than the better organised town workmen. But strength is added to the strong, and the agricultural labourer might never have obtained the vote but for the political action of the industrial community in the matter. So too, in the rural economic field, the liberation movement, having failed as a native product of the agricultural world, revived in the villages as an offshoot of industrial democracy, with the disadvantage that town Radicals and journalists too often knew little about the farm life and agricultural conditions which they desired to reform.

As an outcome of the new social spirit spreading from the industrial community to the village, of which Chamberlain's friend, Jesse Collings, was a missionary, and as a consequence of the county franchise, the status of the field labourer began, in the last fifteen years of the century, to receive more attention from above. A new habit of mind was engendered in many landlords who had previously, as a class, shown more consideration in dealing with their farmers than in thinking about those whom the farmers employed. The movement for providing allotments and small holdings to the landless agricultural labourer gradually grew up, and between the third Reform Bill and our own day slowly realised most of what was practicable in the policy of 'three acres and a cow.' The movement was much helped by the fact that, owing to the increased importation from America, corn growing became relatively less profitable, while the forms of agricultural production less touched by foreign competition happened to be those more suited than corn to smaller holdings. Big farms had, indeed, become the permanent basis of British agriculture. But, after several generations of trial, the experiment of cultivating the big farms by labourers without land or independence, had fairly broken down.

The terrible problem of rural housing also received more attention both from the landlords and the public. This change of attitude to the field labourer was partly due to the discovery that they were rapidly disappearing into the towns, and that something must be done to keep what was still left of them. But the need to consult them at election time was no less stimulating to this new sympathy, although there was also a considerable amount of intimidation at rural elections.

Another result of the parliamentary enfranchisement of the village democracy was that three years later Lord Salisbury's Ministry established County Councils, substituting local representative institutions for the administration of rural affairs by nominated magistrates.[1] This belated change took place fifty-three years after the Municipal Reform Act had given self-government to the towns. The establishment of Urban and Rural District Councils and Parish Councils by the Liberal Government in 1894, completed the framework of representative local government.

1888

[1] The Justices of the Peace retained, however, their judicial powers and the licensing of public-houses.

The third Reform Bill, from which so many changes ultimately flowed, had passed the Commons with little opposition. But the Lords, while not venturing openly to oppose it on principle, held it up until a Bill to redistribute the seats should first be passed A popular agitation against hereditary legislators arose in the country, in the course of which Bright made proposals for a limitation of the Lords' veto on which the Parliament Act of 1911 was long afterwards based. But Gladstone, who was by no means the perfect demagogue that he was sometimes represented, laboured to avoid a conflict between the Houses, and the Queen exerted her influence on the side of peace. Gladstone and Salisbury, in a series of personal conferences, arrived at a compromise by which the Franchise Bill and a scheme of Redistribution were passed as agreed measures. It is remarkable that this successful conference between party leaders did not become a precedent in constitutional custom, although the expedient was attempted on the grand scale in 1910, in vain.

July 1884

Nov 1884

The third Reform Bill and the contest with the Lords had, for the time, repaired the popularity of the Liberal government. But the fall of Khartoum immediately followed, giving the death-blow to its real power. For some months it staggered on, and at length resigned, after an unsuccessful division in the summer. Among the minor measures which stand to its credit were compulsory education for all children, a supplement to the Act of 1870; an Employers' Liability Bill; and the right conceded to tenant-farmers to kill the hares and rabbits on their farms. During his last months of office Gladstone had, at the risk of war, carried on an effectual resistance to Russian encroachment in Afghanistan.

Jan. 1885

June 1885

When the Liberals resigned, Lord Salisbury took office until the General Election in the winter.[1] In order to understand that election and its consequences, it is necessary to revert to the history of Ireland.

Gladstone's disestablishment of the Irish Church and first Land Act had not, as he hoped, 'pacified Ireland.' But they had been steps in that direction. During the 'seventies, Fenianism was less active and a constitutional agitation grew

1869

1870

[1] It was during this brief tenure of office in 1885 that Salisbury reversed an important part of the Near Eastern policy which Beaconsfield and he had formerly pursued He supported, against Turkey, the Bulgarian national aspirations for union of the two Bulgarias. (See p. 379, above.)

up to demand an Irish Parliament. In 1873 the 'Home Rule League' was formed by Isaac Butt, who chose the name Home Rule in order to avoid in English minds the associations connected with O'Connell's 'Repeal,' of which the new movement was a revival under changed conditions. Isaac Butt was a man of very moderate temper, more liked than feared in the British House of Commons. He hoped to persuade the English people and their leaders by a sympathetic presentation of what he regarded as a reasonable case. He failed completely, and the Fenians would soon have become impatient and again active had not the effective leadership at Westminster passed, in the last years of Beaconsfield's Parliament, into the hands of a new member, Charles Stewart Parnell.

1867

Indignation at the hanging of the 'Manchester martyrs' had first aroused Parnell's strange and solitary mind to take an interest in his country. His powerful but almost uneducated[1] intellect had been suddenly fired by a single idea that 'filled the fine, empty sheath of a man.' But he did not go into public life for another half-dozen years, nor enter Parliament till 1875.

A Protestant and a landlord, Parnell became in a few years the leader of the Catholic tenantry, by right of his genius for tactics, his ruthless contempt for all the English held sacred in Parliament or out of it, and his silent force of character dominating an eloquent and emotional race After Butt's death he was elected official chief of the Home Rule party in the new Parliament of 1880, in which he soon made his policy of obstruction the principal fact.

The Land League had been founded in 1879 to fight out the agrarian question against the landlords with the law and Government behind them. Parnell was in close touch with it, and worked to induce the Fenians of Ireland and America to abandon their old programme of Republicanism and promiscuous violence, in favour of the new and more practical programme of the Land League and of the Home Rule party. For in Parnell's mind Home Rule and the agrarian questions went together. Gladstone's Land Act of 1870 had not given fair

[1] His residence at Magdalene College, Cambridge, had taught him little except to dislike the English more than ever Nor was his Irish patriotism based on a study of history or literature One day in 1889, when Mr Gladstone was talking to him about the '41' in Ireland, it was clear to the onlookers that Parnell neither knew nor cared to what century his learned ally was referring.

rents or security of tenure,[1] and his Bill of 1880 for compensating evicted tenants under certain conditions was thrown out by an immense majority in the House of Lords. That year ten thousand persons were evicted. In reply, two thousand five hundred agrarian outrages were committed, while the institution of the 'boycott,' called after Captain Boycott, one of its early victims, made life unendurable to agents and abettors of unpopular acts. By the same means discipline was maintained among the peasants themselves.

Such was the policy of the Land League. It was no longer spasmodic acts of revenge, but systematic terrorism to break the land system from off the neck of the people. Gladstone struck both at the terrorism and the unjust laws. On the one hand, a Coercion Bill enabled the Government to imprison whom it liked for as long as it liked. On the other hand, his great Land Act of 1881 aimed at securing to the Irish tenants, in spite of all English theories of 'free contract,' the famous 'three F s'—Fair Rents to be settled by a Tribunal ; Fixity of Tenure for all who paid their rents ; and Free Sale or the right of the tenant to part with his interest Opinion in England and Ireland was not yet ready for land purchase on a great scale But the fixing of rents by a State tribunal went a long way towards effecting that agrarian transformation which the two English parties were destined between them to accomplish for Ireland. The same principles—fixity of tenure, and fair rents adjudicated by a Commission,—afterwards solved the vexed 'crofter' question in the Highlands of Scotland, where a very similar agrarian problem was not complicated by religious and racial feuds.[2] After the Irish Land Act of 1881, it already seemed as if an age had passed since the Lords had thrown out the mild Compensation for Disturbance Bill of the year before.

1881

It was not Parnell's cue to show gratitude, and Ministers presently locked him up under their Coercion Act. He warned them that if they removed him from the scene they would be leaving 'Captain Moonlight' in charge. And indeed, when Parnell's relatively restraining influence was gone, agrarian outrage was worse than ever and political assassination began to be plotted again. But W. E. Forster, Chief Secretary for Ireland, believed that all the trouble arose from a few 'village ruffians,' whom he could lay by the heels if he was given time.

[1] See p. 352, above.

[2] G O Trevelyan's Crofters Act, 1886

Unfortunately the statistics of agrarian crime grew worse instead of better under coercion. Chamberlain, as the leader of Radicalism in the Cabinet, and John Morley now transferring to political journalism a reputation won as an historical and literary critic, both attacked Forster's policy. At heart Gladstone had always disliked it and experience confirmed his doubts. In 1882 he threw over his Chief Secretary and made, through the agency of Chamberlain, the famous 'Kilmainham Treaty' with Parnell, by which the Nationalist Chief was let out of prison to recover his own authority, restrain the outrages and give the Land Act a chance. Forster and the Viceroy, Lord Cowper, resigned.

May 1882

For two days after Parnell's release from prison, it seemed as if the bitterness dividing the British and the Irish peoples would at last begin to be assuaged. Forster's successor, Lord Frederick Cavendish, was sent over as the harbinger of peace, the personal representative of Gladstone's good will, himself a noble warrant of England's desire for new and better things. He was murdered within a few hours of landing in Ireland. Mr. Burke, the Under-Secretary, with whom he was walking in the Phœnix Park, was the object of the attack in which Lord Frederick's chivalrous defence of his companion involved him. It was an event as fatal to Ireland as the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam in 1795,[1] and this time no one could impute the fault to England or England's Ministers.

May 6, 1882

Neither did the fault lie with Parnell or with the Irish people as a whole, who were horror-struck at the news. The 'Invincibles' were a small murder club adverse to Parnell's policy, which, indeed, had never received so hard a blow as they dealt it that day. Lord Frederick, though a very different man from General Gordon, was no less calculated to arouse the affection and passionate regret of the English people. And such was his personal influence over Gladstone and his strong good sense that it is quite likely that, if he had lived, the break-up of the Liberal party in 1886 would never have taken place. The memory of his murder became one of the chief difficulties in the way of Gladstone when he tried to persuade the English to trust the Irish with self-government.

During the three difficult and dangerous years intervening between the Phœnix Park murders and the election of 1885, Lord Spencer as Viceroy governed with strength and justice,

[1] See pp 101–102, above.

holding the scales even between Nationalist and Orangeman, and preventing any disaster from happening in Ireland, although dynamite outrages in London by Irish-Americans further incensed British opinion against the Irish cause. Parnell was not very active during this period, and did nothing to make the situation worse than it necessarily became after the Phœnix Park murders. He was biding his time.

During Salisbury's brief Ministry in the last six months of 1885, the Conservatives appeared to be seeking the Irish Alliance. They eschewed coercion, and Parnell came away from an interview with Lord Carnarvon, the Conservative Viceroy of Ireland, persuaded that he and his colleagues intended to grant some kind of self-government. Parnell had deceived himself. Lord Carnarvon was much more advanced than his colleagues or his party But the fact that they had sent him to govern Ireland led not unnaturally to a wrong inference by Parnell, who therefore held out for higher terms from Gladstone, and threw the weight of the Irish vote on to the Conservative side at the General Election that winter

Nov–Dec 1885

At the polling, the Liberal party did badly in the towns but was saved by the county voters, grateful for the new franchise and hoping that attention would at last be paid to the grievances of the agricultural labourer. The net result was that the Liberals outnumbered the Conservatives by more than eighty, but the Conservatives and Home Rulers together outnumbered the Liberals by four It would therefore be useless for anyone to form an administration without coming to terms with Parnell. This man, who a dozen years before had been a Wicklow country gentleman, moody and reserved, known outside his own family chiefly as a cricketer, had become the touchstone of the whole British Empire and the arbiter of fate to its Ministers. Such control over the Parliament at Westminster was to all appearance the summit of good fortune for the Irish cause. Actually it led to disaster. When Gladstone had asked the electors for a majority over Conservatives and Home Rulers together, so that he could settle the Irish question without Irish dictation, he had not been far wrong. But he had asked in vain

For a week or two after the result of the elections became known, Gladstone hoped that the existing Conservative Government would take up the Carnarvon policy and [illegible] some kind of Home Rule; in that case he was prepared to

support the Ministry till the deed was done. But it soon appeared that the Conservatives had no such intention. Then the Liberal chief thought that he had no alternative but to ally himself to Parnell, turn out the Government and prepare to deal with the Irish question himself.

1886 Gladstone, now a third time Prime Minister, had been impressed by the great size of the majorities for Home Rule in the Irish elections under the new franchise. The eighty-five Parnellite members represented the 'self-determination,' as we should now call it, of Catholic Ireland No electoral result had ever more clearly proclaimed the will of a people. Gladstone, like various other statesmen of both parties, had for some time been turning over in his mind the pros and cons of a Home Rule policy, and now the moment for it seemed to him to have come. He would, at one stroke, secure power to govern the Empire in the only way open to any statesman without another General Election, and set up popular government in Ireland under the firm rule of Parnell, who would restrain his emotional compatriots, preserve order and secure a good start for the great experiment.

He overlooked Protestant Ulster, for which he provided no separate status in his Bill. And he succeeded in losing not only Hartington and the more Conservative Whigs, and Bright the old Radical leader, but Chamberlain who stood for the Radicalism of the coming age. His neglect of Ulster and his handling of his party and colleagues were fatal both to Home Rule and to the Liberal cause. Old age had had upon him a strange effect. It left his gifts and energies as wonderful as ever and his mind no less open to new ideas, but it diminished his tact and prudence.

Yet the difficulties of the task he had undertaken were in any case immense. It might have passed the wit of the most prudent statesman in the world to construct a measure to which Ulster would submit, which Chamberlain would support, and yet which Parnell would accept.

The Home Rule Bill, coupled with a scheme for Land Purchase, was introduced into the Commons by Gladstone on April 8, 1886, and was thrown out two months later, on second reading, by the action of the Liberal dissentients. Then came the choice between dissolution or resignation. To resign meant postponement, a waiting on time and events, an attempt at reconciliation within the Liberal party before it was too late.

To dissolve would force the Liberal Unionists to fight their old friends and to be returned by Conservative votes. Gladstone, worked up to a fervour of apostolic zeal, chose the more dangerous course. The General Election of 1886, fought on the Home Rule issue alone, made the split in the Liberal party irremediable. The Conservatives and Liberal Unionists were victorious and were in power with one brief interval for twenty years.

July 1886

In that decisive election, all that energy and eloquence could do was done by Gladstone, despite his seventy-seven years. He kindled an enthusiasm for his new cause which does credit at least to the imagination and generosity of many of the Liberals, who, only seven months before, had been attacked at Parnell's orders in an embittered electoral battle by these same Irish, for whom they were now asked to postpone everything that directly interested themselves.

But the forces arrayed against Home Rule proved the stronger Majuba, Khartoum, the Phœnix Park, the agrarian outrages, made the average Englishman distrustful of accepting Gladstone's account of the Irish and the way to deal with them. It was more natural for Protestants to sympathise with Ulster, whose determination to resist the decrees of an Irish Parliament was now beginning to make itself powerfully heard. The intellectual movement of the Victorian era, hitherto mainly on the Liberal side in politics, now for the most part broke off sharp from Gladstone and began to regard him as a demagogue. Unionism prevailed among the leaders of literature and thought, men like Robert Browning, Leslie Stephen, Lecky and many more, as also in that part of the professional and scientific world which had not previously become Conservative. The almost complete loss of upper and middle class support forced 'Gladstonianism' to become more democratic than even the old Liberalism had been. Yet it made no special appeal to the new Labour movement, and it was helping to create by revulsion the dominant political creed of the coming era, the belief in Great Britain's Imperial destiny.

# CHAPTER XXV

The Salisbury Ministries—Socialist influences—The new Trade Unionism—Municipal development—The *fin de siècle*—Ireland, Parnell and the Liberal interlude.

'The Industrial Revolution,' a term invented by Arnold Toynbee in the later years of Queen Victoria, was generally adopted by economic historians to describe changes in England during the reign of George III and his immediate successors But the Industrial Revolution never came to an end, and never can come to an end, so long as men go on making inventions, and every new form of economic life begins to be replaced by another, almost before it has itself taken shape.

In the last thirty years of the nineteenth century it was apparent that great changes were taking place in the economic structure,—besides the mere increase in population, wealth and trade, which the later Victorians in their sense of secure prosperity had come to regard almost as a law of nature. The greater industries were passing out of the hands of single 'employers' and family groups into the control of joint-stock companies, served by great industrial managers at high salaries, a class almost unknown in the first half of the century. Small businesses were being amalgamated, and the area and influence of competition were being restricted.

Incidentally this growth of joint-stock companies brought into existence a very numerous class of persons drawing part of their incomes from investments in industrial ventures in which they were not themselves employed. Such persons of all classes were unlikely to welcome the revived Socialist attack on capital, which the numerically small class of direct employers might have found it harder to resist alone. On the other hand, the big amalgamated business often attained a position and outlook leading it to come to terms with the big Unions, and to take an intelligent interest in the conditions of life of its employees.

Parallel to this amalgamation among the firms, the Trade Unions in the larger skilled trades were becoming national instead of local. Local disputes were frequently dealt with by the national organisation of the trade in question, and if necessary were supported from its central funds. The Trade Union Congress had become a British institution of the

utmost respectability. On the other hand, since their legislative victory of 1875,[1] the various trades had no common policy to pursue. It was an era of 'sectionalism,' and the Labour movement as a whole was scarcely self-conscious. There were a few miners' representatives in Parliament, but no Labour party.

In the early 'eighties Trade Union policy was still very pacific The big Unions had won most of what they had set out to win, and were more interested in the management of their sick and old age benefits than in new worlds to conquer. Trade Unionists took little account of the Labour movement, which includes unorganised labour. This attitude of mind was attacked in 1886–7 by Tom Mann and John Burns, coming forward as leaders of the 'New Unionism,' and roundly accusing the 'aristocracy of labour,' such as their own Amalgamated Society of Engineers, of 'selfish and snobbish desertion' of their less fortunate fellow-workmen.

The main object of the New Unionism was to assist and to organise trades where unionism was weak—unskilled labour, trades which were 'sweated,' and those in which women's and children's labour competed with that of men. The new feature of the time was that these efforts received a good deal of sympathy from other classes. It was recognised by many that the immense improvement in the general lot effected since the 'hungry 'forties' had not brought equal benefits to all, and that housing in the slum districts was a problem which society had still to face. The old *laissez faire* doctrine that the State had hardly any function save to keep order, had quite passed away. Undermined in theory by Carlyle, Ruskin and even Mill in his later days, it had proved inadequate in practice.

The old Socialist Engels, a friend and compatriot of Karl Marx, but well acquainted with English conditions for nearly half a century, wrote in 1885, admitting that organised trades and skilled workmen were very much better off than before, 'but as to the great mass of the working people, the state of misery and insecurity in which they live now is as low as ever, if not lower. The East End of London is an ever-spreading pool of stagnant misery and desolation, of starvation when out of work, and degradation physical and moral when in work And so in all other large towns,—exception made of the privileged minority of the workers'

Engels was overstating the case, but there was a big case

[1] P 369, above

to state. Not only Socialists but society as a whole was becoming interested in the inquiry into the state of the 'submerged.' From 1884 onwards, Commissions on Sweated Trades and on Housing, sometimes with the Prince of Wales as Chairman, examined depths hitherto unplumbed. Investigation was the watchword of the hour, and the results were not consoling. It was the era of Canon Barnett and 'Settlements,' when University men of good will came to live where they could see for themselves how their fellow-citizens throve Charles Booth's scientific study of the London poor, poured out in volume after volume over a series of years, did much to enlighten the world and to form opinion. His analysis, based on a wider and more detailed collection of facts than had ever before been made, showed in 1891 that some thirty per cent., or over a million and a quarter out of the four million three hundred thousand Londoners, fell habitually below the 'poverty line,' with disastrous results to health and industrial efficiency as well as to human happiness. Charles Booth put the demand for old-age pensions on a scientific basis.

1889-1902

The fight against sweating, bad housing, neglect of children and aged persons, and all the problems of poverty had to wait for some of its most signal victories till the new century, but the ground was chosen and the battle was joined with success in the last decades of Victoria's reign.

The first skirmish of the New Unionism was the successful strike in 1888 of the London girls employed in making lucifer matches, one of the most dependent and helpless sections of labour, who could never have won their fight unaided, or in a hostile social atmosphere. Friends pleaded their cause in the newspapers, and subscriptions from the public pulled them through. Next year there was a pitched battle between vaster forces. The unorganised mass of London dock labourers who struggled with each other for precarious jobs at the dockyard gates, had the courage to strike for sixpence an hour. So widely had the spirit of the New Unionism spread that with the help of a 'sympathetic strike' of the powerful Stevedores' Union, they held up the trade of the Port of London for ten weeks, and won the victory under the leadership of John Burns.

1889

Neither the dockers nor the match-girls would have had a chance, if public opinion had not been largely on their side, ready even to subscribe to their funds. The result of these

successes, so consonant with the spirit of the new age, was the formation of many more Trade Unions among unskilled hands.

The great County Council Act of 1888 gave a whole armoury of new weapons to the 'municipal socialism' which was attempting to improve the conditions of life. Salisbury's second Ministry, though its personnel was Conservative, was dependent on Liberal Unionist support. As that was still uncertain,[1] it was all the more needful to make concessions to Liberalism in the Cabinet policy. Coercion in Ireland was yoked with democratic reform in Britain. Although the 'Tory democrat,' Lord Randolph Churchill, committed political suicide by resigning office on grounds that the public considered inadequate, he had had a great effect in continuing the 'education' of the Conservative party towards broader views and more democratic methods. And the loss to Radicalism in the Cabinet occasioned by his fall, was for a time balanced by the influence which Chamberlain exerted from outside on the plans of the Government. With the highly organised Birmingham democracy moving under his direction, he seemed almost to hold the balance of power between parties in the State.

1886–1892

Dec. 1886

Mr. Ritchie's great measure of 1888 established rural self-government by County Councils,[2] and enlarged the existing machinery of urban democracy by turning the largest towns into county boroughs.

The administrative problem of London outside the old City boundaries, which had been shirked by the legislators of 1835, was dealt with in a Radical spirit by the Act of 1888. The new London County Council, to the chagrin of some who had had a hand in creating it, at once became the representative and agent of millions of Londoners who aspired after better conditions of daily life. The popularity and energy of John Burns of Battersea gave him success as the first apostle of a London patriotism distinct from pride in the old 'City,' while the intellectual leadership of the Fabian publicists, and the organisation of the 'Progressive' party formed *ad hoc*, helped London to take her place beside the foremost cities of the Empire in municipal progress, while she remained Conservative in Imperial politics.

All over the island, the last two decades of the century

[1] The 'Round Table Conference' of 1887 was a conference of Liberal chiefs, Gladstonian and Unionist, including Chamberlain, to find a basis of Liberal reunion It failed, after a successful opening

[2] See p 390, above

saw an immense extension of municipal enterprise. Baths and wash-houses, museums, public libraries, parks, gardens, open spaces, allotments, lodging-houses for the working classes were acquired, erected or maintained out of the rates. Tramways, gas, electricity and water were in many places municipalised. The self-governing towns of England became employers of labour and producers on a great scale. It has been largely owing to 'municipal socialism' of this kind that the death-rate and the figures of infant mortality have fallen and that some real progress has been made in the amenities of life.

Sir William Harcourt, himself a Whig and a lawyer of the old school, startled the House of Commons by saying 'we are all socialists now.' The joke had an element of real meaning which made the saying proverbial. And a few years later Harcourt himself, as Chancellor of the Exchequer for the short-lived Liberal Ministry, passed a 'socialistic' budget that laid 1894 heavy death duties on the heirs of the wealthy, to pay the ever-increasing bill of social reform and Imperial defence.

Yet neither Sir William Harcourt nor any large section of the community were 'socialists' in the sense of wishing to abolish private capital and enterprise in ordinary trading concerns. Only a small but active body in the British Trade Union world was beginning to adopt the full programme of Karl Marx.[1]

Socialism may be said to have been invented in England by Robert Owen and some of his later contemporaries. But it had declined for many years in the island of its origin. The revival of British Socialism was preceded and in some sense prepared by the vogue of a different doctrine, that of the American Henry George in his *Progress and Poverty* (1879), which dealt with rent in much the same way that Marx dealt with private profit. In the year 1881 H. M. Hyndman founded the Social Democratic Federation to preach the Marxian gospel in earnest. It made headway, but not very rapidly, in the British Trade Union and Co-operative world, which had already achieved so much in a very different spirit

[1] Karl Marx (1818–1883) formulated and materialised the doctrines of Socialism His great work, *Das Kapital*, was very different from the rather vague idealism of Robert Owen and Saint-Simon, his English and French predecessors He aimed at pitting 'the proletariat' against 'Capital' in all countries He pointed to the nationalisation of all means of production as an inevitable historic evolution from the capitalistic era He appealed to a 'scientific' interpretation of history

from that of Marx Indeed, the German leader suspected both those movements as successful rivals to his own speculative system of amelioration by class war.

Meanwhile the idealism which was abhorrent to the true Marxian materialist was upheld by the poet and artist William Morris, whose Socialism in the pleasant *News from Nowhere* was partly a continuation of Ruskin, partly an imaginary vision of what the Middle Ages might have been like without the Church. It is a rebellion hardly more against capitalism than against the ugliness of modern city life. It looks as much backwards as forwards, as much to art and beauty as to politics.

The third current of *fin de siècle* Socialism, and the most important, was the Fabian doctrine, specially connected with Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb. The Fabian Society was founded in 1883. Its name recalls a Roman general whose motto was 'slow but sure.' Eschewing revolution, and intent on the actualities of England at the end of the nineteenth century, Fabians exonerated Socialists from the heavy obligation of reading Karl Marx. Without dogmatising as to the ultimate future of industrial organisation, they preached practical possibilities, here and now—municipal Socialism and State control of conditions of labour. Equally far from Marx and Morris, they left the New Jerusalem alone, and sought to impregnate the existing forces of society with collectivist ideals.

The Fabians became experts in bringing electoral, journalistic and personal pressure to bear on local bodies and on the Liberal or Conservative government of the hour,—somewhat after the methods of action of Francis Place, but with the added power of the democratic franchise. By the end of the century it is in Fabianism that we find the nearest approach to a body of doctrine directly affecting the laws and administration of the time, like the doctrines of Bentham and Mill in the past. The Fabians were intelligence officers without an army—there was no Fabian party in Parliament—but they influenced the strategy and even the direction of the great hosts moving under other banners.

The social movement of the time had its effect upon the religious bodies. Cardinal Manning, in his old age, helped to negotiate the terms of the London dockers' victory. General William Booth's Salvation Army preached the Gospel to the 'submerged' of *Darkest England.* Like the Wesleyans of the

eighteenth century, the Salvationists sought out the neglected and least promising members of society. But the modern evangelists, though by no means ashamed of 'enthusiasm,' developed also an earthly paraphernalia of shelters, workshops and emigration agencies. General Booth was of the opinion originally formulated by the secularist Robert Owen, that environment makes character.

The activities of the National Church were more and more directed to work on similar lines, in the poorest districts of the great cities. 'Environment' gave a new character to the opinions of many of the clergy. In slum surroundings they learnt to think very differently from their predecessors of Miss Austen's time, who had lived between the rectory and the manor-house. Many of the new clergy in the towns developed socialistic sympathies.

Nevertheless, for all these new religious efforts, and the earnest attempt to evangelise the lower strata, the part played by religion in the life of the upper and middle classes, and of the better-to-do working class, was less remarkable at the end of the century than it had been when Queen Victoria began her reign. The decline of Nonconformity was not the only symptom. Everyday thought was decidedly more secular in tone. This was partly due to intellectual movements, to the Darwinian theory and Biblical criticism at work in an age when everyone was being taught to read. But it was also due to the number of other interests in life which now competed with religion. Where the Bible had been almost the only book for many households, there was now the daily paper, the cheap magazine and novelette, and, for the minority who cared for such things, the best literature and science in the world in cheap editions. Formerly entertainments and organised excitements had been rare; but now there was the football match with its democratic 'gate,' the music-halls, and a thousand appeals of every kind to the popular attention.

The modern English, as soon as they had a good thing, had the means to make it common. The Gilbert and Sullivan songs might be heard in any parlour where there was a cheap piano. Football and cricket, both as games to be played and as spectacles to be watched, spread from upper-class public schools through the Universities to the democracy at large One excellent new activity of man, mountain climbing, begun in Switzerland chiefly by some Fellows of Cambridge colleges

in the middle of Victoria's reign, was by the end of the century beginning to open the rock climbs of England, Wales and Scotland to a larger fraternity. In the 'nineties the 'safety' bicycle with pneumatic tyres abolished the dangers and discomforts of the high-wheeled bicycle of the former decade. Before motor-cars in the new century swept the unfortunate 'push-bike' off the high road, it had been a principal means of popular enjoyment, had opened out country places to the city dweller, and had profoundly affected the social customs and outlook of more than one class of society, particularly of the women, to whom it gave a new freedom. The bicycle seemed the symbol of the changing *fin de siècle*. For good and for bad, the standards of Victorian 'respectability' were beginning to crumble. The balance maintained between tradition and democracy, which had been the essence of the Victorian age, was giving way. Literature was retreating before journalism, or was being absorbed in it.

The government all this while might be called Conservative, but change was never more rapid, nor the advance of the equalitarian spirit more observable. It was due, not to political propaganda, but to environment and conditions of life. A profound transmutation was in process towards a more mechanical and a more democratic world, the world of the great city instead of the country village, a world expressing itself more through science and journalism, and less through religion, poetry and literature. In a hundred years' time it will be possible to speculate as to whether the change has been mostly for good, or mostly for evil. But in so far as men have any real knowledge and understanding of the past, it is probable that opinions on that subject will be neither unanimous nor confident.

1887–1897

The epoch of Lord Salisbury's two Ministries and the two Jubilees of Queen Victoria was above all else an age of prosperity at home and peace abroad. But it failed to solve the Irish question.

If our own generation, taught by much unhappy experience, had had the Ireland of Gladstone and Salisbury to deal with, it would perhaps have found the solution. But the Liberals of that day would not reckon with Ulster, nor the Unionists with the rest of Ireland. The British had had no recent experience of race hatreds and historic feuds in their

own island, since Henry VIII had settled the Welsh question, and the statesmen of William and Anne had settled Scotland. Having no first-hand knowledge of racial strife, and very little historical knowledge or imagination, our people could not understand why the Irish tenant farmers were so unlike the British tenant farmers, who never shot landlords or houghed cattle; and why the Presbyterians of Ulster were so unlike the comfortable nonconformists of England.

The only real hope would have lain in an alliance of British statesmen to settle Ireland, as an urgent Imperial problem, objectively considered apart from our home politics. But this proved impossible. Our two-party system showed off all the defects of its qualities, and artificially excited passions which the Irish question in its nature was only too well calculated to arouse.

The Unionism that had triumphed at the election of 1886 was largely inspired by indignation against crime, from the Phœnix Park murders down to the cruel outrages on animals which Englishmen particularly dislike, and the terrorism that sought to destroy the springs of all independent action. It was barbarous work indeed, but it was the means by which Liberal and Conservative governments, from 1881 onwards, were driven step by step to abolish the evils of the old Irish land system. During their two decades of power the Unionists moved as fast in that direction as Gladstone himself, although he had begun the retreat. But the Unionists resented deeply the character of the pressure to which they yielded,—the semi-warfare of the Land League and the Plan of Campaign—and this indignation affected, if it did not actually determine, the attitude of half England to Home Rule.

Parnell, though he had opposed the more murderous and futile crimes of the Irish American societies, had in 1880 and 1881 countenanced the boycotting and terrorism of the Land League as the only possible means, in his opinion, of making the British Legislature move on behalf of the oppressed tenantry. Unionist opinion never forgave him for this and sought to bring it home to him retrospectively, now that Gladstone proposed to make him in effect the ruler of Ireland. Yet after 1886 he was less interested in the agrarian question than in Home Rule, and he knew that its electoral chances would be gravely compromised by a renewal of Irish crime. He therefore opposed the renewal of methods of sedition and

terrorism and regretted, though he could not prevent the agrarian Plan of Campaign launched in December 1886.

The Plan of Campaign was met by the Conservative Crimes Act, and a protracted battle began between the Irish peasants and Mr. Arthur Balfour, who now rose to the front rank of politics as Chief Secretary. Into that conflict, fought without gloves on both sides, the Irish Parliamentary party was necessarily drawn, with the English Liberal party in its wake. Irish members spent much of their time in prison, and a good deal of the rest on Liberal platforms in Great Britain. Parnell for his part was now the cautious statesman, while Mr. Gladstone was the enthusiastic protagonist in a great agitation. 1887-1889

At an early and critical date in this struggle, *The Times* published in facsimile a letter, purporting to bear Parnell's signature, in which he was made to express partial approval of the Phœnix Park murders. The letter, if genuine, would have killed the Home Rule movement in Britain Nearly two years later the document was proved to have been forged by a needy Irish journalist named Pigott, and to have been accepted without scrutiny as to its origin. The Royal Commission of three Judges before whom this damning revelation was made, had also to inquire into and report on the general connection of the Parnellite party with crime in Ireland, an inquiry in which it was really impossible to isolate the judicial from the political issues. But the detection of so gross a forgery, designed to ruin Parnell, overshadowed everything else in the popular mind, and the prospects of Home Rule at the next General Election began to look bright. April 1887 Feb. 1889

No one can ever tell what chance there was of a solution of the Irish question by that generation of men, nor whether Civil War or Settlement would have resulted from a decisive majority for Home Rule at the polls. The question was never put to the test, owing to the downfall of the Irish Chief.

In 1890 Parnell had been fifteen years in public life. In that short time, himself starting from nothing and with no extraneous aid, he had created a party known by his name, united the Irish nation on his policy, held up the British Parliament, made and unmade Ministries and won the greatest British statesman of the age to devote his whole energies to carrying out his plan. The goal seemed already in sight. Suddenly the bolt fell, the prospect was eclipsed and the structure was shattered.

For close on ten years Parnell had been living with another man's wife. At length a divorce suit was brought and no defence was possible. Mr. Gladstone, for purely political reasons, decided that his ally must for a while retire from the Irish leadership, otherwise, in the then state of English feeling, he believed that a catastrophe would ensue at the approaching election which would ruin the Home Rule cause. Gladstone, now over eighty, knew that his own time was short, and that another defeat would be final. Parnell, so he decided, must make his bow to the English sense of propriety and morals, and then it was probable he would soon be able to return forgiven.

Nov 1890

Till that moment Parnell's actions, unswayed by sentiment or passion, had been based on cold calculation of the chances and forces in the field. Neither good nor evil fortune had ever seemed to move the man set apart from his fellows. Yet all the while fires had blazed beneath, and now they burst out in wild destruction He had always disliked and despised the English, perhaps, through some atavistic 'complex,' all the more because he had English blood and a good deal of English character mixed with other elements in his mysterious being What business had they with his private life? He would not take off his hat to their hypocrisies, and sue for their pardon, no, not if it would save the Irish cause and the work of his life from ruin.

He held to the leadership, was disowned by the majority of the party, held on and fought, the Celtic nature or something yet more fundamental in him flashing out at last, in a baresark fight against men and gods. The Roman Church joined the fray against the 'black Protestant.' Ireland and the Nationalist party were rent from top to bottom into factions of Parnellites and anti-Parnellites. Next year he died, but his death could not at once heal the breach, could certainly not restore in England the prestige of the Irish party.

1891

So at the General Election of 1892 the majority over the Unionists of Liberals and Irish Home Rulers combined was too small to do the work. Gladstone formed his fourth Ministry; but when his second Home Rule Bill,[1] having passed the lower House by thirty-four votes, was sent up to the Lords, it was thrown out, and the country felt relieved or indifferent.

1893

[1] The Home Rule Bill of 1892 differed from that of 1886 in retaining Irish representation at Westminster

Next year Gladstone retired from public life, which had so long centred round him. He had taught Englishmen to think nobly, and foreigners to think nobly of England. He had kept our parliamentary institutions in the forefront of all men's thoughts. He had done, perhaps, more than any one man to adapt the machinery of State to modern and democratic conditions. His achievements lay thickly scattered over many pages of our history, and if his failures were great too, the last and greatest of them has added immensely to his fame. The comparison with the all-successful Bismarck is one from which his memory has less to fear now than in the first years after his death, when Bismarck's structure of national happiness seemed founded safely on the rock of force. 1894

At the next General Election the Liberals were overwhelmingly defeated. The chiefs of Gladstone's succession quarrelled with each other over the defeat, and Lord Rosebery soon resigned the leadership. For the remainder of the century Salisbury ruled the country without serious challenge. 1895

Salisbury's third Ministry, in which the Liberal Unionists took their share as Ministers of the Crown, lasted until his retirement upon the eve of his death. It was marked in Ireland by an attempt at conciliation. Home Rule was below the horizon and the Unionists hoped to prevent its rising again by settling the agrarian question. Mr. Gerald Balfour, who now held his brother's former place as Chief Secretary, aspired to 'kill Home Rule by kindness,' a policy continued by Mr George Wyndham after him. Democratic local government was extended to Ireland and was worked with success. With the help of Mr. Horace Plunkett and his co-operative schemes in which men of all parties lent a hand, a new era of prosperity set in. The agrarian problem was being solved. The 'kindness' was real and practical. Whether it had 'killed Home Rule,' the next century would reveal. 1895-1902 1895-1900

# CHAPTER XXVI

Salisbury and Chamberlain—Imperialism—Africa—Cecil Rhodes—The Soudan conquered—Venezuela—The South African War—The Queen's Jubilees and Death

AFTER Gladstone's defeat, Salisbury and Chamberlain represented the forces dominant in the British Commonwealth.

Lord Salisbury was a student, a man of intellectual, religious and scientific interests, an aristocrat by upbringing and by nature, averse from all methods of *réclame*. He stood for the old traditions of the British political nobles, bearing the load of public care with a sense of inherited responsibility. He had indeed accepted without reserve the new democratic conditions of political power, although in earlier years he had put up the last open resistance to Disraeli's Bill for household franchise. His gravity was relieved by a pungency in epigram, and a more than royal indifference to the effect of any words that fell from his lips. Though astute in his sense of what was practical, and appealing less often than Gladstone to ideal motives, he stood for character, principle and tradition, maintained public life on a high level, and despised the sensationalism of the journalist and the tricks of the politician.

Beside him, in his third Ministry, was Chamberlain, with 1895 all the keen instincts of the modern business man, seeing farther and less far than his grave, bearded chief. Yesterday the leader of English Radicalism and still exerting great influence in some democratic sections of the community, he was prepared for an alliance on terms with the older elements in the State.

Lord Salisbury, firm in the belief that 'Britain's greatest interest is peace,' held the mere avoidance of war to be the best security against revolution as well as against other ills. He well knew that the impressive fabric of modern industrial prosperity was so artificial as to demand above all things peace. He was Foreign Minister in his own Cabinet.

Chamberlain, who had chosen for himself the office of Colonial Secretary, gave it a new importance, and undertook the propaganda of a self-conscious Imperialism. The doctrine suited the spirit of the age. A dozen years back it had received an impetus from Sir John Seeley's book of lectures on the *Expansion of England* (1883), that had since spread to circles beyond the readers of Seeley.

The two parts of the new doctrine were, first the need to attach the white democracies oversea more closely to the idea of Imperial unity; and secondly the need for the Empire to secure its share of new lands, in the scramble then going on for the rest of the world's unappropriated surface. These two aspects of Imperialism had perhaps no logical connection, but they were connected by the men and by the events of that time. Disraeli's continental and pro-Turkish Imperialism was not revived, but the new creed might lead to complications with foreign Powers over colonial questions,—though not, indeed, if Lord Salisbury could help it.

Salisbury was inclined to favour the Triple Alliance of the Central Powers, more than the Dual Alliance of France and Russia, chiefly because of the hostile attitude of France on Egyptian and Colonial questions. But he kept England free from commitments in Europe, where the balance of power could still adjust itself without the help of our weight in either scale.

Lord Salisbury's great work was the dividing up of Africa with Germany, France and other countries, without a resort to arms. This he had largely accomplished during his second Ministry (1886–92). It was a great triumph for the principles of peace and negotiation as contrasted with the endless wars of previous epochs over the sharing up of America and Southern Asia. In 1890 the boundaries of German and British possessions in South and Central Africa were defined, in connection with the work of British pioneers in Nyassaland and the territories of Rhodes' Chartered Company. The fact that Salisbury bargained away Heligoland against Zanzibar showed how much more our statesmen were then thinking of colonial expansion than of any danger to our fundamental security in Europe or in the British seas. Such danger did not then exist.

The interior of 'Darkest Africa' opened out by Livingstone, H. M. Stanley and other explorers, had become ripe for white control and in places for white settlement, because railways, tinned foods, modern weapons and tropical hygiene at length enabled Europeans to penetrate and to inhabit regions where their fathers had perished. It was fortunate that the day of the white man's unlimited power over the black had not come earlier, whilst his only idea of a relation with the aborigines had been the profits of slavery and the slave trade. That

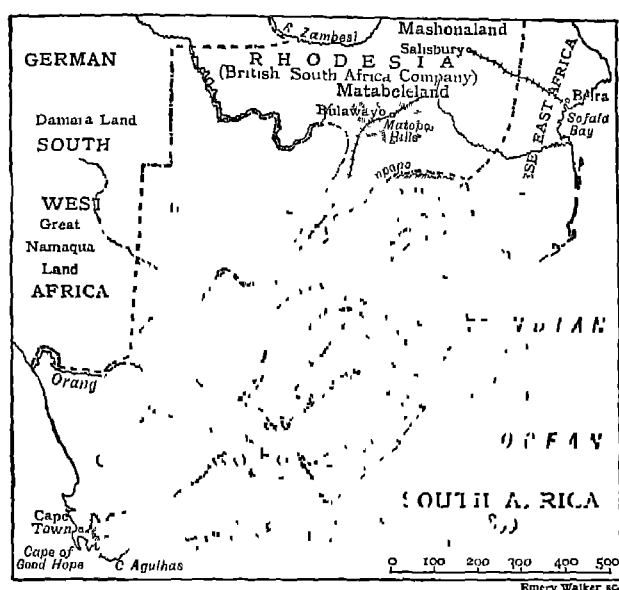
bad spirit had not indeed entirely been exorcised among all the white races in their dealings with Africa. But Britain at least made good use in Nigeria and elsewhere of the white man's new power to suppress the slave-trade and intertribal massacres.

The new situation opened out many difficult problems for the Empire,—how far and for what purposes the native might be exploited by the newcomer, what were to be his rights either of retaining or of parting with tribal land and tribal custom. In all these questions the Home Government was often in the position of umpire between missionaries and settlers, chiefs and tribesmen. As among the nations of Europe, Britain had the greatest share of Africa and the greatest responsibility in these matters. On the whole that proved very fortunate for the African.

During the last twenty years of the century, so full of romantic adventure for the commercial pioneers of the Dark Continent, an old state policy of Tudor and Stuart times was revived. Chartered Companies were formed, like those trading companies of long ago which had been the first representatives of England's political and military power in the East. Such companies, employing their own capital, were granted political authority in Nigeria, Uganda and British South Africa. These delegations of sovereign power, useful at early stages of pioneering development, were resumable by the Crown as soon as the new district was fit to become a Colony.

It was in connection with the most famous of these Chartered Companies that Cecil Rhodes became a figure of international importance. The child of an English parsonage, he had gone to South Africa for his health, and had there become a mining magnate in the Kimberley diamond world, and a leading figure in Cape politics. He valued money as a means to power, and power as a means to spread British influence and ideals. His policy, analogous to that of the Afrikander Bond, aimed at co-operation on equal terms between the Dutch and British races, and the Federation of the two Dutch Republics and the two British Colonies in a United South Africa. Chamberlain in 1889 complained that he was more of an Afrikander than an Imperialist.

But Rhodes, though friendly to the Afrikander Bond, had ideas of his own, and they sprang from an idealised belief in the British race and Empire. He had determined to extend

South Africa's sphere of influence into the far northern interior, and to carry Britain's power and the progressive part of the Afrikander ideal into the lands that Livingstone had explored. Such was his dream. His nightmare was lest the Germans should be before him, and should extend their sphere of influence across Africa from the western sea to the Portuguese territory on the eastern coast. If the Germans could once make that step across the continent they would shut in South Africa from all chance of future expansion, and would incidentally get into touch with the more reactionary elements among the

Transvaal Boers. These elements, represented by President Kruger, had already been much encouraged by the episode of the Majuba war.

Rhodes, ever the most practical of visionaries and the most visionary of men of business, dreamed of a Cape-to-Cairo railway through British territory. And so, in 1889, he secured from the home government a Charter conferring political powers north of the Limpopo River on the British South Africa Company. Armed with the Charter, he proceeded to develop not only Matabeleland and Mashonaland, but to push the future 'Rhodesia' far north of the Zambesi, to join up with other British pioneering work in Nyassaland, along that

doubtful southern border of German East Africa which Lord Salisbury was engaged in defining by negotiation.[1]

In 1890 Rhodes had become Prime Minister of the Cape. His position in South Africa and his reputation in England and the world at large was unique. He was almost as much talked about as Parnell. The two men differed from each other, but they differed still more strongly from anyone else Some modern Plutarch should draw a parallel between them. Rhodes gave Parnell £10,000 for his Home Rule campaign, seeing its importance to Imperial Federation; he described the Irish chief as 'the most reasonable and sensible man I ever met.'

At the new year of 1895–6 came the fall of Rhodes. It was less complete than that of Parnell, but the Jameson Raid dealt, to his life's work of uniting the British and Dutch on a progressive platform, a blow from which the policy never recovered in his own lifetime. Up to the fatal Christmas of 1895 the Dutch of the Orange River Colony and the Cape had many of them believed in Rhodes and were not in sympathy with the reactionary party among the Transvaal Boers headed by President Kruger.

The situation in South Africa had for ten years past been complicated by a new element. The discovery of gold reefs on the long ridge of the Witwatersrand Hills north of the Vaal River, led to the growth of Johannesburg as a cosmopolitan centre in the heart of the little republic of Bible-reading farmers. The seventeenth century and the late nineteenth century were brought into dangerously sudden contact, which the obstinacy of one party and the impatience of the other soon drew on to tragic issues.

Paul Kruger was a man of ability and force of character, with ideas limited to those of the farmer patriarchs whom he had accompanied on the original 'great trek' out of British territory sixty years before. He denied the Republican franchise to the newcomers, obstructed their mining developments, yet taxed them heavily. The quarrel between the 'Uitlanders' and the President waxed hot. Rhodes then held power in a double capacity, as Premier of the Cape, and as Managing Director of the British South Africa Company, whose Rhodesian developments, encircling the Transvaal to the north, added greatly to Kruger's old-world fears. In an evil hour Rhodes committed an act which seemed to justify all the

[1] See p. 411, above

President's harsh forebodings and jealousies. He secretly offered the aid of the armed forces of the British South Africa Company to a projected rising of Uitlanders. In other words, Rhodesia was to invade the Transvaal, at the orders of the Prime Minister of the Cape.

The projected rising at Johannesburg was never attempted, and Rhodes cancelled too late his orders for invasion, because the non-British section of the Uitlanders objected to the Union Jack, and aimed at an international republic. Unfortunately Dr. Jameson, administrator of Rhodesia, contrary to his chief's latest instructions, began the invasion of the Transvaal with six hundred troopers, who were surrounded and captured by the Boers before ever they reached Johannesburg. They were handed over to the British Government and imprisoned.

Dec. 1895 to Jan. 1896

This weak and foolish outrage united the Dutch race against the British all over South Africa. Rhodes, who was implicated up to the hilt, resigned the Premiership of the Cape. He appeared before a Parliamentary committee of inquiry in London, whose proceedings did not succeed in removing from Dutch minds their suspicions of the attitude of the British government. Words used by Chamberlain in Parliament seemed to them too favourable to Rhodes, while Rhodes' public utterances left them with the impression that the English only regretted the affair because it had failed

'I found all the 'busmen smiling at me when I came to London,' said Rhodes, 'and then I knew I was all right!' The excuse for the attitude of a great part of the British public towards the Raid was the telegram of the Kaiser offering his sympathy to Kruger. Three years later Rhodes met the Kaiser and said to him about these events, 'You see, I was a naughty boy, and you tried to whip me. Now my people were quite ready to whip me for being a naughty boy, but directly *you* did it, they said, "No, if this is anybody's business, it is *ours*." The result was that Your Majesty got yourself very much disliked by the English people, and I never got whipped at all!'

The reactionary party among the Transvaal Boers now had the game in their hands. They began to arm on quite a new scale for a war which they henceforth regarded as inevitable Worst of all, Dutch sympathy in the Orange Free State and the Cape was now more with them than against them. The stage was set for the great Boer War with which the century closed.

In 1896 Sir Herbert Kitchener, Sirdar of the Egyptian army, began operations southwards against the Soudan. It seemed an answer from the far north to Rhodes' Cape-to-Cairo scheme, but in fact it was only the fulfilment of Cromer's long-cherished purpose, possible at last now that he had given Egypt sound finances and a reliable army.[1]

Long preparation and forethought, local knowledge, mechanical perfection, and withal economy of expenditure, marked Kitchener's two and a half years' campaign. It ended in the conquest of all the obstacles of the desert, and the annihilation with machine-gun and magazine-rifle of the fanatical Mahdist hordes at Omdurman outside Khartoum. The Soudan under Mahdism had been the focus of revived Mohammedan slave-trade in the interior of Africa. The conquest and government of the Soudan by a civilised Power was essential to the welfare of the continent, as well as to the safety of Egypt.

1898

Unlike Egypt, the Soudan fell unconditionally under British and Egyptian rule, free from interference by any other country. But there was first a sharp diplomatic struggle with France, at one moment threatening war. Some French explorers under Major Marchand had reached Fashoda, higher up the river even than Khartoum, at the time of Kitchener's conquest. But their claim on behalf of France was disallowed. Feeling between the two countries was further embittered by the sympathy of the British public with the wrongs of Captain Dreyfus. The victory of the 'revisionists,' who had demanded his retrial, shortly afterwards made the way easier for a *rapprochement* with England.

1898

A few years after the Fashoda incident, France realised that it was too late to renew her ambitions on the Nile, and in return for diplomatic support of her claims in Morocco, abandoned her hostility to our presence in Egypt. The difficulties of our administration in the new century were to arise not from the Capitulations or from the hostility of European Powers, but from the spirit of nationalism, rising there as in India, and no longer to be denied, even though our administration conferred great benefits on the peasantry and the people at large.

1904

Meanwhile the mother country had been aroused to a living interest in the Dominions and Colonies, and Austral-

[1] See pp. 387-388, above

asians as well as Canadians had begun to be keenly conscious of their position in the Empire and their relation to powers outside it. Talk about secession and 'parting friends' died away as the century drew near its close. The first Imperial Conferences had been held, in connection with the Queen's two Jubilees, the pageantry and sentiment of which took on an Imperial even more than a national aspect in appealing to the popular imagination. 1887 1897

There was, however, a set-back to the first plans of British statesmen, who had hoped to create a formal constitution and parliament for a federated Empire. That idea was coldly received in the self-governing Dominions. Each was now a growing nation, proud of its own distinctive ideals, and more anxious to obtain security by association with kindred nations than to merge its individuality and rights of independent action in a larger whole. What great things voluntary co-operation could do for the Empire was shortly to be shown in the action of Canada and Australasia in the Boer War, as it has since been shown on a vaster scale and in a time of yet more tragic peril.

Blood-relationship, affection and common traditions were potent, and so too was the desire for a mutual guarantee of security against outside aggression. In the 'eighties and 'nineties Australia began to be uneasily conscious of the 'Pacific problem,' of the Germans in New Guinea and Samoa, and of the rising power of 'Westernised' Japan, with her critical eyes turned on the vast spaces denied to Oriental immigrants by the 'White Australia' policy That policy, originating in the Trade Unions, has in our day become a national resolve.[1] But a national resolve of so serious a character demands a nation to enforce it. Not only a sense of the value of the Imperial connection and of the British fleet, but the desire for internal unity was quickened among the Australian colonies in the last years of the old century. In 1900, after a decade of discussion and postponement, the terms of the Federal Union were agreed upon, the several colonies becoming States of the Australian Commonwealth.[2] Three weeks

[1] Australia, even more 'socialistically' inclined than the mother country, tended to care more about the distribution and less about the accumulation of wealth, more about the average quality of the citizen, and very little about the increase in population

[2] See p 338, above Railway construction had rendered the Union possible

Jan. 1901 before the death of Queen Victoria, the birth of the new nation was proclaimed on the first day of the new century.

The Dominion of Canada had achieved Federal Union a generation before under the leadership of Sir John Macdonald.[1] His death in 1891 was soon followed by the end of the long supremacy of the Canadian Conservative party, to whom the Imperial connection had owed most. But the new Liberal party, when it came to power, although it was largely dependent on the votes of the French Catholic element, learned to set a high value on the Empire, during the Premiership of Sir Wilfred Laurier. (1896–1911) His striking figure was the observed of all observers in London at the Jubilee of 1897, and his government gave to the mother country a preference of over thirty per cent. in the Canadian tariff.

In the 'eighties and 'nineties the revived protectionism of Canada and the United States helped to cause friction between them. Dangerous disputes about fishing rights and the Alaskan boundary[2] at Klondyke were continually postponed and eventually settled by a series of agreements and arbitrations.

But the most serious danger of war with the United States arose on a question that did not concern Canada. Periodic disputes as to the boundary between the South American Republic of Venezuela and British Guiana had been in process for generations. It was a diplomatic 'case in Chancery,' without a beginning anyone remembered or an end anyone expected. At length in the summer of 1895 the United States began seriously to put forward claims to a decisive voice in the matter, under an extended modern interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine.[3] 'To-day the United States,' wrote Secretary Olney, 'is practically sovereign on this Continent, and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition.' Lord Salisbury did not admit the claim. Suddenly, in December 1895, President Cleveland, hitherto noted for a generally pacific policy, sent a message to Congress asserting the claim of the United States to be a party in the dispute, at the cost, if necessary, of war.

On both sides of the Atlantic men were taken completely by surprise. But while America rose up with a shout to support the President, England gave an instinctive cry of horror at

[1] See pp 263, 337, above

[2] In 1867 the United States had purchased Alaska from Russia

[3] See pp. 211–212, above

the idea of war with the United States. It was the Christmas of the 'Jameson Raid,' and when the Kaiser telegraphed his sympathies to Kruger, England was far more angry with his interference than with that of President Cleveland. Lord Salisbury, aroused to the seriousness of the situation, took the Venezuela question in hand in his best manner, and consented to submit the boundary to arbitration on certain conditions. The 'suit in Chancery' was soon settled, not unfavourably to Britain, whose claims had not been immoderate, though her objection to submit the question to an arbitrator had been carried on too long.

The outcome of President Cleveland's message was an improvement in the relations of the two countries. They now understood each other better. A new and extended interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine was in essence accepted by British public opinion, even though some of Secretary Olney's phrases about 'sovereignty' are to be regarded as rhetorical. The Americans on their part discovered that England was no longer the England of Palmerston, and was very much more friendly and anxious to avoid offence than in the days of Lincoln and the Civil War. A sincere desire to prevent all danger to peace was soon dominant in both countries. An impetus was given to the movement for arbitration in general, and in particular for arbitration between Great Britain and the United States in all future cases of dispute.

In 1898 the United States went to war with Spain about Cuba. Again the instinctive friendliness of Great Britain formed a contrast to the past and a pledge for the future. While continental Europe sympathized with Spain, British public opinion was equally strongly for America. From that date a better era in British-American relations began, based on mutual goodwill, felt by practically all the British on one side, and by very large sections of the inhabitants of the United States on the other, especially among those of British origin. The Boer War of the following year would have aroused a much more formidable anti-British movement in America, if it had come before instead of after the Venezuela incident and the Spanish-American War.

During the three years that bridged the old century and the new, South Africa passed through a fiery ordeal towards ultimate reconciliation and union.

Oct 1899–May 1902

In 1899 the Uitlanders of Johannesburg began to petition Queen Victoria as to their wrongs. Chamberlain took up the franchise question with President Kruger, and a conference was held in June between the British High Commissioner, Sir Alfred Milner, and the Boer President. A franchise after five years' residence was demanded, and the old claim to 'suzerainty' over the Transvaal was raised once more [1]

Unfortunately the events of three years back had strengthened Kruger's position among the Dutch of the Transvaal. Had it not been for the Raid, the growing desire among the younger men for a settlement would probably have overborne his obstinacy. Even now it was a question for British statesmen to decide, whether they should not wait for his death, and for the work of time to overlay the suspicion aroused by the Jameson adventure. But they were alarmed at the military preparation in the Transvaal, and they felt that they could not permit it to go forward. In one sense, indeed, they were not frightened enough by the military preparation, for they despised their enemy. They neglected all warnings, even when officially given, that in case of war the Orange Free State would join the Transvaal, and that mounted men in great numbers would be required to contend on equal terms with the Boers, all of whom were riders and marksmen, knowing the open veldt as sailors know the sea. On neither side were the negotiations carried on with a very earnest desire for peace.

In October 1899 war broke out, while our forces in South Africa were still quite inadequate. The Boers invaded our territory on three sides at once, and laid siege to Mafeking, Kimberley and Ladysmith.[2] The gallant defence of these places saved Cape Colony from serious invasion, which political conditions would have rendered a terrible danger. 1899 In one 'black week' of December the relieving forces destined for Ladysmith and Kimberley, and the force making head against the invasion of Cape Colony, were all three defeated. The most serious of these defeats was the check to Sir Redvers Buller in Natal in his attempt to cross the Tugela River at Colenso on the way to Ladysmith.

The week of disaster roused Britain and roused the Dominions, who voluntarily came forward in the hour of need. The Imperial idea, coupled with the individual nationhood of Canada, Australia and New Zealand, received an impetus such

[1] See p 385, above [2] See Map, p 413, above

as no speeches or conferences could have given. France, Germany and Europe were hostile to our side of the quarrel, but the supremacy of the British fleet was unchallenged. Vast armies of British, Canadians and Australasians were hastily levied and poured into South Africa The veteran Lord Roberts, of Afghan fame, was put in command, and Lord Kitchener of Khartoum was his Chief of Staff. The general direction of their march was from the neighbourhood of Kimberley through Bloemfontein to Pretoria. On the way they captured a Boer army under Cronje at Paardeberg—the turning point of the war. Their advance relieved the pressure on the besieged garrisons, and when the capitals of the two Republics were in his hands, Lord Roberts thought very excusably that he had brought the war to an end.

Feb 1900

June 1900

The relief of remote Mafeking, defended by Baden Powell, the destined founder of the Boy Scouts, was a welcome and romantic event, though not of great military importance. It aroused in the streets of English towns an orgy of relieved feelings and relaxed dignity. The scenes of 'Mafeking' night gave token, alarming to many, that the city dweller of the new England was very different from the rural John Bull who had lit his quiet bonfire after Waterloo. But it is remarkable that no such scenes of 'mafficking' were witnessed during the Great War of our own day until the news arrived of its termination.

In Lord Roberts' campaign far more men had perished of typhoid than of wounds in battle. In the relatively greater destructive power of disease, the Boer War repeated the experience of many previous wars, but affords a striking contrast to the statistics 1914–18, when typhoid and cholera inoculation reserved the greatest hecatombs of victims for Mars in person. In the Boer War artillery played only a minor part, and after the first sharp lessons in December the fighting was in very open order, a magnified and ubiquitous skirmish over the veldt. We lost 20,000 lives in the three years of the war, the greater number by illness.

Rhodes had been in Kimberley during the siege, broken in health but with energy enough left to embarrass the military authorities. After the capture of Pretoria he, like others, thought for a while that the war was over. While still under this impression he made at Cape Town a prophetic speech, which may be taken as his last political will and testament. 'You think you have beaten the Dutch!' he said to the over-

Oct. 1900

eager Loyalists who had come to hear him. 'It is not so. The Dutch are not beaten. What is beaten is Krugerism, a corrupt and evil government, no more Dutch in essence than English. No! The Dutch are as vigorous and unconquered to-day as they have ever been; the country is still as much theirs as yours, and you will have to live and work with them hereafter as in the past.' Two years later he was dead. His errors have been repaired and his higher hopes fulfilled by other men, not least by two great leaders of those Dutchmen whom he pronounced unconquered and designated as our future friends.

But while Rhodes on that October day was prophesying over the heads of the Loyalists at Cape Town, Louis Botha and Jan Christian Smuts, no less than De Wet and De la Rey, were girding up their loins to fight to the last for their country's freedom. The astonishing resistance of the Boer farmers proved able, under great leadership, to keep the whole force of the Empire busy for two more years.

1900–1902

It was a guerrilla war, but of a unique grandeur. The farmers were not in uniform; we accepted that irregularity and, instead of treating them as *francs-tireurs*, gave them all the rights of regular combatants. We had to employ whole armies to guard the long lines of railway which fed our troops, and the 'block-houses' with which Kitchener occupied and controlled the country. 'Drives' over whole districts brought us in prisoners and material, while the nomad Boer 'Commandos' often attacked and captured our men, and let them go again disarmed, having no means of keeping them. Finally, to catch the farmers in these vast spaces where the scattered population was on their side, it was found that no method would answer but to destroy their farms and concentrate their families in camps. Unfortunately, many of the children died there. In the end the material means of further resistance were exhausted.

A war fought under such conditions to the utmost limit of exhaustion might be expected to leave bitter memories that would prevent all hope of reconciliation. But there had been very little intentional cruelty on either side. And after the war, statesmanship and good feeling on the whole triumphed over fear and revenge, though the deaths of the Boer children in the concentration camps could not quickly be forgotten.

Peace at length was made, on terms brave men could accept. If it had lain only with Milner, the war might have had no end, but Kitchener felt a wise sympathy with his foes

in the field, and the Home Government was growing alarmed. By the Peace of Vereeniging the Boers became British subjects. They were promised money to rebuild their farms, self-government as soon as possible, and the Dutch and English languages in schools and law-courts. These terms were kept. The Conservative Ministry that made the Peace effected the material reconstruction, and the Liberal government of 1906, under Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's leadership, boldly trusted our late enemies with complete responsible self-government. Botha and Smuts rose to the head of affairs, and in 1909 the Union of South Africa was accomplished by the free act of all the Colonies concerned.

May 1902

The Nineteenth Century closed with the death of Queen Victoria on January 22, 1901

Queen Victoria had put an end to the Republican movement in Great Britain and in the Dominions, not by what she had done, but by what she had been, and by what she had refrained from doing. She had won back public respect for the monarchy in her person. And she had disarmed political hostility to the throne by effacing its occupant as a governing power. It was her habit to express to her advisers, often with unnecessary emphasis, her views on all public questions, but she had not insisted on having her way. She had been content with a purely consultative function in relation to Ministers who were in effect chosen for her by Parliament, sometimes much against her own ideas of their fitness.

She had made the monarchy welcome everywhere, as the representative of the public life of the nation in its non-political aspects. All through her reign, but most of all during its last twenty years, she had appealed to the common human heart of plain people, as a woman who was herself decidedly a 'plain person,' more apt than the clever, the cultured or the aristocratic of soul to sympathise with the elementary joys and sorrows of her subjects When she said that she was grieved by some public or private calamity, people knew that her sorrow was sincere, and of the same nature as their own. There was nothing superfine about Queen Victoria in her widowhood. None the less, she made the world recognise in her the symbol of all that was mighty and lasting in the life of England and of the races associated with England in Empire. Because she

thus combined the very human and the very high, sentiment about her person became, at the end, akin to the religious. And for an Empire which desired to hold together in brotherhood, but refused to be federated into a single parliamentary Constitution, the only possible unit, in symbolism or in law, was found at last to be the historic Crown of Britain

The middle and later years of the nineteenth century, the most progressively prosperous and, in the sum of genius and achievement, perhaps the most solidly great in our annals, have been called the Victorian era Victoria did not, like Elizabeth or Louis XIV, decide by her personal choice the trend and policy of the age that bears her name. And yet, when her Jubilee came to be celebrated, her people could not dissociate her from their deep gratitude for what had happened to them and to their fathers, since the day when first she had stepped from the schoolroom to take the headship of a divided and impoverished nation.

Though all was not well in 1897, yet, in those sixty years past, millions had come out of the house of bondage and misery into which the unregulated advent of the Industrial Revolution had plunged its victims In the same years our people had spread far over the face of the globe, carrying with them, on the whole, justice, civilisation and prosperity where they went. Great men of genius in literature, science and thought had adorned an age when civilisation seemed for awhile to be strong both in quantity and in quality, and had helped to make common during her reign certain standards of intellectual seriousness and freedom As the little grey figure passed in her open carriage through the shouting streets, there was a sense that we had come into port after a long voyage. But in human affairs there is no permanent haven, and we are for ever setting out afresh across new and stormy seas.

# EPILOGUE, 1902-1919

(WRITTEN IN 1937)

FIFTEEN years have passed since this book first came out, and it is by fifteen years more possible to follow the further progress of British History out of the strong even current of the Nineteenth Century, into its first plunge amid the more troubled and dangerous waters of the Twentieth  The story of a hundred years came indeed to a natural end with the deaths of Queen Victoria and Lord Salisbury, and the close of the South African War, before the age of motors, aircraft and wireless ; for that reason I stopped the book at 1901, which was not only the nominal ending of the Century, but happened to be a real point of arrival and departure in national history  I had not begun it correspondingly at 1801, because that date is in the very middle of the war with Napoleon abroad and of the anti-Jacobin regime at home. If a history were merely a work of art, it might be best to observe the limits suggested by the natural unity of periods, and to leave *British History in the Nineteenth Century* stretching from 1782 to 1901. But I am told that readers who are likely still to use this book expect a continuation approaching more nearly our own time, and since the only use of books is to be read, I obey.

## CHAPTER I

### Balfour's Ministry, 1902–1905

THE prolongation of the Boer resistance in the field, for two years after the 'Khaki Election' of 1900 had been held on the ground that the war had come to a victorious end, proved a most salutary lesson to the British people. It did much to reduce self-conceit. It led to measures of Army Reform which were effected before the next and greater call was made

upon our military power. And in the field of politics it put a check to the extravagant side of that Imperialism which for good and for evil had inspired British thought and practice for more than a decade past. Clearly the Anglo-Saxons were not such supermen as they had recently been led to believe, since a handful of Boers could hold them up for two years. And if we were not supermen, there were perilously few of us for purposes of Roman domination. For the 'Anglo-Saxons' were not very numerous even within the bounds of the Empire, and they were now for the most part city-dwellers, ceasing to multiply and emigrate with the rapidity of the early Victorian villagers who had peopled Canada and Australasia. Moreover foreigners were drawing together in uncomfortably large groups, all highly armed for war. Our South African campaign had been watched by a hostile world; we were exceedingly unpopular on the Continent of Europe, particularly with French and Germans, and only the British fleet had screened us from attack nearer home, while the Empire's might was being expended in a game of hide-and-seek round and round the veldt with Botha and Smuts.

Throughout the Nineteenth Century, British safety and happiness and the indulgence of all our fine whims, whether benevolent or self-regarding, had been rendered possible only because Britain really ruled the waves, not only in song, but in fact. But what if, in the century now dawning, the air became a pathway of attack? What if the submarine and rival navies put even our maritime supremacy in doubt, first in the Pacific, and finally perhaps even in the North Sea? What if long-distance guns should become capable of spanning the Channel? Such unpleasant possibilities dawned on men's minds gradually during the first decade after the South African War. But already it was a somewhat sobered John Bull who picked himself up off the pavement the morning after the Mafeking debauch.

From this new mood emerged two new policies: in the first instance a search for friends in the world, Japan, France, Russia, and always and above all, if only it were possible, the United States. This policy of seeking friends was begun by the Conservative Minister, Lord Lansdowne, and was continued by his Liberal successor, Sir Edward Grey. 'Splendid isolation' died with Lord Salisbury.

In the second place there was a movement of public opinion

to substitute Social Reform at home for Imperialism overseas, and to conciliate the Boers and possibly even the Irish by the extension of self-government within the Empire to non-Anglo-Saxon peoples.

The time was ripe for change, but it was delayed until 1906, when it came with a crash. Meanwhile Arthur Balfour, as Prime Minister in succession to his uncle Salisbury, carried through a number of measures of high value and importance.

The first of these was the Education Bill of 1902.

Gladstone's and Forster's Bill of 1870 had provided the country with a system of Primary Education.[1] But Secondary Education and the ladder to the Universities had hardly been provided for at all by State action. Some of the larger School Boards, like the London School Board under 'Progressive' leadership, had begun to supply 'science and art classes.' But even this was resented by many Conservative ratepayers of the old type, and in 1901 the famous Cockerton Judgment decided that the London School Board had for years been outstepping its statutory powers. By this judicial pronouncement educational progress was stopped, and Secondary Education was relegated to the private sphere.

Fortunately the new Conservative Prime Minister, like a true Scot, felt for education an enthusiasm independent of politics, and fortunately he listened to the advice of a great Civil Servant. Prompted by Sir Robert Morant, Balfour not only made good the harm done by the Cockerton Judgment, but seized the chance to put Primary and Secondary Education alike on a new and far better footing.

The town and village School Boards formed under the Act of 1870 were elected by Constituencies in most cases much too small to take a broad educational outlook. And the 'Voluntary' Schools run by the Church were, in every sense of the word, parochial. To remedy these defects, Balfour's Education Act handed over the responsibility not only for Elementary but for Higher Education to the County Councils and County Boroughs, under the aegis of the Board of Education and its rules. The County Councils were to act through County Education Committees. The improvement due to the larger area and vision of these new Education Authorities has been of great benefit to Primary Education both in the 'provided'

[1] See pp 352–354, above

(County) Schools and the 'voluntary' (Church) Schools. And the new system has been of still greater benefit to Secondary Education, which, instead of being held up by the Cockerton Judgment, really takes its start as a great function of State from the Act of 1902

The reform has resulted in a wide increase of Secondary Education Schools, and the erection of a 'ladder' by which able students of small means can ascend through them to the Universities Improved Secondary Education in schools has raised the average standard of work and intelligence at Oxford and Cambridge; and has been the making of the new Universities that sprang up apace in the new century, at Liverpool, Leeds, Sheffield, Bristol and Reading, in addition to London, Durham and Manchester Universities founded in the previous century, but come to full maturity in our own.

Both Gladstone in 1870 and Balfour in 1902, though they did great services to Education, paid the political penalty for touching the sore point of denominational politics. Gladstone's doubling the State grant to the Church Schools in order to preserve them as an integral part of the new system had lost him the support of many of his Nonconformist followers at the election of 1874 Then in 1902 Balfour in his turn put these Church Schools on the local rates, thus further securing their financial position. In return, they passed under the County Education Authority, which was to 'control all secular education,' and was to appoint two out of the six managers in each Church School. But as the teacher was to be appointed by the Managers and would presumably be a Churchman, the 'Church atmosphere' would be maintained. Nonconformists did not think this amount of control adequate for schools henceforth to be so largely maintained out of the public rates. They felt the more aggrieved, because most of the Church Schools were in rural villages, "one-school areas," where no other teaching was within reach of Dissenting families Indignation over the Nonconformist grievance reunited the ranks of the Liberal Party which the South African war had divided, and was one of the chief causes of the Conservative catastrophe at the General Election of 1906

Although the House of Lords prevented the Education Act of 1902 from being seriously amended by later Liberal Governments, the outcry against its working has died away

in the course of years. For one thing, the control exerted by the County Education Authority over the Church Schools has proved more real than Liberals expected.[1] Moreover the public attitude to religious controversy has been altering rapidly in the last generation Church and Dissent are less hostile to one another, in presence of an increased falling away from religious observance of any kind The growth of the new Paganism has made Christians kinder to one another. The Church clergy arouse less antagonism than of old, because they are less apt to regard themselves as the rulers of the society in which they live. They are kept in check, no longer by Nonconformist hostility, but by their own sensitiveness to the atmosphere of a new age more indifferent to ecclesiastical claims and social pretensions. Trollope's Archdeacon Grantly would think it a sad world. It is possible, however, that religion has in some respects gained in influence though it has lost in power. Church, Chapel and Sunday School are less attended, but the wireless brings religion into many homes It is difficult to analyse the new situation. There is less aggressive anti-clericalism and more indifference than in the later Victorian era

This diversion of the nation's interest into new channels has had its reflection in politics The political aspect of the quarrel between Church and Dissent had been the life-blood of the Whig and Tory, the Liberal and Conservative factions in the constituencies, from Charles II to Victoria. In our own day the reassortment of parties on a basis of industrial and social questions only, with no reference to religion, was the prime reason of the disappearance of the Liberal and the advent of the Labour Party. Class-consciousness has superseded chapel-consciousness. The excitement over Balfour's Education Bill was the last party fight on the old ecclesiastical lines.

Another great reform of Balfour's Ministry was the Irish Land Purchase Act of 1903. Its three authors were the Prime Minister ; the Chief Secretary for Ireland, the brilliant George Wyndham, and the great Civil Servant, Sir Anthony

[1] As a result of the storm of opposition, the Bill of 1902 finally passed in a form whereby religious instruction in Church Schools was placed under the authority of the Managers as a whole, thereby putting an end to its exclusive direction by the parson of the parish

Macdonnell. Gladstone had been the first British statesman who sought to remove the Irish tenant's grievances by legislation, and his tentative efforts had been hampered by the resistance of the House of Peers in the interests of Irish landlords. But since those days the Irish landlords themselves were beginning to think it might be wise to sell out. If they waited till the next great Irish convulsion, they might lose all for nothing. (On the Irish Land System see above, pp. 352, 392–93.)

Balfour believed in the maintenance of the Union, but he had always held that it could only survive if Irish grievances, economic as well as religious, were removed.[1] His Act of 1903 set up a machinery, oiled by a large loan on generous terms from the British Government, by which the ownership of most of the land of Ireland has passed from the Protestant landlords to the native peasant farmers This great peaceful revolution did not, as Balfour hoped, prevent the resurgence of the demand for political self-government or quench the national aspirations of Irishmen. But it smoothed out one of the chief complications of the Irish question, which, if left unremoved, might have rendered even such settlement as we have now attained, or any agreed settlement at all, impossible in the days to come.

Next year, by his Licensing Act, Balfour dealt with an equally thorny question nearer home. It had always been a moot point whether compensation was due, when a licence to sell liquor was taken away by the magisterial bench, not for misconduct in the management but in order to reduce an excessive number of public houses in the region. The Temperance party opposed compensation on principle. But the Conservative party was closely allied to the liquor trade, which had now an enormous clientele due to the holding of brewery shares by many thousands of investors. The sale of drink to the working class had become a great middle and upper class interest. But the judgment in the case of *Sharp v. Wakefield* had disallowed the legal claim to compensation for the non-renewal of a licence To remedy this, Balfour's Act of 1904 arranged that compensation was to be paid, not

[1] Balfour used to say in private talk that he regarded George III as a great national disaster, both because he alienated America and because he vetoed Pitt's plan for granting Catholic Emancipation. He would never forgive George for giving the Union that bad start.

by the public but out of funds created by the enormous profits of the trade.

The Liberal Opposition, without adopting the full temperance objection to compensation, attacked the terms of the Bill as too generous to the Brewing Companies, since reduction in the number of licences was now to be limited by the compensation available in each particular area. But Balfour's Act passed and has since held the field, as the House of Lords prevented its alteration by Liberal Governments. Under this system the Twentieth Century has witnessed a reduction of public houses per head of population. And in the last thirty years there has been a still greater reduction in drunkenness and excessive drinking habits, at least among the working class, the clients of the public house. For this improvement there are many causes: among them are better conditions of life, better education; greater variety of amusements, interests and distractions; and better management of houses where drink is sold. The football ground, the cinema, the wireless, are rivals to the public houses, that once was for millions the only obvious place of distraction. But while drinking has gone down, gambling has increased.

As a result of the lessons of the South African War and the disturbed state of the world, there was a great outcry for Army Reform. The Conservative Cabinet failed indeed to provide a War Minister able to reform the organisation of the fighting forces which Haldane afterwards achieved with success. But Balfour erected two new pieces of State machinery, the Army Council and Committee of Imperial Defence.

In 1904 the Army Council was set up to supply the Secretary for War with military advisers more useful to him as such than the ever-occupied Commander-in-Chief. At the same time the office of permanent Commander-in-Chief was abolished and his functions were distributed. Next year a still more important body, the Committee of Imperial Defence, 1905 was established. It was Balfour's last great reform, and in the following years it was developed by the Asquith Government as the principal means for laying plans for the possible event of war. Its functions are consultative only; it provides the Cabinet with information and advice, and its decisions can only be carried into effect by Parliament or by Departments

of State. As it is not an executive body, its composition is fluid. The Prime Minister summons whom he thinks fit—generally the Secretary for War, the First Lord of the Admiralty, the Foreign Secretary, any Dominion Prime Ministers who may be in England, and the technical advisers required for the questions under discussion at each particular meeting. The Committee has, however, a Secretary of its own, whose permanence in a constantly changing body gives him great importance, especially when he is as able a man as Sir Maurice Hankey.

The importance of the Committee of Imperial Defence is two-fold. It enables the problems of army, navy, air force and home front to be considered together in their mutual relations and as parts of one general policy, of provision for possible war. And it enables the responsible statesmen of the Dominions to meet the home authorities in confidential discussion and concert plans for the defence of the Empire as a whole. On its Imperial side the Committee has political as well as military importance.

As the prime author of the Education Act, the Licensing Act, Irish Land Purchase and the Committee of Imperial Defence, Balfour has a strong claim to be numbered among the successful Prime Ministers Owing to the portentous character of the electoral catastrophe of 1906 that claim has not always been allowed ; yet Balfour had done great things on his own initiative and by his own strength of character , like Gladstone from 1868–74 he had 'spent his majority like a gentleman' Spent it he certainly had, but even so the completeness of the Conservative crash in 1906 was due at least as much to Chamberlain as to Balfour. Just as Gladstone broke up the Liberal Party and exiled it from power by his advocacy of Home Rule, so did Chamberlain with the Conservative party by his advocacy of Protection. Whether the adoption since the Great War of a modified system of Protection, and the establishment of self-government for Ireland are to be regarded as necessary changes rendered possible in the long run by the missionary work of Gladstone and Chamberlain as pioneers in a previous generation, is a question too difficult to answer, but sufficiently important to ask

Chamberlain in 1902 proposed Protection, renamed 'Tariff Reform,' in order to unite the Dominions to the Empire

by preferential tariffs. In the second half of his great career, his foresight and enthusiasm ranged with amplest opinion oversea ; and in the Conservative party to which he was now attached it was easier to promote Imperial schemes than domestic social reform, of which in his earlier days he had been the prophet. But after the South African War, the country had had enough Empire for awhile, and Chamberlain's proposal for a Preferential Tariff, in the hands of his insular fellow countrymen, was soon moulded by the Conservatives into a scheme of which the prime object was the protection of British goods. This aroused the enthusiasm and opened the purse strings of many British manufacturers. But their zeal was suspect to the consumer, especially to the working man with his family budget to consider. Free Trade doctrine was very strong in all sections of the community ; it had behind it fifty years of unchallenged authority and custom, caution and tradition, usually assets to the Conservative party, supported the economic thesis of the Liberals Moreover the prosperity of British commerce under the Free Trade system was not yet shaken The world's markets were not yet closed to our goods by nationalist foreign governments to the extent that they have been closed since the Great War Chamberlain in his lifetime was beaten by the still obstinate prosperity of our staple industries. He could prophesy their ruin, but its coming was delayed.

Indeed the great interest that most clearly required protection in the first years of the new century was agriculture. Ever since 1875 foodstuffs from America and all the world had come flooding into Great Britain on a scale never foreseen in the day of Cobden and Peel, when prices had been steadied, not smashed, by free importation from Europe. But now it was no longer easy to grow food at a profit in Britain. The farm hands, who had been badly paid and treated even in good times, were deserting the land for the cities at an appalling rate Great Britain was on the way to become an entirely urban community, unlike any other country in the world. A check ought to have been put to this catastrophe, which would be irremediable when once complete. Unfortunately the protection of British agriculture was the proposal that politicians were most afraid to advocate, though something might be done under cover of Colonial Preference. But the Free Trade system under which Britain had so long flourished

had little regard for agriculture. Food was the currency in which foreign nations and our own Dominions paid for British manufactured goods. And cheap corn and meat was of great value to the wage-earning community. The absence of a democratic peasant-proprietorship like that of the European Continent made it difficult to advocate agricultural Protection. The field labourer, long ill-used by the farmer in the great arable districts, scarcely knew if he wished for Protection, as he could go off to the industrial districts and get a good wage. The most effective popular appeal of Chamberlain's opponents was the memory of the 'hungry forties,' the fear of dearer foodstuffs and the cry against the 'small loaf.' It was only after the Great War had shaken party traditions and old economic doctrines, and the German submarine had shown the use of the plough in Britain, that any attempt was made by subsidies and control of imports to maintain food production within the island and so save a little of what is still left of country life, while securing by statute a minimum wage for the field labourer. The complete urbanisation of life in our island would be horrible to contemplate, for a thousand reasons, together more important than any economic doctrine.

To return to the situation in 1902–05, Balfour's position as head of a party and of a government cleft in two by Chamberlain's propaganda, was one of extreme difficulty. The zealots of Tariff Reform were not converting the country, but they were converting the great majority of active Conservatives. Balfour's acute and sceptical intellect already occupied the middle position between the full Protectionist and the full Free Trade doctrine which is the most usual attitude of Englishmen to-day, but which was regarded between 1902 and 1906 as a dishonest and laughable subterfuge. But Balfour was always singularly indifferent to public opinion, and his perfectly sincere middle position, although it then made both sides angry, admirably suited his purpose, which was to hold the Conservative Party together as long as possible. Eventually he would have to follow Chamberlain because most of the party was following him, but he would do so as slowly and for as short a distance as possible. Meanwhile he would continue in office and carry out the measures of home and foreign policy in which he believed, in spite of the fury of Free Traders and Protec-

tionists. He would be the stillness in the midst of the tornado.

In this way Balfour held on to office till December 1905; though his party had been in disruption and the credit of the government gone for several years, he passed the measures about which he cared. No doubt the refusal for so long to face the new issue at an election made the crash worse when it came

Meanwhile, Chamberlain's propaganda had captured the rank and file of the party behind Balfour's shrugged shoulders, but had alienated many of its ablest men, not only the old guard of Salisbury's Ministers, but even his sons Hugh and Robert Cecil, and Randolph's son, young Winston Churchill. Like Gladstonianism twenty years before, Protection was not intellectually 'good form'; it helped to turn the rising generation of intellectuals towards Liberal and Labour politics. The ebbing tide of Imperialism helped to wash back Chamberlain's Protection, just as its flood tide had wrecked Gladstone's Home Rule

Moreover Chamberlain had failed in his sincere effort to make the working classes see their interest in his new programme. His great campaign had set Englishmen thinking hard about economic questions, but many of them thought Socialism instead of Protection. Affinities govern politics: the slogan that 'Tariff Reform means work for all' was discredited not always on purely economic arguments, but because Chamberlain's allies had for so many years of power passed so little 'working class legislation'; their new zeal to cure unemployment by tariffs was therefore suspect. Disraeli, indeed, had more than dreamt of connecting the new Conservatism with the poorer and more numerous of the 'two nations' into which his youthful vision had seen England divided. He had altered the law affecting strikes in the working class direction, and had carried out a mild programme of social reform.[1] But his lead had not been followed. Salisbury had no place for such thoughts in his capacious head. Randolph Churchill, Disraeli's spiritual successor, misplayed his hand and disappeared. Balfour, in many respects a reformer, knew very little about working class thought and aspiration. At any rate since 1895 the Conservative-Unionist Party had remained upper and middle

[1] See pp 369-371, above

class in its sympathies and acts. Chamberlain indeed would have liked to run Imperialism and Social Reform together. But he had been forced to choose between the two. On the advice of his wisest supporter, the scientific philanthropist, Charles Booth, he had long advocated Old Age Pensions, but he had failed to deliver the goods. The money needed for such a policy had been swallowed in South African sands. Therefore his new Tariff Reform League was suspect to working class opinion It looked like a trap baited by the capitalist employers.

Moreover Labour was in these years growing 'class-conscious' and determined to act politically for itself. The effective rise of the Labour Party took place at the turn of the century, and its immediate cause was the 'Taff Vale decision.'

After Disraeli's liberating legislation of 1875–86, the development of Trade Unionism went on, spreading from the skilled artisan class, the strength of mid-Victorian Trade Unionism, into the grades of unskilled labour, as in the great dockers' strike of 1889.[1] But all this time there was no demand for a change in the law, and consequently no considerable growth of political activity on the part of Labour. The 'Miners' representatives,' like Burt and Fenwick, were working men, chosen by and representing their fellows, but attached to the Liberal Party. In the last twenty years of the century the Independent Labour Party, hostile alike to Liberals and Conservatives, was founded by Keir Hardie. But at the election of 1895, all its twenty-eight candidates for Parliament were defeated, and in the 'Khaki' election of 1900 only two were elected To the very end of Victoria's reign the great working class constituencies, even the miners, refused to 'vote labour.' The Labour Party had little importance when the century ended, though Ramsay MacDonald as secretary was laying the foundations of its future success.

Then came the blow of the Taff Vale decision in 1901, whence much of our political history takes its origin. The Judges once more undid the work of former Parliaments, and destroyed by a legal decision the Trade Union Rights that had been held for a generation under Gladstone's Trade Union Act of 1871,[2] just as the Judges in 1867 had torn up

[1] See pp 399–400, above

[2] See pp 368–369, above

the rights that had been held for a generation under the Act of 1825. The Taff Vale decision of 1901 gave impetus and power to the Labour Party, which became an effective Third party in the State, destined in a generation to destroy and replace the Liberal Party The Judges have played a very great part in the development of our politics, though it was not the part they intended to play.

What then was the legal case which had such momentous political consequences? Some employees of the Taff Vale Railway Company, in South Wales, had been guilty, during a strike, of tumultuous picketing and other acts of an unlawful character. As the legislation of 1871–6 had hitherto been interpreted, the action of the railway company lay against the individuals guilty of these illegal acts, but not against the trade union—in this case the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants But the railway company was persuaded by its lawyers, contrary to the usual practice, to sue the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, although the great union had been unsympathetic to this particular strike and had certainly not incited the illegal acts. The case was carried up to the final Court of Appeal in the House of Lords, when the Law Lords decided that the Union, though admittedly not a corporate body, could be sued in its corporate capacity for damages alleged to have been caused by the action of its officers, and that it could be sued not merely for criminal acts but for acts, not unlawful, which caused loss to others. The Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants had to pay £23,000 in damages.

This entirely new and unexpected interpretation of the Act of 1871 by the Law Lords of 1901 struck at the very heart of Trade Union action. Under the Taff Vale judgment, Trade Unions durst not, under peril of losing all their funds in damages, take any strike action to raise wages or to prevent the lowering of wages. Naturally employers took advantage of this new state of things between 1901 and 1906.

The Conservative government would probably have been wise in Conservative interests if it had at once legislated to put back the law on Trade Unions' liability to the place where everyone supposed that it rested between 1871 and 1901. Disraeli would have done so But the great industrial employers, formerly divided between the Liberal and Conservative parties, had, since the Home Rule split, most of

them gone over to the Conservative Party. The Liberal Party was now in a position to take up the Trade Union cause and profit by a Labour alliance. But the Conservative Party was not. Mr Balfour's government shelved the issue by appointing a Royal Commission to report. And Mr. Sidney Webb, who sat on that commission, writes :

> 'This Commission, it is believed, was told privately not to report until after the General Election, in order that the Conservative Government might not be embarrassed by the dilemma.' (*Hist of Trade Unionism*, ed. 1920, pp 605–6)

The General Election of January 1906 proved a catastrophe for Conservatism such as no party had undergone since the old Toryism was swept away at the election of 1833. And in the *débacle* a great part was played by working class determination to get the Taff Vale decision reversed by legislation, in order to save the Trade Union movement and recover the use of the strike weapon in bargaining. One of the posters, used in that general election, represented a very fierce-looking judge putting a scourge into the hands of an employer to lay on to a working man

Trade Union action took two forms at the general election of January 1906. Trade Unionists voted for Liberal candidates in many constituencies, but only after exacting pledges from those candidates that they would vote for measures to secure the Trade Unions against legal liability under all circumstances. And secondly, the Labour Party ran fifty candidates of its own and secured the election of some thirty ; there were also a dozen working-men members of the older sort attached to the Liberal Party, and known as 'Lib-Labs,' such as John Burns and the veteran miner leaders Burt and Fenwick.

The Labour Party therefore in January 1906 came into Parliamentary existence on the floor of the House of Commons, as a Third party in the State. Moreover it had pledged the rank and file of the Liberal members to give Trade Unions complete immunity from legal proceedings

Finally, before going to the country, the old Capitalist and Imperialist Conservatism committed a final indiscretion. At the demand of the Rand mine-owners in South Africa, advocated by Milner with his purely administrative mentality, the British Government allowed the engagement of some

50,000 Chinese coolies, imported to work the gold mines, without their families, under conditions of restriction in compounds which were decidedly unwholesome in more ways than one. It was so new and doubtful a policy, that it was scarcely wise to force it on South Africa at a time when she was not enjoying self-government Canada, Australia and New Zealand resented it, our countrymen overseas knew the complications of 'oriental labour.' And it was regarded by the working classes in England as the final outrage Was it for this that 'the white man's war' had been fought in South Africa? It now seemed to many simple souls that the 'Little Englanders' had been right after all, that the mine-owners alone would benefit by all that waste of wealth and loss of blood upon the veldt. Chinese labour was a question that made everyone see red—or at least yellow. For when the Conservatives were accused of introducing 'Chinese Slavery' they too got angry, not without reason, but quite without effect until the General Election was over.

In December 1905 even Balfour felt that the sands had run out. But instead of dissolving Parliament he resigned office. He hoped that his successor, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, would find such difficulty in forming a Ministry of 'Liberal Imperialists' and 'Little Englanders' together, that the divisions of the party would become apparent on the eve of the polls and disgust and frighten the electors. Something of the sort nearly happened; some months before, the 'Liberal Imperialists,' Asquith, Grey and Haldane, had rashly agreed together not to take office unless the Prime Minister would consent to go to the Lords, leaving the lead of the Commons to Asquith. When this arrangement was rejected by Campbell-Bannerman, Asquith changed his mind and took office at once, and Grey and Haldane were over-persuaded at the last moment. Once in the Cabinet, they had no differences with Campbell-Bannerman either in home or foreign policy, and their personal relations with him soon became excellent.

A ministry unusually strong in old experience and young talent was formed and went to the polls in January 1906 The outcome was the defeat of Balfour at Manchester and many of his Cabinet colleagues in the country, though Birmingham stood solid by the Chamberlain family and Protection. The

Conservative vote in the new House was reduced to 167; the 377 Liberals could claim a majority of 84 over all parties combined, but in fact they were allied with the Irish, and with Labour.

A new age had come in with the new century Whatever party or doctrine would be the ultimate gainer, the old forms of militant Imperialism and Conservative Unionism were never again to hold power Protection, indeed, had a future. But the Conservatism that came back during and after the World War, as an alternative often preferred to Labour Governments, has been liberal in its outlook on Irish, Egyptian, South African and Indian questions, and semi-socialist in its conception of the duties of the State to the working class. Meanwhile until the War the Liberal Party bore rule for the last time, in close though uneasy alliance with Labour, and left a deep impress on social legislation.

## CHAPTER II

The Last Liberal Government, December 1905 to May 1915—The Parliament Act—The Irish Question down to the Treaty of 1921

For ten years Great Britain was ruled, for the last time, by a Liberal Government Its leaders were men of unusual personality and power. There was Haldane, the soft-spoken lawyer-philosopher who won the confidence of the soldiers and reformed the Army; John Morley, the veteran of the Radical intellectualism of the last century, who was now on behalf of the British Government to cope with the new problem of national self-consciousness in India; there was Edward Grey, remote, firm and sadly serene at the Foreign Office; there was young Winston Churchill looking round for his kingdom; and there was Lloyd George, on whom time and great events should fix many diverse labels, mutually contradictory but all true. And coming on were such able administrators and legislators as Herbert Samuel, Walter Runciman and Reginald McKenna The working classes were represented for the first time in the Cabinet, by John Burns, a personality hewn out of old English oak. For a decade all these men most astonishingly held together, for two successive Prime Ministers knew their business: Campbell-Bannerman, an easy-tempered but shrewd Scot,

who saw quite through the souls of men, started his team of colleagues in harmony , won the confidence of the raw and restive legion of Liberal recruits in the House ; pacified South Africa by reversing the policy of Milner and granting responsible government before it was too late , then died in 1908, his tasks accomplished. He was succeeded by Asquith, a Yorkshireman of high integrity and unshakable nerve, endowed with a skill in advocacy learnt in the law and applied to politics, with sound judgment to choose well between the opinions of others, and a rare skill in manipulating discordant colleagues.

The great achievement of this Ministry was the initiation of measures of social reform on a scale beyond all precedent Old age pensions on a non-contributory basis (1908) helped to empty the workhouses, to give happiness to the old and relieve their loyal sons and daughters of some at least of the burden of their maintenance Democratic budgets, shifting more taxations on to the wealthy—Workmen's Compensation, Miners' Eight Hours, Medical Inspection of Children and the Children's Bill, the Town-planning Act, the Sweated Industries Act, measures of Unemployment and Health Insurance, and the Small Holdings Act for rural districts, formed part of a vast programme of laws placed on the Statute Book Such measures, implemented by municipal bodies and extended by the work of Care Committees, Play Centres, Boy Scouts, Adult Education and other such activities outside the harsh discords of politics, together with constantly advancing medical science and practice, have in the present century, in spite of the war, raised the standard of children's health and happiness, reduced the death-rate and prolonged the average of human life by several years and began a more even distribution of the national income and of opportunities for happiness

The function of Local Government has undergone immense extension under modern democracy. It is looked on now, not merely to remove public nuisances, to supply sanitation, lighting and roads, but to act for the personal benefit of the individual citizen. It is to Local Government, controlled and aided by the State Offices at Whitehall, that the poorer citizen is beginning to look to supply the house he lives in , the electric light and gas he uses ; free education for his children—including in some cases University

scholarships ; medical clinics and isolation hospitals ; books from the Free Library ; baths and swimming , cricket fields and 'green belts' of open country for his Sunday walks ; trams or buses to take the family to work or school, and a hundred other benefits to make life kind.

This system of State assistance to the life of the poorer citizen is a great fact in modern English life Its principal instrument is found in elective local bodies, empowered by successive Acts of Parliament, helped financially by Treasury 'grants in aid' of rates, and kept up to the mark by government Inspectors.

This system, of which the origins can be traced to the middle of the Nineteenth Century, has been growing faster than ever in the Twentieth. In the Rating and Valuation Act of 1925 and in the Local Government Act of 1929 we see the Central Power taking more and more control of Local Government. There is an ever-increasing tendency for the Minister and Department at Whitehall to direct the action of local authorities on a single national model. The national model is enforced on the local authorities not merely by Acts of Parliament, but also by elaborate regulations issued by Departments of State. Such regulations are called 'Delegated Legislation,' because Parliament by Statute delegates to the Minister (of Health, Transport or Education) the power to make subsidiary rules to be enforced on the local authority as if they were laws.

The elected Municipality or County Council is therefore becoming more and more the agent of the Central Government in carrying out a national policy for the benefit of the poorer citizens, largely at the expense of the richer citizens, through local rates and through national taxes that go to make up the 'grants in aid.' Under this system the local authorities have more powers but less independence than of old. They cannot refuse to carry out these multitudinous duties imposed by Act of Parliament or by the regulations issued by the Minister, and they must not invent new policies of their own The days have long gone by since the local benches of Justices of the Peace in 1795 introduced the new national policy of rates in aid of wages without any reference either to Parliament or to any Minister or Department at Whitehall.[1]

In future every government, whether called Conservative,

[1] See p 149, above, the 'Speenhamland Act'

National or Labour, must be at least half socialist. The last Liberal Government recognised this fact, and applied great legislative and administrative ability to meet the needs of the new social and economic scene.

1906–1915

The Liberals, who had ceased to be in the main a middle class party, could only maintain themselves so long as the working class would vote for their candidates. In the very first days of the new Parliament, the degree of Liberal dependence on Labour opinion was made dramatically clear. As a result of the General Election, the Taff Vale decision must be reversed—but on what terms?

The Liberal Government in 1906 introduced a Bill based on the Report of the Commission, appointed by Balfour,[1] on which Sidney Webb and others had sat. The Bill, as those Commissioners had advised, would have left Trade Unions suable for torts, but only when illegal acts had been done by their express orders, or by 'some person acting under their authority.' At once the Trade Union world was up in arms demanding complete immunity for their funds, repeated experience of the hostile ingenuity of Judges had filled Labour with a profound distrust of the law courts in cases where Trade Union rights were concerned. Those rights as held under the laws of 1825 and again of 1871 had been taken away by legal decisions, after long years of secure enjoyment. And so it might be again. The Labour members in the House and a large number of Liberal Members who had pledged themselves at the election to make Trade Union Funds immune from legal actions, declared that the Government's Bill was not enough. Campbell-Bannerman surrendered and accepted the demand for complete legal immunity of Trade Unions from actions for torts, though their individual members breaking the law of course remained subject to penalties. The new Bill passed both Houses, for Balfour refused to divide against it on third reading in the Commons and this agreed signal was obeyed by the Lords; they let it pass, while they threw out the new Government's Education and Licensing Bills.

It was thus already shown in 1906 that Labour was the strongest element in the progressive or left-wing side of politics, stronger than the 'old Liberal' interests, Nonconformity and Temperance. The Lords had not dared

[1] See p 438, above

to challenge Labour, although all the Conservatives and many of the Liberals regarded complete immunity as a dangerous privilege for bodies so powerful as the amalgamated Trade Unions of the Twentieth Century ; miners, railwaymen and transport workers were becoming organised on a national instead of local basis, and bade fair to be each 'a State within the State.' And now they were rendered in large measure exempt from the control of law.

At the same time, by throwing out the distinctly Liberal measures on Education and Licensing, the Conservative leaders put the House of Lords again in the forefront of politics, a position from which the wisdom of Disraeli had preserved it. Under his wise direction, the Lords had allowed Gladstone to put on the Statute Book all his large programme between 1868 and 1874, including even the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, and the Conservatives had consequently won the next General Election And in the 'eighties the Lords had restrained their natural impulse to act as a partisan body on a level of authority with the House of Commons. But in 1893 they had won popularity by the bolder course of throwing out Gladstone's Home Rule Bill ; their complete success on that occasion, endorsed by the verdict of the country at the next election, misled Chamberlain, Balfour and Lord Lansdowne into supposing that the Lords could play the same game in the more democratic Twentieth Century against a much more formidable government backed by a vast majority

Their strategy in deserting Disraeli's caution was fundamentally at fault , but in the years 1906–08 their tactics were clever and at first successful They passed the measures in which the working classes were most interested, but humiliated the Government by refusing to pass the measures about which its Liberal supporters specially cared. The Liberals seemed already reduced to impotence within two years of their triumphal entry into power. The bye-elections began to turn heavily against the Government. A Conservative reaction was on foot, and a little patience would have met its reward. But the Peers had no patience, and at the instigation of the party leaders, proceeded to commit the greatest error in modern politics. They threw out Lloyd George's Budget of 1909.

But before dealing with the Peers' rejection of the Budget

and its momentous consequences, it would be well to notice two questions, of Imperial and of Foreign policy, which illustrated the scope and the limit of the powers of the House of Lords during this period of Liberal government. In 1906 Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman as Prime Minister persuaded his new Cabinet to adopt the bold measure of granting responsible self-government to the recently conquered colonies in South Africa. It was known that this would lead at once to the rule of the Transvaal and Orange Free State by a Parliamentary majority of our late enemies the Boers. The Conservatives, led by Milner, Balfour and Lansdowne, declared that this would be fatal. But the Liberals regarded it as the only way to save South Africa for the Empire In 1906 the Lords would certainly have thrown out a Bill establishing immediate and complete self-government, so the Liberal Cabinet avoided a conflict of the Houses by setting up the new constitutions for the Transvaal and Orange River Colony respectively by Letters Patent. The power of the Crown was thus used to short-circuit Parliament, as Gladstone had used it when he induced Queen Victoria to abolish Purchase in the Army by revoking the Royal Warrant that allowed it. The Lords had no say in the matter. The bold experiment in South Africa proved successful and saved South Africa for the Empire when the War came, making Botha and Smuts our fellow soldiers instead of our enemies.

On the other hand, in the year 1909 the Lords were able to exercise control over an important measure of foreign policy. The question was the ratification by Parliament of the Declaration of London The Declaration of London was a new set of rules drawn up by the international naval experts at The Hague on the question of contraband and neutral trade in time of war. The Liberal government sponsored it. But the Lords in 1909 refused to ratify this Declaration of London, on the ground that it unduly restricted our use of sea power against enemy trade in time of war. It was perhaps fortunate the Lords did so For during the war we very soon found it necessary to go much further in the way of restricting neutral trade with the enemy than the principles of the Declaration of London would have allowed. Our stranglehold on Germany would have been relaxed if we had adhered to the principles of the Declaration And if we had in 1914 repudiated the Declaration after solemnly ratifying it in 1909,

our difficulties with President Wilson as the defender of neutral rights might have been seriously increased. The Lords did a useful service in throwing it out, so that it did not bind us when the war came.

The Lords' rejection of the Budget for the year 1909, was a new interpretation of the constitutional function of the hereditary Chamber in matters of finance. It amounted to a claim on the part of the Peers to force a General Election whenever they wished; for a Government unable to raise taxes must either resign or dissolve If the Peers could throw out a Budget, any Parliament not to their liking could be dissolved at their will. The rejection of the Budget was also a violent breach with the custom of the Constitution, of which Conservatives should above all regard themselves as the guardians. Neither Disraeli nor Salisbury would have dreamt of such a proceeding as to invite the Lords to reject the Budget of the year. Still less was the Twentieth Century a time for an hereditary chamber to claim powers it had not exercised even in the aristocratic Eighteenth. But it was in vain that King Edward VII warned the Opposition leaders of the danger of the course on which they were set.[1]

A tendency to violence and excitement had already invaded the mind of the new Century. Militant Suffragettes, Labour Unions, Irish parties, and foreign military potentates were not the only people to be subject to its influence. The Tariff Reform movement was being carried out in an atmosphere of perpetual excitement and anger; the new type of newspaper lived on sensation: Lloyd George's shrill demagogic note was new in speeches delivered by Ministers of the Crown; and the Peers caught the contagion of violence

1909 Lloyd George's Budget was unpopular with the upper class, justly because it proposed new Land Taxes in an ill-conceived form which proved on trial to be impracticable, and less reasonably, because it made a very moderate increase of direct

[1] It had been agreed in Charles II's reign that the Lords could not amend a money Bill, but could throw it out But since the custom had arisen of putting all the year's taxes in a single Budget Bill, the Lords had never thrown out a Budget They had in 1860 thrown out a separate money bill, Gladstone's Repeal of the Paper Duty Bill, but passed it next year when he put it into the Budget The Lords in 1909 claimed that the Valuation Clauses of the new Land Tax in the Budget were not proper to a Finance Bill, and that the Budget could not therefore claim the customary privilege of unchallenged passage through their House

taxation on the well-to-do. There was to be a graduated income tax at about a quarter of what it is to-day (1937) and corresponding death duties, to pay for Old Age Pensions and a very necessary increase in the Navy. If the Opposition had waited, they could have won the next election and repealed the Land Taxes. But they urged on the Peers to reject the Budget, the very thing which Lloyd George most ardently desired. He made ample use of his opportunity; his harangues at Limehouse and elsewhere sharpened the edge of controversy and aroused the democratic passions. It was a good election cry for the Liberals—'Shall Peers or People rule?' The Peers defended themselves by claiming that they had only referred the Budget to the People, and that the Land Valuation clauses were not properly financial: but the Peers were on the defensive and the Opposition had given to Lloyd George the advantage of attack

Meanwhile Asquith and his other colleagues appealed more quietly to moderate men, who had been drifting back to Conservative allegiance, but were shocked by the disregard of constitutional custom by the Lords. At the same time the Liberal Ministers were able to rally the Labour and the Irish forces to a joint effort to limit the Lords' power of veto. Another issue in the Budget controversy was Tariff Reform: it was urged by Conservatives as a method of raising money preferable to the increased direct taxation necessary under a Free Trade government.

All these issues were brought to a head together by appeal to the country Asquith, as Prime Minister, at once gave out that he would hold a General Election which should not only decide the fate of the Budget, but should pronounce on the new principle of a Parliament Bill to abolish the Peers' right to touch money bills, and reduce their veto on ordinary legislation to a suspensory action for two years

But at this stage, in December 1909, King Edward VII warned Asquith, that, greatly as he regretted the action of the Lords, he disliked the government's remedy as 'tantamount to the destruction of the House of Lords,' and could not consent to create three hundred Peers to carry such a measure until two successive general elections had shown that the mind of the country was irrevocably fixed.

Asquith, therefore, when he went to the General Election of January 1910 knew that victory in that election would not

suffice to carry the new Parliament Bill, but only the old Budget. This knowledge he kept to himself as requested by the King. Asquith's object was to keep the King out of political controversy It should be a prime object of every statesman, as our constitutional monarchy rests on the non-partisan character of the Crown Moreover, the knowledge that two general elections would be required would have disheartened Asquith's own supporters.

It is to be observed that in 1831 a single general election on the issue of the First Reform Bill had sufficed to induce William IV to pass the Bill by threatening to create Peers In the case of the Parliament Bill, two elections were required before the Crown would act King Edward was justified in insisting on the two elections, because public opinion was more divided in 1909–11 than it had been in 1831–32. It was therefore not unreasonable for King Edward VII, and for George V after him, to insist that there must be particularly full proof that the will of the majority of the country was steadily set. The King must be sure that no alternative government was possible, before consenting to make three hundred Peers in order to alter the Constitution against the wish of nearly half the nation Two General Elections held within twelve months of one another, would prove that the majority of the much divided country was fixed in its determination to have the Parliament Bill passed into law.

The result of the first of the two General Elections of 1910, held in January, resulted in the Liberals losing one hundred seats, but retaining, with the Irish, a majority of well over one hundred. When the new Parliament met, the Government was in great difficulties, because the Irish now held the balance in the House of Commons, and they disliked the Budget because of the increased whiskey duty. They would only forgo their objection to this part of the budget if they were assured that the Government would pass the Parliament Bill and then have a Home Rule Bill passed through into law under the terms of the new Parliament Act

The question of Home Rule, which had been in abeyance since 1895, now again took a front place in English politics. The crisis of the Parliament Bill was involved in the furies of the Irish as well as of the Protectionist and the Lloyd George controversies. When it became known that Asquith had not

yet obtained guarantees from the King to create Peers, the Irish and the Liberals were much taken aback. However, when the Irish had received assurances that a Home Rule Bill would at once follow the Parliament Act, they did at last consent to vote for the budget, which was sent up again to the Peers and passed at once.

At this stage, King Edward VII died and was succeeded by George V. At the time of the new King's accession, the Monarchy was not pledged to make Peers, but, in view of King Edward's message to Asquith in December 1909, it might be assumed that if a second general election should be won by the Liberals, George V would have no alternative But no one wished to force the new King into decisions that must, whatever he chose, enrage nearly half his British subjects. The period of mourning for the late King, who had been very popular, seemed an improper time for a fierce political crisis So the summer and autumn of the year 1910, the period between the two elections, was spent in a Conference between the chiefs of the Government and Opposition, endeavouring to find a way out by compromise The sessions of the Conference were secret, but it is now known that the Conservative Chiefs put forward plans for dividing future legislation between ordinary legislation and constitutional changes—making it easier for the ordinary bills to pass and subjecting constitutional changes to a Referendum. This plan, if adopted, would have carried our constitution still further in the direction of a written constitution, and would have introduced the entirely new principle of the Referendum. The Liberals could not accept this scheme, for many reasons, among others that Home Rule would be a Constitutional change and as such would have to be submitted to a Referendum, and Asquith's Irish supporters would have thrown him out sooner than consent to that.

May 1910

The Conference broke up without agreement and in December 1910 the second and decisive General Election was held. Before he went to the country, Asquith had obtained in November from George V the promise to create Peers to carry the Parliament Bill if he came back with a majority not seriously diminished. He did not tell the public, or the Opposition Chiefs, of this promise, in order that the King's name should not be involved in the controversies of the election. The King hoped that after the election the

Peers would submit, and that his conditional promise to coerce them need never be known at all.

The election of December 1910 rendered the same result as the election of January 1910. The Parliament Act was passed by the Commons and sent up to the Peers. Some of the Peers, led by Lord Lansdowne, tried to put forward alternative schemes of their own, reducing the hereditary element in their own body. But this, like all subsequent attempts to reform the personnel of the Lords, caused so much division of opinion among the Conservative Peers themselves that it was speedily dropped. In any case the victorious Liberals in the Commons would now accept no alternative to their measure to limit the powers of Upper House

The Lords passed the second reading of the Parliament Bill, and then proceeded to pull it to pieces in Committee. In July 1911 the position of May 1832 was repeated It was time to produce the King's promise to create Peers Mr. Asquith addressed to Mr Balfour and Lord Lansdowne a letter ending as follows :

> 'Should the necessity arise, the Government will advise the King to exercise his Prerogative to secure the passing into law of the Bill in substantially the same form in which it left the House of Commons , and His Majesty has been pleased to signify that he will consider it his duty to accept, and act on, that advice.'

Up till this moment the Opposition had not known that the King had given the promise. They were very angry, and their anger took the form of the famous 'die-hard' movement, to throw out the Bill regardless of consequences and leave to the weak King and his wicked Ministers the shame of creating three hundred Peers, if they dared to do so But Balfour and Lansdowne put themselves at the head of more moderate counsels, and urged the acceptance of what was now clearly inevitable. There was no need to bring a Liberal House of Lords into existence, merely to indulge one's feelings. In the exciting division on the Third Reading of the Parliament Bill, no one knew which side would win. Prudent counsels prevailed by a small majority, many of the Conservative Peers abstaining and some even voting for the Bill in order to avoid the swamping of their house. It was a close-run thing. Asquith had got as far as drawing up provisional

lists of about three hundred persons whom he would ask to accept Peerages, if the Bill were again thrown out. But the final division in the Lords carried the Parliament Bill. As in 1832, the crisis had been solved by the mere threat of creation, not as in 1712 by an actual creation of Peers to support the measures of Government. Again, as in 1832, the Prerogative of the Crown had proved the final weapon of democracy, a fact which helped to move the working classes still further away from Republican doctrine.

July 1911

The Parliament Act of 1911 increases the written element in our constitution as against the unwritten. The unwritten custom of the constitution had hitherto guided the relations of the two houses. No written law had laid it down that the Peers could not amend money bills ; no written law had declared that they could not throw out the budget for the year. But in practice those two customs had been observed, till in 1909 the Peers threw out the budget. It therefore became necessary to reduce the custom to a written law, because the unwritten custom had been challenged.

The other clauses of the Parliament Act, which go further than previous custom had gone, render the Lords' veto on ordinary legislation suspensive only The Peers were rendered incapable of preventing the passage of any Bill for more than two years—if the majority in the House of Commons in favour of the measure holds together during the interval. That law of the suspensive veto had first been proposed by John Bright during the crisis over the Franchise and Redistribution Bills of 1884

The Peers complained that the Parliament Act reduced them to impotence. It did indeed reduce their power, but it still left it considerable. The power of holding up government bills, other than money bills pure and simple, for two years, leaves a great bargaining power in the hands of the Peers A government will accept amendments to get its bill through at once And in case of a weak government, not likely to last two years, it enables the Peers to thwart legislation altogether, provided it is careful not to create reaction in favour of the dying government by an abuse of the suspensive power.

The Preamble of the Parliament Act foreshadowed a complete reconstitution of the Upper Chamber, 'on a popular instead of hereditary basis.' But the Preamble has never been implemented It has often been discussed, sometimes since

the War under the ægis of Conservative governments But no party in the State can ever agree how to reform the Peers. On this question, there are almost as many opinions as politicians. Many of the Peers by no means relish the idea of being excluded from their Parliamentary privileges. Many commoners think that two elective Chambers are undesirable. At any rate, the Parliament Act holds the field, and its Preamble remains in limbo (1937).

But 1911 was not, like 1832, the end of the worst trouble. For opinion in the country was much more evenly divided than in that famous year of old, when the Lords had little save their own constitutional powers with which to maintain the fight. And the Home Rule question now came up in earnest, since under the Parliament Act the Peers could no longer defeat it, but only delay its passage The disestablishment of the Church in Wales, the long-standing demand of Welsh Nonconformity and of the majority of the Welsh members, was also now a practicable proposition, heaping yet more fuel on the fire of men's wrath It was passed under the Parliament Act, amid loud protests, but the settlement, financially very generous to the disestablished Church, has since the War been accepted by all parties as satisfactory 'Few, if any,' said the Anglican Archbishop of Wales in 1923, 'now desire a return to the old order '

But in the last two years before the outbreak of the War, all tempers were on edge. The worst exacerbation of parties in Great Britain—a mixture of old constitutional and denominational with new social and financial antagonisms—corresponded in time with the climax of the older and more intense antagonisms of race and religion in Ireland. The prevailing spirit of the day was violence and anger : many even of the female advocates of Votes for Women—the most important of the many political cross-currents of that distracted era—resorted to organised outrage on persons and property, to advertise their cause, with the result that their cause lost ground ; these women who made outrage a method of persuasion were distinguished from the law-abiding Women Suffragists by the title of 'Suffragettes.' Labour troubles, too, were acute and strikes constant ; industrial strife between the vast national organisations of capital and labour in mines and railways were a new feature of life in the last years

before the War. As in the Middle Ages, great corporations were threatening to become stronger than the unorganised community.

But Lloyd George, the stormy petrel, loved to ride such waves. It was in the midst of these furies, concentrated largely upon his head, that he passed the complex and unpopular Health Insurance Act, a contribution scheme to insure the whole working population against sickness, which has since proved a great blessing to the working classes, and no ill friend to the doctors, who at first looked at it with natural misgivings, sharpened by political prejudice. Two of the most valuable of the social reforms of the Twentieth Century, Balfour's Education Act of 1902 and Lloyd George's Insurance Act of 1912 were highly unpopular and injured the Governments that passed them; both were rendered possible by the work and wisdom of the great public servant Sir Robert Morant, and by stubbornness of the two great ministers who forced them through Parliament. Though Balfour and Lloyd George were mutual opposites in politics, character, tradition and intellect, they both liked to go out in a storm. It seemed impossible in 1912 that they should ever be friends. But strange things were lurking behind the clouds ahead.

1912

The immediate consequence of the Parliament Act of 1911 was to render Home Rule a practical issue. The House of Lords would only be able now to hold up a Home Rule Bill for two years; after that it would become law, if the government majority survived so long. At the two elections of 1910 the Liberals had had their majority so far reduced that they could not keep in office if Redmond's Irish party voted against them, and the Irish party would certainly vote against them if Home Rule were not pushed straight through. The dependence of government on the Irish vote was a complication which rendered it very difficult for the Ministers to deal freely with the Ulster question involved in the Home Rule Bill. It was certain that the Protestant counties of Ulster would have to be excluded from the area of the Dublin Parliament, because they would fight rather than submit, and would be supported by the Unionist party in England. Already in 1912 the Liberal Government realised that some exclusion of parts of Northern Ireland would have to take place. The Cabinet discussed in

February 1912 whether to insert in the first draft of their coming Home Rule Bill clauses allowing the contracting out of Northern counties by popular vote. It would have been better if they had done so straight away But they decided to bring in the Bill as applying to all Ireland, and then to bargain by offering the contracting out clauses when the time for final agreement drew near

The reason for taking this line was the difficulty of getting Redmond's Nationalist followers to accept the exclusion of Ulster as a principle *ab initio.* All Nationalist Ireland was fiercely against such exclusion, the more so as it would leave large Catholic minorities under Ulster rule. And the Redmondite Nationalist position was already being undermined in Ireland by the attack of the Republican or Sinn Fein extremist movement. The Liberal Government hoped that the Irish Nationalist party, though it would not accept Ulster exclusion in the first instance, would bow to the inevitable at the last moment, if it became clear that Home Rule for the whole island was impracticable. In this hope the Government did not put into the Home Rule Bill of 1912 the exclusion clauses for Ulster which they would ultimately be prepared to grant. It was a ghastly situation, whatever the English Government did, for the passions of both parties in Ireland were as fierce as the nationalist passions of the Balkans and Austro-Hungary, and the fever was spreading from Ireland to infect the tone of parties in England also The natural desire of the Conservatives to revenge their own defeat over the Parliament Act made them all the more willing to support to the utmost limit the action of the Protestant Loyalists in Ireland.

So the Home Rule Bill was pressed through the Commons and duly thrown out by the Lords, and sent up again It would ripen for passage under the Parliament Act in 1914. In March of that fatal year, when the Home Rule Bill was presented for the third and last time to the House of Lords under the Parliament Act, Asquith announced his intention of proposing an amendment giving each of the Ulster counties the right of voting itself out of Home Rule for six years—thus postponing the final decision. Ulster would not accept anything except final exclusion. 'Give us a clean cut or come and fight us,' was Sir Edward Carson's cry. At any rate this meant that the Ulstermen and the English Conservative leaders

might submit to Home Rule for the rest of Ireland, provided a final clean cut was made of Protestant Ulster, only reversible by her own vote. The Cabinent was prepared to grant that, and probably ought to have said so sooner. Passions on all sides were now so highly wrought up that the business of delimiting the area of Ulster to be excluded had not yet been solved in July 1914. The debatable territory was the counties of Fermanagh and Tyrone, where Protestants and Catholics were evenly divided.

March 1914

The failure of English Liberal and Conservative statesmen to agree on the last details in good time had dangerous consequences in Ireland. There was the Curragh incident of unrest among the English army officers in Ireland, mishandled locally till it almost grew to mutiny. All along there was the open arming and drilling of Protestant Ulster, with which the government dared not interfere. It was countered in 1914 by the importation into Southern Ireland of arms which fell into the hands not of the Redmondite Home Rulers but of the Republican Sinn Feiners. It is impossible to say whether, if the German War had not come, civil war would have broken out in these islands.

Aug. 3, 1914

On the outbreak of war with Germany Redmond, following Sir Edward Grey's speech, offered on the floor of the House the help of Nationalist Ireland for the Allies ; Irish Catholics, he declared, were ready to fight beside their Protestant brethren of the North in the cause of Belgian and European freedom. Following on Redmond's speech there was a *détente*, which with luck or good handling might have led to a solution of the Irish question. But Ireland seldom had luck and seldom had good handling. The War Office, under the control of Lord Kitchener, 'thwaited, ignored and snubbed' Redmond's generous offer of Irish recruiting. Meanwhile, the Home Rule Bill was put on the Statute Book accompanied by the provision that it should not come into force till a year after the end of the War.

Under these conditions, the influence of the Republican Sinn Feiners grew at the expense of the Home Rulers as the War proceeded. At Easter 1916 took place the Republican rebellion in Dublin. It had no chance of success and at the time it took place it had little support in the country, but it gave the Sinn Feiners the greatest of all assets for propaganda —a martyrology. For a dozen of the rebels were executed

after capture. Their deaths made their unpopular cause popular with their countrymen in the retrospect.

When two years later the war ended in November 1918 the Redmondite Nationalist party in Ireland had lost control. The Sinn Feiners had ousted them from the affections of the people And with their passing had passed away the chance of settling Ireland on the Home Rule basis. England had been again too late Home Rule was on the Statute Book but it never came into force, because Ireland now rejected it with scorn It was born dead. But the Union was also dead. A new basis of agreement must be sought, and could only be sought on the lines of Dominion self-government for Ireland. After a horrible and disgraceful civil war of ambush and murder, begun by the Irish and replied to in kind by the government Black and Tans, peace came at last. The more moderate Sinn Feiners made their famous treaty with Lloyd George's Conservative government, and the Irish Free State was established.

Dec. 1921

In the previous year Northern Ireland, consisting of the six Protestant counties of Ulster, had made its own Treaty with England, on terms very advantageous to itself, for Ulster not only obtained self-government and a Belfast Parliament of its own, but also retained representation in the Westminster Parliament. Northern Ireland, as it is officially called, is in a class by itself in the British Empire. It is not a Dominion, for it is represented at Westminster ; yet it enjoys Parliamentary self-government.

1920

Because Ulster was thus already out of the way under a settlement of its own, it had been easier for Griffith and Collins, the leaders of the moderate party in the Sinn Fein, to accept the accomplished fact of separate treatment for Ulster and negotiate their own bargain with the British Government for the rest of Ireland By the Treaty of 1921 the Irish Free State was set up with Dominion status, on a par with Canada. The outstanding difference from the former Home Rule Bills is that Dominion status carries fiscal, military and naval autonomy The Statute of Westminster of 1931, defining Dominion status afresh on terms of complete equality with Great Britain, applies to the Irish Free State as well as to the other Dominions. And in 1935 the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council decided that, by the terms of the Statute of Westminster, the Irish Free State has the power to alter the

terms of its constitution as set out in the Treaty of 1921. The Irish, under de Valera's leadership, have availed themselves very liberally of this right

The story of Irish controversy in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries points to an obvious moral, that when Imperial problems of great difficulty and delicacy become involved in the English party dog-fight, the result is likely to be disastrous. If the two English parties had united, at any time before 1914, to produce a solution of the Irish question agreed between themselves, they might have imposed it on Nationalist Ireland and on Ulster But the Liberal leaders were bound to the Nationalists, and the Conservative leaders were bound to the Ulstermen. Possibly this was made inevitable by Gladstone's introduction of a full Home Rule scheme in 1886, and his insistence on remodelling the Liberal party there and then as a Home Rule party—thereby making the Conservatives, above all else, an anti-Home Rule party. It is possible also to throw the responsibility further back, and to say that when Pitt by the Union of 1800 introduced Irish representation into Westminster, he made it certain that in course of time a hundred Irish members, caring nothing for English questions, but holding the balance of the House of Commons in their hand, would put themselves up to sale to English parties in return for the adoption of their own policies in Ireland. The Union may have been a necessary police measure at the time when it was passed, but in the course of 120 years it proved itself as intolerable to England as to Ireland herself

## CHAPTER III

End of Isolation—Lansdowne and Grey—The Ententes with France and Russia—Haldane's Army Reforms—Europe's Drift to War—1914

From Canning to Salisbury the 'splendid isolation' of Great Britain served her interests well. She avoided a whole series of continental wars—except the adventure of the Crimea, which was of her own seeking and the consequences of which were easily liquidated In the then state of scientific invention and warlike armament, the Navy was still her sure and sufficient shield, and for a hundred years after Trafalgar no Power

attempted to build a rival fleet. The Balance of Power in Europe was adequately adjusted without Britain's make-weight, and the independence of the small countries of the Rhine Delta was not seriously threatened During the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, Gladstone had, in pursuance of the terms and the policy of the Treaty of 1839,[1] announced Britain's intention to take arms against either French or German violation of Belgium's neutrality, and on that occasion the warning was enough. In spite of Colonial difficulties with France, and Asiatic difficulties with Russia, Salisbury in the 'eighties and 'nineties saw no necessity to attach our fortunes to those of the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy We stood by ourselves alone, safe behind the shield of supreme naval power. But some, including Chamberlain, were beginning to be anxious

With the new century, and the jealousies and hatreds let loose by the South African War, the period of 'splendid isolation' came to an end. The first steps on the new road were taken by Lord Lansdowne as Foreign Minister under Balfour. To their thinking, the number, size and ubiquity of armed forces by land and sea all over the world, rendered it necessary that we should have at least some defined friendships. An understanding with America would have been preferred, but her traditional policy of isolation rendered it out of the question So the Japanese Alliance was made, originally to counterbalance the advance of Russia on to the shores of the Pacific, and to prevent the partition of China by Russia, Germany and France, which America disliked as much as we, but would do nothing active to prevent. The Japanese Alliance also enabled us to dispense with the creation of an immense naval establishment in the Pacific. Britain's friendship served to keep the ring for the rise of the first 'coloured' Great Power, to which the other European Powers were hostile. Japan's triumph over Russia in war had many reactions upon India and on the world at large. Ten years later, the Japanese, faithful to their alliance with us, safeguarded the waters and coasts of the Far East against German designs during the Great War, besides giving effective help in the Mediterranean.

1902

1904

More important even than the Japanese Treaty was the simultaneous evolution in our relations with France and the

[1] See pp 233, 363, above

German Empire respectively. The state of the Balance of Power in Europe was again giving cause for anxiety. Germany was more and more overshadowing Europe by her unparalleled military preparations, based on ever-increasing population, wealth and trained intelligence; and moreover she was adding to her predominant army a fleet built in rivalry to our own. To Britain the sea was the primary consideration of her very existence, as it was not to Germany. It was this naval rivalry which altered Britain's attitude to the European Powers.

During the last twenty years of the Nineteenth Century we had been in constantly recurring danger of war with France or Russia, owing to the clash of our interests with theirs at various points in Asia and Africa. In the first years of the new century it was felt that the chances of such a war, with the power of Germany on the flank of the combatants, were too great to be any longer risked. If Germany had been ready to make friends with Britain and share the business of guarding the *status quo* and the peace of the world, a German Entente might have been made. But tentative suggestions of this kind by Chamberlain and others had been rejected by Germany; and her growing hostility to us and her naval rivalry were evident. There was therefore no alternative but to remove by agreement our specific causes of quarrel with the French Republic and the Russian Czar.

In 1904 Lord Lansdowne settled the outstanding differences between Great Britain and France in Egypt, Morocco and Newfoundland by a Treaty of Agreement on these points, and so permitted the growth of the *entente cordiale*, not yet an alliance, and not on our part hostile to Germany—unless indeed Germany would have it so. King Edward VII's popularity in France during his holiday visits helped to make an atmosphere propitious to the new friendship, but he had nothing to do with the initial choice of the policy by his Ministers.

Sir Edward Grey succeeded Lansdowne at the Foreign Office in December 1905. It was a moment of European crisis, though the English people, intent on its General Election, scarcely knew it. Germany was threatening France with regard to French claims in Morocco. A clause in Lansdowne's agreement with France of the year before pledged us to support France diplomatically in this question,

in return for her recognition of our status in Egypt. Grey, in agreement with the Prime Minister Campbell-Bannerman, implemented this specific promise, and stood by France on the Moroccan issue. The other nations of Europe except Austria-Hungary, took the same line at the Algeciras Conference early in 1906, and so did President Theodore Roosevelt on behalf of the United States. Germany receded.

There had been more behind than the Moroccan question. Germany had resented Lansdowne's settlement of Anglo-French quarrels in 1904 and wished to show France that she could not depend on England , Grey showed her that she could. It was the testing of the Entente. If the return of the Liberals to power in December 1905 had meant, as a large part of the Liberal party wished, the return of Britain to her old isolation, France could not have resisted, and must either have fallen in war, or become the vassal of Germany. Russia at that moment was crushed by her defeat in the war with Japan, and was rife for internal revolt. Germany aimed at drawing first Russia and then France into her orbit. Britain would then be at her mercy. We were no longer in a position to defy a united Europe as in Nelson's day , submarines, aircraft and long-distance guns were depriving us of our insular safety

The danger of such a European combination under German leadership was actual. In July 1905 the Kaiser and the Czar had met in the Czar's yacht off the Baltic island of Bjorko, and had there signed a Treaty which put Russia on the side of Germany, by an agreement avowedly aimed against England, and as dangerous to her as Tilsit This Treaty of Bjorko had indeed been torn up immediately after signature, because some of the most important servants of the Czar and the Kaiser disliked the new engagements so hastily made by their masters on the yacht. But the Björkö policy might be renewed at any moment, and then France would be forced to follow suit, if Britain's pledge of support to her proved valueless. Grey's action over the Moroccan crisis prevented any such development. After Algeciras (1906) France and Russia both saw that Britain's friendship was worth having.

Grey could not however positively pledge England to turn the diplomatic support promised by the Lansdowne Agreement into military support, in case of war. The English people would not be pledged beforehand, until a *casus belli*

arose. Grey had not the power to turn the Entente into an Alliance, any time between 1906 and 1914. Moreover even if his colleagues, his party and his country had consented to an obligation so definite—and that was far from being the case—Grey's own view was that a pledge to take part in the next war might encourage France and Russia to more intransigent policies and engage us in a struggle not essentially defensive. All that Grey had either the wish or the power to do was to let Germany know the great likelihood that England would stand by France in arms, if France were attacked This he did

On the other hand, war had come so near over the Moroccan issue, that in January, 1906, Grey, with the consent of Campbell-Bannerman as Prime Minister, had sanctioned 'Military Conversations' between the British and French staffs. To contemplate a contingent possibility of British intervention, and yet have no war plan ready would have been madness, for while Britannia was fumbling with her sword, the Germans might be in Paris in a month. The Military Conversations of January 1901 were amply justified, as events of August 1914 were to show. Campbell-Bannerman ought no doubt to have told his Cabinet about them at once, but both he and Grey regarded them as a purely departmental question. In that view they were wrong; they should have told the Cabinet. But it would have been a far more unpardonable mistake not to have any plans for a war that might break out and destroy France in a few weeks, if England had made no preparations to come at once to her help.

On the basis of the Military Conversations with France in 1906 was built up Haldane's great army reform of the next years. The Military Conversations arranged a detailed plan for the immediate despatch of an Expeditionary Force to France in case a war should arise in which England decided to take a hand. One part of Haldane's Army Reforms of 1906–12 was the creation of such an Expeditionary Force of over 100,000 men of all arms, ready at a moment's notice to go to France by routes prearranged with the French authorities. It was this preparation that enabled our forces to arrive just in time to save Paris from the German onrush in 1914.

Haldane also created the Territorial Force, turning the

old 'Volunteers' and 'Yeomanry' into effective fighting units. Kitchener, on service abroad, did not realise that the amateurishness of the old 'Volunteers' was a thing of the past, and when called to the War Office, in 1914, refused to make use of the Territorial organisation. But he used the men whom it had trained

In the same years the Officers' Training Corps was established and a General Staff to think out military plans. The army at last had an official 'brain'

In 1907 Grey made an Anglo-Russian agreement to remove the specific causes of quarrel with Russia, as Lansdowne three years before had removed the causes of quarrel with France. With German unfriendliness and naval power increasing every year, it would have been the height of folly to drift into war with Russia Yet unless the Persian question were settled by agreement, war would come on that issue The Russians had Northern Persia already in their grip, and designed to push on to the Persian Gulf and the Afghan frontier ; we had old and great interests on the Gulf, and the protection of the independence of Afghanistan was regarded as essential to the safety of India. The Persians could not defend themselves against Russia. We had either to leave all Persia and the Gulf to the Russians, or fight a war with them on behalf of Persian independence, or else come to an agreement as to our relative spheres of influence. Grey chose the third course, in which he was warmly supported by Campbell-Bannerman as Prime Minister and by Morley as Indian Secretary. But the Anglo-Russian agreement was attacked by the advanced half of the Liberals and by the Labour party, as showing neglect of Persian interests and friendliness with the autocracy of Russia. This section of opinion was unwilling to increase armaments, yet anxious to pursue a policy in defence of Persia which must have led to a war with Russia —with Germany and the German fleet on our flank.

Grey's Anglo-Russian agreement was the only possible course consistent with our own safety. Yet it was a bad best. It prevented a Russo-German Alliance like that of Bjorko which would have overwhelmed us, but it gave to the German public the sense of being 'encircled.'

The charge that Great Britain deliberately fostered a policy of 'encirclement' of Germany, though often repeated

in that country, does not stand any test of truth. Grey, in the earnest pursuit of better relations, offered Germany outlets into Asia and Africa, by the Bagdad railway agreement and the agreement that Germany should have her share in case of Portugal's sale of Colonies. That was not 'encirclement.' Moreover, in the part that Grey so often played as disinterested mediator in the Balkan troubles, he carefully discouraged the the creation of a Balkan or a Slav bloc against Austria-Hungary, and he declined to oppose the dominating influence that Germany herself acquired at Constantinople

Politically, therefore, there was no encirclement. And militarily it was precisely Germany's central position that gave her such immense and almost decisive advantage when war came The encirclement, such as it was, was of Germany's own making. She had encircled herself by alienating France over Alsace-Lorraine, Russia by her support of Austria-Hungary's anti-Slav policy in the Balkans, England by building her rival fleet. She had created with Austria-Hungary a military bloc in the heart of Europe, so powerful and yet so restless that her neighbours on each side had no choice but either to become her vassals or to stand together for protection. The accident that the Teutons lay between the French and the Slavs put the Germans by the nature of geography in the centre of a 'circle,' thereby rendering their military power all the more formidable They used their central position to create fear on all sides, in order to gain their diplomatic ends And then they complained that on all sides they had been encircled. When Bismarck, in evil hour, made the Alliance with Austria-Hungary, he began a system that ere long caused the Franco-Russian Alliance to follow. Germany thus began the fatal system of Alliances which prevented the 'localisation' of any future quarrel between two great European powers, and in the end dragged more than half the world into a war begun on a Balkan issue.

By 1914 Grey had removed by agreement every specific cause of quarrel between England and Germany, but neither he nor any man could remove the fact of the over-great German power which in case of European war bade fair to destroy the independence of France and Belgium, and face England with a Continent united under vassalage to Berlin. As the years 1906–14 went on, the increase of the German fleet in rivalry to ours, and crisis after crisis of sabre-rattling

on the Continent partially awakened the English people to the dangers of the situation. But at no moment was the nation willing to convert the Entente with France and Russia into Alliance. Everyone was alarmed by Germany and her fleet, but this country was unwilling to decide beforehand what her action would be until the actual occasion should arise.

Relations with Germany were largely determined by the building of the German fleet. Growing fear for our own safety at sea, on which our existence was staked, affected not only Grey's diplomacy but the public opinion that lay behind his action. During the first two years of the Liberal Ministry, Campbell-Bannerman's plan was tried out, of reducing the pace of our ship construction in the hope of tempting Germany to do the same It appeared to have precisely the opposite effect. Germany treated the Prime Minister's friendly gesture as an opportunity to draw up into a serious rivalry of sea-power. His public proposal for an agreed mutual reduction of armaments was taken by the Kaiser as an insult and by his naval advisers as a trap, by which Germany might be persuaded to accept the existing condition of British superiority at sea.

1906–7

The Kaiser had the artist's temperament that would have flourished in the Quartier Latin, but was warped by Byzantine pomp and power. He dashed from mood to mood and from project to project ; now like Napoleon he divided the world with the Czar in the imperial yacht at Björko ; now with 'English' humour he invited Haldane to 'be a member of my Cabinet for the evening.' Now he enjoyed like a sportsman and good companion the social life of his grandmother's pleasant realm ; now he turned to vent in marginal expletives his irritation with the stubborn islanders who thought the size of his navy was any concern of theirs. Would that he had known less or more about England ! His love-hate towards her and her fleet was a psychological tragedy that involved millions beside the leading actor. But in all his changes of mood and purpose he clung to two fatal misconceptions, that England's friendship could be won by frightening her, and that any agreement for mutual limitation of armaments would derogate from his dignity as the Sovereign of the most powerful State in the world

If Holstein and Bulow and the Kaiser were fatal to

Germany by raising up for her a host of enemies, Grey was correspondingly serviceable to England by preserving and increasing her friendships. Had it been otherwise we should have lost the War. Grey always kept two objects in view: one object was to preserve peace; the other was to be sure that if war came we should have a chance to win It is difficult to see which of these two objects he could properly have neglected, though his critics often argue as if either the one or the other was of no account. The dread event proved that our margin of survival was small enough, so small indeed that we could not have won through if Grey had thrown either Russia or Italy into the arms of Germany, or terminated the Japanese Alliance, or alienated the statesmen and people of the United States. His steady, quiet pursuit of friendships for England, undeviating for years on end, so different from the giddy turns of opportunist diplomacy, achieved great results in spite of great obstacles

In the midst of these growing dangers, England, at a certain risk to her own European policy, achieved in these years a great practical triumph for humanity and justice in bringing about the reform of the Congo That unhappy region of Africa had long been, under an old international agreement, almost the private estate of King Leopold of Belgium. Through the agency of various companies, he had turned it into a vast slave-farm, contrary to the Treaties under which he held his powers. This state of things was exposed by the gallant and disinterested efforts of a private individual, E. D. Morel The British public had taken fire, and the Foreign Secretary too. But the Foreign Secretary knew that fire was not enough His plan was to encourage the Belgian State to take over the Congo from King Leopold; but he would only recognise the transfer on condition of wholesale reform, and in particular the abolition of forced labour 1908 British rights in the Congo were in his hands the lever to secure our humanitarian demands. Neither Germany nor France nor any great Power save the distant United States cared about the matter. But thanks to Grey's firmness and tact, thanks also to the better elements in the Belgian people and Parliament, and to the high character of King Leopold's successor on the throne, Congo Reform was an accomplished fact before the war of 1914, and Belgium and England had not fallen out. Belgium might have been driven into the

arms of Germany, if the matter had been conducted with less skill and consideration, or by a British Minister whose character did not, like Grey's, half persuade the Europeans that this Englishman was not a hypocrite but an honest man. In 1912 the rather similar affair of the Putumayo atrocities in South America, Grey achieved a similar success. In that case humanitarian feeling in the United States was nearer to the scene and more potent as an ally

Alike in peace and in war Grey pursued friendship with the Government and people of the United States as a primary object. Not only did he think it essential to our safety in the dangers that surrounded us, but he was idealist enough to hope that the two great sections of the English-speaking world would stand together for righteousness and peace. Both took, for instance, the same eccentric view that humanity mattered in Macedonia and the Congo He negotiated with 1912-1914 care and skill some very difficult passages with the United States about Mexico and about the Panama Tolls. And when the European War broke out our relations with America were excellent and Grey was on terms of personal friendship and intimacy with Ex-President Theodore Roosevelt, with Page the American Ambassador in London, and, most important of all, with Colonel House, the right-hand man and confidential messenger of President Wilson himself

There were two storm centres, whence war might break loose over the world—the Balkans and Morocco. In 1911 a second Moroccan crisis arose out of the Algeciras settlement of 1906 The dispute was known as 'Agadir,' after the Moroccan port to which the Germans sent a warship After several weeks of danger, during which Britain again supported France, the affair was settled by compromise: France secured the recognition of the rights she claimed in Morocco by ceding some of her Colonial territory elsewhere to the Germans

The Agadir settlement of the Moroccan question removed the last direct cause of dispute as between France and Germany themselves. But their allies might yet fall out and drag them into war For there remained the Balkans, and in the Balkan question was involved the fate of the Austro-Hungarian Empire: its rule was extended in Bosnia over Yugo-Slavs, and the free Yugo-Slavs in Serbia therefore desired the break-

up of the Empire of the Hapsburgs, in order to unite their nationals under their flag. The hostility between Vienna and Belgrade was intense And Germany thought herself obliged on every occasion to support her ally Austria-Hungary, and Russia to support the Slav interest in the Balkans.

Crisis after crisis arose in this region, each time nearly leading to a world war The expulsion of the Turks from Macedonia and Thrace by the armies of Serbia, Greece and Bulgaria, was long overdue and in itself desirable, but it greatly increased the tension between Austria-Hungary and her southern neighbours. For Serbia after her victory over the Turks, emerged as a military power of proved value, her ambitions now directed northwards to free all Yugo-Slavs still under Austrian rule. To maintain the threatened territories of the Empire intact, the rulers of Austria-Hungary thought it incumbent on them to crush the Serbs. War on this issue was just averted in 1913 because Grey used his good offices as mediator, and Germany on that occasion helped the work of peace. Next year the outcome was different.

1912

The atrocious murder of the Austrian Archduke Francis Ferdinand at Sarajevo was closely connected with the agitation conducted in Serbia for the redemption of Bosnian Yugo-Slavs. It was inevitable that Vienna would exact guarantees that this agitation should come to an end. Unfortunately the statesmen and soldiers in charge of Austro-Hungarian policy were determined not merely to get such guarantees, but to seize the opportunity of the Sarajevo murder to annihilate Serbia by war, even at the risk of the interference of Russia, whom they trusted Germany to keep off. Germany was therefore deeply concerned and her rulers ought to have insisted on their right to be consulted by their ally Unfortunately the Kaiser and his Chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg, though not really desiring war, gave Vienna a 'blank cheque' on July 5 to send what ultimatum she wished to Belgrade.

June 28, 1914

When the ultimatum appeared on July 23, it surprised the Kaiser and the whole world by its extravagance: such demands had never been made of an independent State: yet Serbia did accept nine-tenths. A European Conference could easily have bridged the remaining difference. Grey urgently pressed on Germany the necessity of such mediation. But the Kaiser, though he had not approved of his ally's

ultimatum, refused any Conference at all and declared that the question was a local affair between Austria-Hungary and Serbia with which neither Russia nor any other country was concerned. Such words meant war, for Russia's whole policy would be stultified by permitting the destruction of Serbia's independence, she began the slow process of her mobilisation. Germany, by this time in the hands of her military men, who could think only of their time-tables of war, sent ultimatums to Russia and to her ally France. At the beginning of August the huge strength of the German armies rolled, not eastward against Russia, but westward against France, through innocent Belgium

Thus the quarrel, though it had broken out on Eastern questions which did not concern Britain, threatened at the very outset to put an end to the independence of France and Belgium, in circumstances which would have prevented those countries from ever raising their heads again, otherwise than as vassals of Germany. The victory of the Central Powers would have meant the subjection of Europe to an Empire better calculated to survive and rule in perpetuity than ever Napoleon's had been. The very virtues of the German people, as the servants of their rulers' ambitions, made the danger of permanent slavery for Europe extreme.

Sir Edward Grey had made every effort to avert the war, and thereby helped to win for Britain and her Allies the moral sympathy of a large part of mankind, particularly in America. But when those efforts failed, self-preservation dictated that we should not permit the Channel Ports, the Netherlands, and indeed all Europe, to fall into vassalage to a power that was already openly our rival at sea. The violation of Belgian neutrality and the invaders' treatment of Belgian resistance was a drama that brought home, on a wave of generous emotion, the dreadful facts and necessities of the hour to the unwilling mind of the British public, which craved for nothing but peace.

Up to the moment of the invasion of Belgium, in the first days of August, British opinion had been divided as to the necessity of taking part in a European war. Neutralist feeling at the end of July was very strong, especially in the City, in the North of England and in the Liberal and Labour parties Half the Cabinet, headed by Lloyd George, inclined to neutrality It would therefore have been utterly impossible

for Grey, as is sometimes suggested in the retrospect, to threaten Germany with our participation in war a day earlier than he did Any premature attempt in July to commit Great Britain to fight would have led to the break-up of the Cabinet, and the division of the country at the moment of its greatest peril. Such a disaster nearly occurred, and was only averted by the wisdom of Asquith, who held together his colleagues and his countrymen. In that week of tumult and alarm, the heated mass of opinion might have exploded into fragments flying in opposite directions The danger of national division came to an end as a result of the actual invasion of Belgium, and on August 4 Great Britain went to war as a united country on behalf of her Treaty commitments to protect Belgian neutrality Belgium was not the only reason why we had to fight or perish , but it was the reason why we were able to strike as a united people, in time, but only just in time, to prevent the fall of Paris and the Channel Ports into the German power.

## CHAPTER IV

### The War and the Peace 1914–1919

A BRIEF summary of the leading events of the War may be a useful prelude to remarks on its general characteristics

The long-prepared plan of the German war lords was to hurl their main attack through neutral Belgium upon Paris, crush the French resistance at a blow, and then turn round and deal with the more slowly mobilising forces of Russia It came within an inch of success. The French Generals, Joffre and Foch, instead of preparing to meet the coming blow at the north of their line, began a rash offensive in Lorraine that was bloodily repulsed. Meanwhile the German armies trampled across Belgium, punishing resistance with a calculated 'frightfulness' that was meant to terrorise enemies and neutrals, and sounded the new, ruthless note of modern war The treatment of innocent Belgium rallied England to join the fight as a united nation, and struck answering chords in America.

Aug 1914

The British military chiefs, who had been left unacquainted with the French plans, had taken a more correct view of German intentions than their Allies. The 'Expeditionary Force' prepared by Haldane, nearly 100,000 strong, crossed

the Channel without the loss of a man or of a minute, and stood in the path of the main German advance as it emerged from Belgium The British were overwhelmed by enormous superiority in numbers, but fought delaying actions at Mons and Le Cateau which at once established the reputation of our soldiership in the new war [1] Then followed the British 'retreat from Mons'; the French also were falling back along the whole front, and the Germans confidently expected to enter Paris in another week. All seemed lost, but then happened, for very natural causes, the 'miracle of the Marne'

Joffre and Foch, after the great error which had cost France so dear in the first month of the war, kept their heads in apparently desperate circumstances, and brilliantly retrieved the situation by a counter-attack, taking advantage of the want of communication between the different German armies which had advanced at different speeds. The invaders were defeated by the French and British at the Battle of the Marne and forced to retreat from the neighbourhood of Paris But they dug themselves in on enemy territory, retaining Belgium and a large slice of France, including 80 per cent of her coal and almost all her iron. But the Channel ports were left outside the German lines, so that the allied armies in France were in direct communication with England and her supplies In that posture matters remained for the next four years 'Trench warfare' had begun. The opposing lines from the Channel to the Swiss border, though often swaying and sagging deep, first one way then another, never actually broke until the autumn of 1918. But to maintain that western deadlock there were poured out, in constant attack and counter-attack, millions of lives and the accumulated wealth of the past century of European progress

Sept. 1914

Could the deadlock in the West be broken by operations in the East? The Russian masses had invaded East Prussia in the early weeks of the war and so contributed to the result of the Marne by drawing off two German army corps from the

[1] The Kaiser denied that he had ever used the phrase attributed to him at this time about 'the contemptible little British army' But the humour of the 'Mons veterans,' the original Expeditionary Force of August 1914, demanded that they should continue to call themselves 'the old contemptibles,' and as such they will always be remembered by their countrymen A E Housman's *Epitaph on an Army of Mercenaries* also refers to them

West. But even before these supports could arrive, the battle of Tannenburg had been fought: the invaders of Prussia were defeated, with a loss of 300,000 men, at the hands of Hindenburg and his Chief of Staff, Ludendorff, henceforth the Dioscuri of the German war.

Aug 30, 1914

After Tannenburg the war between the armies of Russia and those of Germany and Austria-Hungary was continued on a gigantic scale. There was less trench warfare in the East than in the West. For three years the struggle swayed forward and backward over great stretches of country, chiefly over the prostrate body of Poland [1] Sometimes the Russians had success, but they were fatally handicapped by their want of arms and supplies, due to the primitive civilisation of their country, and the ineptitude and corruption of the Czarist government, staggering to its final doom. If the British could have obtained a direct and easy route to Russia her deficiencies in armament might have been better supplied But the Baltic was closed, and the attempt failed to open a route through the Dardanelles into the Black Sea.

The year 1915, with the attack on the Dardanelles and Constantinople, was indeed the one chance that England had of achieving victory by any method save exhaustion of the combatants. Success at this strategic point might perhaps have shortened the war by two years Turkey had joined the Central Powers, thereby involving England in an immense increase in her liabilities, for she had to defend against the Turks not only Egypt and the Suez Canal by operations in Palestine, but the Persian Gulf and its oil supplies by operations in Mesopotamia. Moreover the entry of Turkey into the war tempted Bulgaria to avenge her own griefs by an attack on Serbia. If Bulgaria marched on the enemy's side, the defence of Serbia against the overwhelming forces of Austria-Hungary would become impossible. But if, before Bulgaria threw in her lot with the enemy, England could force the Dardanelles and capture Constantinople, Bulgaria would almost certainly take our side instead, and the whole of the Balkan states would be mobilised against Austria-Hungary For these reasons the attack on the Dardanelles was attempted. But it failed, with the result that Bulgaria

Oct. 1914

[1] As a result of the World War, Poland in 1919 came back into existence as an independent nation, because her Russian and German oppressors, though on opposite sides, had both been defeated

Nov. 1915 joined the Central Powers, Serbia was overrun, and for the next three years the French and English armies could do nothing but hold on to the Macedonian port of Salonika as a base for future advance, if and when the enemy power should begin to fail.[1]

On the other hand Italy, in May 1915, entered the war on the side of the Allies, and a trench warfare of a kind similar to that on the Western front was established in the foothills of the Alps, holding so large a part of the Austrian forces that the worst consequences of the failure in the Balkans were avoided. Austria-Hungary survived till 1918, but was unable, owing to the Italian pressure, to help Germany on the Western front, or to push the advantages gained in the Balkans and in Turkey.

The British Cabinet, led by Asquith, had ably conducted the initial crisis of the war A financial crash had been avoided, the country had been rallied in a united Home Front, the navy had done its work well, the Expeditionary Force had been landed promptly and safely in France The Dardanelles was the one great failure, due to divided counsels, resulting in premature and ill-supported attempts that gave the enemy warning. Soldiers, sailors and statesmen must all share in that responsibility. If no man was the hero of the occasion, no man was solely to blame. But we lacked a Chatham or a Marlborough to give the guidance of genius to the World War

Apart from the Dardanelles the affair at sea had been well managed. The Expeditionary Force had reached France safely and at once, enemy cruisers had been hunted down and destroyed in all the seas of the world. The Japanese Alliance secured the Far Eastern seas Admiral Sturdee sunk Spee's German squadron off the Falkland Islands in December 1914. The Grand Fleet under Jellicoe was provided with quarters at Scapa Flow, which proved safe even under modern conditions of submarine work; thence for four years it watched the enemy Grand Fleet in its harbours on the North German coast, the situation corresponded to Nelson's watch off Toulon,

[1] The idea, held by some, that an attack from Salonika in 1916 or 1917 would have brought down the Austro-Hungarian Empire, overlooks the fact that Germany, holding the inner line, could send troops and supplies to the Balkans far more quickly than France and England But when the attack on the Dardanelles had been made in 1915, Germany had not then been in a position to send troops there direct across hostile and neutral territory

but owing to modern conditions the watch had to be conducted at a much greater distance. Only once the German Fleet emerged in force and the Battle of Jutland ensued. The result of that action, which involved severe losses on both sides, was that the German Fleet escaped, but that it never attempted to put to sea again.

May 1916

The same year 1916 saw much slaughter but no real change upon the Western front. The great attempt of the Crown Prince's armies to end the war by breaking through the French defence of Verdun failed after long months of effort. The first large-scale offensive of the newly-raised British armies on the Somme also gained no substantial ground.

After Jutland the Germans turned their attention to the submarine campaign, which in April 1917 had attained such success that England was in danger of starvation and the allied cause of collapse. But the situation was saved in the following months by the heroism of the merchant service, the application of new scientific instruments to the location of submarines, the convoy system, and the entry of the United States into the war as a result of the submarine campaign against her own shipping. Meanwhile the British 'blockade' was wearing down the stubborn resistance of the German peoples.

April 1917

Indeed it is not improbable that Germany would have been defeated in 1917 if Russia had not that year gone out of the war as a result of her Bolshevik Revolution following on her repeated defeats in the field, due largely to governmental incompetence. The period between Russia's retirement from the struggle and the advent of the American armies in Europe in the summer of 1918, was one of great danger for the Allies. In April 1917 the French offensive at Chemin des Dames proved a disastrous failure, and there was talk of mutiny and revolution. The pressure on France was relieved by the tremendous offensive of Haig on the Ypres front in the gloomy battle of Passchendaele, fought all autumn long in rain and mud; after frightful losses it registered little positive advance. The tragic and dangerous year 1917 was cheered at Christmas-time by the capture of Jerusalem from the Turks by the British army under Allenby advancing from Egypt. In the following year Allenby conquered all Palestine, entered Damascus and destroyed the Turkish military power. It was in these campaigns that 'Lawrence of Arabia' won his great reputation as leader of Arab irregulars.

The year 1918 would see the gradual arrival in France of the armies now being raised and drilled in America. If Germany had been wise she would have negotiated for a tolerable peace before they arrived. But her military men would not cut their losses, and were still for 'world conquest or downfall' The destinies of Europe were in the hands of Ludendorff, who underrated the potentialities of American military power, and who hoped to conquer France beforehand by a great offensive in the spring Owing to the falling out of Russia the Germans had for the moment a superiority in numbers in the West which tempted them to their ruin. Mismanagement, partly due to Lloyd George's distrust of Haig's tendency to attack, left the British force in France weaker than it need have been when the sudden blow fell upon it in March 1918. Perfect weather helped the Germans in their last mighty effort, which thrust back the English and the French very much as in September 1914 Paris and the Channel Ports were again in imminent danger. But the spirit of resistance in the French and British armies was not broken, and with the approach of summer they were cheered by the constant arrival of regiments of young Americans, eager for the war which had become so fearful a burden to the surviving veterans of Europe. The tide turned. A better co-operation between the allied armies was at length secured by making Foch Commander-in-Chief.

But the glory of the counter-offensive that ended the war lay chiefly with the decision of Haig and the efficiency of the British Army. The British Government did not expect the war to end till 1919 or even 1920, and to the last Lloyd George remained suspicious of Haig's love of the offensive, which this time at any rate proved right The old continental saying that the English only win one battle in a war, and that is the last one, has a certain verisimilitude in the light of Haig's final victory over the German resistance, in August to November 1918. Ludendorff's offensive in the spring had exhausted Germany and used up her spiritual and material power of further resistance, sapped by our naval blockade. Also, on the Italian, Turkish and Balkan fronts the allies of Germany were defeated and put out of action. Turkey and Bulgaria were conquered. Austria-Hungary dissolved, by a series of revolutions, into her component racial parts. Even Ludendorff's iron nerve was broken and he demanded

an armistice The flight of the Kaiser to Holland, the German revolution and the Armistice of November 11 followed.

Some points of comparison with the conditions and methods of the Napoleonic Wars may be a not unfitting way to end this History.

First, there was the difference of geographical situation. Jacobin and Napoleonic France attempted to conquer Europe from the base of its North-West angle ; the Germanic powers made the same attempt from the more formidable strategic centre which gave to them ' the inner line ' of battle against all-comers—Russian, Balkan, Italian, French and English-speaking. Britain's communications with her allies in the East, particularly with Russia, were therefore more liable to interruption by the enemy Also, in case the enemy won the war, it would be far more easy for the ' Central Powers ' to hold Europe and Western Asia in permanent subjection than it would have been for the successors of Napoleon, who could not have kept the Germans down for ever, even if the battle of Leipzig had gone the other way

As regards the strategy and tactics of the two struggles, Britain's part in both was to supply the money and maritime power of the Alliance, and to blockade the enemy by sea. But in the later war we also undertook another duty : we ' paid in person,' sending over armies numbered in their millions, and counting our dead at a million and our wounded at over two million in the four years. In the French wars from 1793 to 1815 our military effort, though important, had been small, and our average annual loss of life not above five thousand. Against Germany our average annual loss of life was nearly two hundred and fifty thousand. We found it necessary to make the greater military effort on the later occasion, partly because of the more formidable strength and geographical position of the ' Central Powers ' , if once we allowed the Germans to overrun all Europe as Napoleon had done, we should never get them out again

But our fuller participation in the war by land was dictated also by the changes in military and naval weapons and tactics, which had already shaken the old security of our island position. The possessor of the Channel Ports could, by long-distance guns, aeroplanes and submarines, threaten our existence much more formidably than Napoleon and his flat-bottomed boats

at Boulogne. So the British people themselves, as soldiers, took a leading part in the decisive operations of the War. The modern Leipzig and Waterloo consisted of a continuous battle, fought day and night for four years along a line hundreds of miles long. Modern financial credit, and means of transporting men, food and warlike stores, enabled the opposing nations to maintain millions of fighters continuously in the trenches, year after year, on each of the principal fronts.

The most marked difference between the two wars lay in armaments and tactics: the long Napoleonic wars began and ended with the Brown-Bess musket and close-order fighting of British line and French column. Invention continued all the time to be applied by England to industry, but was not applied by any country to war. Wellington's weapons and tactics were much the same as Marlborough's, Nelson's ships much the same as Blake's. Napoleon recognised the relation to war of modern administration and organisation, but he was fortunately blind to the military possibilities of modern science. But on the later occasion the methods of warfare, which in 1914 began with all the latest mechanical appliances and in Germany at least with the fullest national organisation, were revolutionised several times over in the course of four short years. Not only did trench-warfare take the place of the war of movement, but the development of aerial and submarine warfare on a great scale, and the invention of gas-warfare by the Germans and of tank-warfare by the British, are changes without any parallel among the slow-witted and unscientific wars of Napoleon. Science was harnessed, and the whole civil population was mobilised. Our ancestors in war time had lived safe behind Nelson's shield, happily producing Scott's lays and novels, Wordsworth's poems, Constable's and Turner's pictures; but now the civil population of Great Britain was fain to devote its whole energy and brains for four years to the business of slaying and being slain.

In the days of Pitt and Castlereagh we increased our Colonial Empire at the expense of France and her allies, and we did so again at the expense of Germany a hundred years later. But the Colonies had taken no part in the earlier struggle, for in Pitt's day the First British Empire had already been lost and the Second was still in its infancy. A hundred years later it was fully grown. There was indeed no machinery of Imperial Federation to bid the Empire march into line,

but by free individual choice, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and Anglo-Dutch South Africa took each its full share in the whole long contest. Between them they raised overseas contingents of a million and a half men When the War was over, each Dominion insisted on a full recognition of its nationhood. They claimed individual representation in the League of Nations, and the right to retain those German Colonies they had themselves taken in war. And finally, in 1931, the Statute of Westminster has given legal force to the long-established custom that the Parliament of Great Britain should legislate for the Dominions only at their own request. Laws affecting succession to the Crown can be altered only with the concurrence of each of the Dominions, and the King can take no advice about appointments or other action in the Dominions except from Dominion statesmen In the post-war world it is no longer Parliament but the Crown that links the Empire, in symbolism, in loyalty and in law.

India in the time of Pitt and Bonaparte had been the scene of the final struggle against French influence among the native Courts and armies. But India in 1914–15 sent over great bodies of troops, enthusiastic to take part in the European contest. Unfortunately in India, Egypt and Ireland the protracted and deadly character of the War gave rise to unrest and political exacerbation of which the early months had shown no sign

Since the War Egypt has become an independent State, though in close alliance with Great Britain. And India has been set on the path of self-government For although the Empire has been governed since 1918 mainly by Conservative statesmen, their Imperial policy has been extremely liberal. The old methods of Anglo-Saxon domination were shown, during the War, to belong to a bygone age. South Africa was saved and the neighbouring German territories overrun by the Dominion force under Botha and Smuts, who only a dozen years before had been our enemies in the field.[1]

Relations with the United States during the War were subject to somewhat the same general conditions as in Napoleon's time, but owing to wiser management and a better spirit, took an opposite turn On both occasions, the interests of England as the great blockading Power necessarily clashed with those of the neutral merchant Power, desirous of sending

[1] For the settlement of Ireland after the War, see p 456, above

her goods as usual to the European market. But whereas British Ministers in Napoleon's time had acted as though war with the United States were a matter of indifference, and had idly drifted into that catastrophe, no such mistake was made by Sir Edward Grey, who sacrificed points of real military value in permitting the passage of cotton and other articles of value to the enemy, in order to prevent an early explosion of American opinion against us. The Germans did the rest Owing to the careful methods of British blockade-diplomacy, the pro-Ally feeling in the United States and the German submarine attack on American persons and shipping were given time to operate, and draw the great neutral into the contest on our side.

Blockade conditions differed in several vital respects from those of Napoleonic times. It is true that our blockade of the enemy's principal Fleet, though conducted at long distance from Scapa Flow, was at least as effective as Nelson's close watch off Brest and Toulon in stopping all chance of invasion and in paralysing the enemy's great ships. But the Napoleonic privateers and frigates that skirmished against British commerce in spite of Nelson, were as nothing to the German submarine, which in the latter part of the War threatened to starve England into surrender. New methods of fighting the new danger were devised and carried out with a scientific efficiency wholly modern, and an old-fashioned skill and courage at sea of which the Royal Navy and the Merchant Service had not lost the secret

England no longer fed herself, as in Napoleonic times, and the command of the sea was therefore more than ever essential to her very life But neither, it appeared in the event, could the Central Empires feed themselves for an indefinite period As the British blockade tightened, especially after the American entry into the War enabled the stranglehold to be increased diplomatically and navally, Germany and Austria began to starve outright. Since the Industrial Revolution, European countries had ceased to be self-supporting in proportion as they were highly civilised and modern.[1] The economic fabric by which the modern millions lived was too international and too delicate to survive for long the injuries done by acts of scientific

[1] It is largely this experience that has caused Nazi Germany to attempt to become self-supporting in peace time so as to be self-supporting in case of another war

war. When the dreadful four years came to an end, Europe was ruined, materially and morally, and has made very little recovery since. Nothing but the removal of the fear of yet another such war will enable the freedom and elasticity of higher civilised life to be resumed.

A remarkable contrast appears between the two historic wars, as regards the position of the working classes and the relations of Britons to one another. Pitt and Castlereagh fought the French as constitutional statesmen, by and through the House of Commons; but it never occurred to them or to any of their colleagues that the common people required, in time of national peril, any management or consideration beyond anti-Jacobin repression and the silencing of Parliamentary Reformers. Nor, as regards the mere winning of the War, did this reckoning prove wrong. But the dangers of the Home Front in 1914–18 had to be met by very different methods. Early in 1918, while the War was still raging, the Fourth Reform Bill was passed by general consent, giving what was practically Manhood Suffrage, and a large instalment of the new principle of Woman's Suffrage; the cessation of outrages by the Suffragettes, and the splendid war work done by women in the factories and elsewhere, had converted many objectors to their enfranchisement.[1] The element of Dictatorship was perhaps stronger than in Pitt's time, as regards the relation of the Government to the House of Commons. But the English Cabinet Ministers of 1914–18 had always to appeal deferentially to the people. For they knew that if munition workers slacked or stopped work, it was no longer in the power of 'magistrates and yeomanry' to make them go on. Since 'the lower orders' had developed into an enfranchised and partially educated democracy, only persuasion could effect what repression had accomplished in the days of the Luddites. In the struggle with Jacobin France, the war-time specific was Combination Acts to suppress Trade Unions; in the struggle with Germany it was the raising of wages to an unprecedented height, and inducing leaders of the Labour party to enter the Coalition Cabinet. The hardships of war time did not, as a hundred years before, fall with their greatest force on the fortunes of the wage-earner. So long as the common danger

[1] In 1918 only women over thirty and not very many of them were enfranchised. In 1928 the Fifth Reform Bill, passed by Stanley Baldwin, enfranchised women on the same terms as men.

of the War lasted, the spirit of brotherhood in the British people of all classes, both at home and in the field, was at any rate much deeper and more widely spread than during the wars against Napoleon.

In another respect the comparison is less favourable to modern times. In the character of the peace dictated to the conquered after victory, the wisely generous treatment of France in 1815 by the aristocratic government of Castlereagh and Wellington at the Treaties of Vienna, compares most favourably with the vindictive treatment of Germany in 1919 by the democracy led by Lloyd George. In both cases the end of the war had resulted in the fall of the militaristic enemy government which had so long been the dread of Europe. Napoleon was replaced by the Bourbon Monarchy, averse from all the traditions of the fallen regime, and the France of Louis XVIII therefore found a friend in the British Government of the day. So too the Kaiser and Ludendorff were replaced in November 1918 by the German democratic Republic, to whom it was the interest of the British democracy to give a fair chance for the sake of Europe's future liberty and peace. Unfortunately this was not perceived by England until too late The rise of the Nazi regime and the unlimited rearmament of Germany have been the direct consequence of the insults and injuries heaped on the conquered at Versailles in 1919.

How those Treaties came to be made, in a passing mood so little representative of England's usual good sense and good nature, requires some examination. When the War began in 1914 the mood of the country was that of an idealist crusade to save Belgium and liberty in Western Europe ; great material advantages for ourselves were not envisaged, nor any gross revenge on the enemy. But the increasing atrocity of modern war, in which the Germans took the lead, the introduction of gas warfare, the sinking of merchantmen and hospital ships by submarines, the bombardment of open towns and bombing of cities from the air, aroused the deepest passions , and war propaganda, considered necessary to hold mass opinion on the Home Front concentrated in hate of the enemy, made the utmost of such themes. The popular press, in perpetual frenzy, painted 'the Huns' as scarcely human, and all who thought them human as traitors. The losses, sufferings and horrors of

war, strange to the experience of our happy island, hardened the courage and endurance of men and women into heroism, but also, as the terrible years went by, hardened their hearts and darkened their minds. The prolongation of such a war for four years destroyed the possibility of a reasonable peace, because the terms of peace would have to be decided before these abnormal passions would have time to cool.

If Constantinople had been taken in 1915, it is possible that victory might have been obtained in two years, by mobilising all the Balkan States against the Central Powers, and opening a free channel of supply to Russia. But Kitchener and the Cabinet failed to give proper timing and support to the spasmodic naval and military attacks on the Dardanelles, and the great opportunity of shortening the War was lost. In consequence of that failure, decision was only reached after a gradual process of exhaustion on the Western Front by the slaughter of millions, and the slow starvation of Austria-Hungary and Germany by the British blockade. When Russia fell out of the Alliance owing to the Bolshevist Revolution in 1917, her place was taken, only just in time, by the United States, unable any longer to condone the sinking of American ships by German submarines.

A Coalition War Ministry of Liberals and Conservatives had been formed under Asquith in the second year of the War. An ultimate though not an immediate consequence of the failure at the Dardanelles in 1915 was the fall of Asquith in December 1916. With him went a liberal element which would have been most useful at the peace-making, but could not survive the stresses of war. Asquith had many qualities as a Prime Minister in war time, but he needed a great military adviser and he had not found all that was needed in his Secretary of State for War, Kitchener of Khartoum. Kitchener roused the country to an early perception of the length and magnitude of the struggle, and conjured up the voluntary enlistment of 'Kitchener's armies' in the early months, while the country was still unwilling to submit to conscription. He was indeed a great personality and had a great hold over the public imagination, but he had not the elastic mind necessary for the conduct of a world war under modern scientific conditions.

The man who rose to the height of the occasion, at least in the opinion of great masses of his countrymen, was Lloyd

George. His activity as Minister of Munitions had made good the original deficiencies of the War Office. His imagination was always at work, his energy was contagious, and the state of courageous excitement in which he dealt with one war problem after another gave more confidence to the man in the street than the exasperating calm of Asquith's stoicism. There will always be widely divergent opinions as to Lloyd George's contribution to the victory, but at least his activity and courage helped to give confidence to the country, energy to its leaders and promptitude to their decisions.

The formation of the Lloyd George Ministry in December 1916, without Asquith and most of the other Liberal chiefs, led to an important constitutional change. A War Cabinet of only four or five regular members, a sort of Committee of Public Safety, took the place of the ordinary Cabinet until the end of the War. Indeed, the ordinary Cabinet was not restored until the autumn of 1919. And when the larger Cabinet came into existence again, it kept the system of Secretariat and regular agenda papers which the War Cabinet had instituted Sir Maurice Hankey, the Secretary of the War Cabinet in 1916 and of the restored Cabinet of 1919, was the first Secretary ever present at Cabinet counsels. The informality of the old Cabinet was yielding to the necessities of changed times and the increased burden and variety of ministerial work

When at last the German line gave way before Foch's strategy and Haig's attack, and victory came with unexpected suddenness in November 1918, England and France were called upon in an instant to switch their minds from the fierce mood of war to the prudence, foresight and generosity that peace-making requires. It was asking too much of human nature. Long years elapsed before France could think sanely, but in a year or two England had recovered her usual good nature and good sense , unfortunately the peace had to be made in the first six months, while the war passions were still aflame in every land. Nor was Lloyd George the man to risk his great popularity and spend his immense influence in a struggle against the passions of the hour, which always had an undue influence on his susceptible and mercurial mind Moreover, the circumstances under which he had replaced Asquith as Prime Minister had led to a breach between him and the major half of the Liberal party during

the last two years of war; the Armistice found him in political alliance with the proprietors of certain popular journals, then fiercely calling out for vengeance on German war crimes. And so at the General Election of December 1918 Asquith's followers, who would have stood for moderation in peace-making, were deliberately proscribed by Lloyd George and annihilated at the polls: the Liberal party was rent and destroyed, and has never recovered importance, for the Labour party in later elections step by step took its place

In the General Election held in these circumstances between the Armistice and the peace-making at Versailles, a House of Commons was returned pledged to make Germany pay for the War Lloyd George held a huge majority—and the huge majority held Lloyd George. After tying this mill-stone of a mandate round his own neck, he went to Versailles to help Clemenceau and Wilson give peace to the world. France, who had suffered more, was yet more intent on vengeance than England, and Wilson, meaning well, understood little of realities in Europe, or of opinion in America. Balfour, who was Foreign Minister and 'elder statesman,' should have upheld the old traditions of moderation and foresight, but unfortunately left everything to the Prime Minister during those fatal months at the French capital

Jan.-June 1919

Wilson and Lloyd George did at least prevent France from annexing the German part of the left bank of the Rhine, though the Germans were forbidden by the Treaty to occupy it militarily This wise compromise was obtained by a promise that America and England would guarantee the frontiers of France against attack, a promise which America refused to ratify, consequently England also declined this obligation for a while, thereby losing for some years all control over the policy of France towards Germany.

Upon the whole, the drawing of European boundaries was not ill done at Versailles. The new Europe consisted of a number of States based on the real principle of nationality. Indeed Poland, and the States that became the heirs of Austria-Hungary, had been formed by the act of their own populations, as a result of the last stage of the War, before ever the statesmen met at Versailles to confirm the change It was the War, not the Peace, that destroyed the Empire of the Hapsburgs.

The great error of the Treaty was the harsh treatment of the new German Republic It should have been the first object of England and France to enable it to survive as a

peaceful democracy. But the German nation was humiliated by the dictation of terms on the hardships of which she was not even permitted to plead before the victors ; she was forbidden to unite with Austria ; she was excluded from the League of Nations ; in the matter of Reparations she was treated in a manner so fantastic as to help to ruin her without benefiting her creditors. Finally all her Colonies were taken away. At the end of all previous wars the defeated enemies of England had always retained or received back some at least of their Colonies

At the same time the League of Nations was set up and was closely associated with the terms of the Treaty But the spirit of the League of Nations and the spirit of the Treaty of Versailles were utterly incompatible. One would sooner or later undo the other If Germany had been treated generously, and invited into the League as an equal, the League might have flourished and given real peace to the world Or if, after the Treaty, England, France and America had set about to remedy what was wrong in the Treaty, and to support the League in spirit as well as letter, all might yet have been well But England alone of the great Powers gave support to the true spirit of the League, and made some effort to remedyth grievances of Germany, particularly as regards Reparations. The mood of the unhappy General Election of December 1918, having dictated the Treaty, soon died out in the placable breasts of the English, who hastened to disarm and to put the war memories behind them, trusting with too complete a confidence in the power of the maimed League of Nations to avert the natural consequences both of the War and of the Peace. Certain that there was never to be another war, the English proceeded to scrap their air force, to let down their army, and even their navy, to a minimum, and to allow their agriculture and their mercantile marine to decay

But France could not change or forget She continued for years to harass the German Republic, thus preparing the way for its transformation into the Nazi regime. And America retired into herself. Having been instrumental in pledging Europe to the policy of the League of Nations, she refused at the last moment to join it. Nor would she any longer co-operate in any practical way to preserve peace It was a vicious circle . her withdrawal made the European anarchy worse, and the European anarchy

made her more determined than ever not to interfere in Europe again. She even withdrew from the Reparations Commission, where her support would have enabled England to restrain France ; the French were therefore able to find a quasi-legal excuse for their rash invasion of the German territory of Ruhr in 1923, England vainly protesting The outcome has been the Germany of Hitler that we know The other main cause of the rise of the Fascist and Nazi forms of government has been the simultaneous imitation of and reaction against Communism, to which doctrine the success of the Bolshevist Revolution in Russia gave a great impetus throughout the Continent. The outcome of the War of 1914–18 has been to destroy liberty, democracy and parliaments in the greater part of Europe

While Foreign affairs have gone ill since the War, Imperial and Home affairs have passed through some violent crises, but have not done so badly, considering the general bedevilment of the world So at least one would say at this moment of the Coronation of King George VI (May 1937).

## POSTSCRIPT, 1941

I WROTE these last pages in 1937 I have decided to let stand what I then wrote, for it was not untrue, though it now appears by no means the whole truth It dealt chiefly with our failure to appease Germany before the fall of the Weimar Republic, which I still think was an opportunity missed. But since the rise of Hitler our mistakes have been of a different kind, namely the failure either to prevent German rearmament, if necessary by force, or to rearm ourselves at a speed in any degree proportionate to the mechanized power on the ground and in the air that Germany was creating.

It has always been a fault both of British statesmen and of British public opinion to treat foreign policy and armaments as two distinct aspects of national affairs. But they are in fact inseparable. A foreign policy without armaments sufficient to support it, is a castle built in the air and inhabited at peril. Thus after 1933 our two rival policies of 'appeasement' of Germany and 'resistance to aggressors' were rendered alike futile by our continued military and air weakness. The political attack made on the governments of Baldwin and Chamberlain for not resisting the aggressors may have had substance, but it was conducted by parties and persons who were for the most part opposed even to conscription, and still more to the wholesale change over of industry to war production in peace time, which alone would have rendered us a match for Germany. Neither those Conservative governments nor their Labour opponents, nor the League of Nations advocates can escape the charge of improvidence in this matter.

We were, nearly all of us, blind and foolish. We continued to hope, ill-armed, for peace, and we supposed that even if war came at last the French would again hold their frontier for a couple of years as in 1914–16, while we again made an army and completed an adequate air force. The French army was again to be our first line of defence It was not fair either to France or to ourselves. Our statesmen said with truth that our frontier was to be on the Rhine, but in 1936 England and France allowed Germany to remilitarize the Rhineland contrary to Treaty, thereby turning the strategic flank of Belgium and northern France, and rendering it utterly impossible for the Western Powers to rescue Austria, Czecho-Slovakia and Poland when they were attacked each

in turn. And no attempt was made to stop the rearmament of Germany until her military power on land and in the air had been raised to its zenith.

The need of supporting our policies by force was overlooked. We undertook to give the law to armed Europe without adequate armaments of our own The League of Nations would impose its decrees by economic action against aggressors. This half-and-half policy, known as 'sanctions,' when applied to Italy in the Abyssinian case, lined up the Italian people behind Mussolini, and threw Mussolini into the arms of Hitler whom he had before opposed. We would neither fight for Abyssinia nor leave the matter alone, and so we got the worst of all possible results.

No wonder, then, that, when Hitler's preparations for the conquest of the world were ready, he was not afraid of Britain. He knew better than we did the real weakness of the French, and he imagined that Britain and her Empire were no less decadent Liberty and democracy seemed forms of government unable to contend, in the strong currents of the modern world, with athlete nations armed and drilled to move and wheel and strike according to secret plans formed by Dictators.

Nor was this impression of Britain's weakness and slowness entirely removed during the first six months of the war. Only after the fall of France in 1940, when friend and foe had given us up for lost, did the moral strength of Britain and the Empire appear in full Then, when at last pleasant theories had given place to harsh facts, and delusions to grim resolve, the tough qualities of our folk were made manifest, symbolized by the leadership of Winston Churchill The ultra-pacifist people, who had chosen to be still half-armed when the fight was forced upon them, were undismayed in 'the hour when earth's foundations fled,' and put up such a fight on sea and air and land that the name of Britain became a banner to rally the forces of freedom all the world over

# APPENDIX

## ENCLOSURES OF LAND

(Referring to Chapters I and IX)

(*a*) A fascinating field of antiquarian research and speculation is opened up by the problem of the ancient history of enclosure In some parts, *e g* in some forest districts in the south, and in some of the disturbed borderlands to west and north, it is possible that the communal village agriculture of the 'open-field' system had never taken root, but that the original method of settlement had been the isolated farmstead with a compact holding It is possible also that, in the West, Celtic land tenure affected early methods of farming and enclosure.

It is important to remember, in trying to visualise the England of 1760, that the 'open-field' system, described on p 6, above, was the normal type only in the big east-midland belt of fine corn-land, stretching from Yorkshire north, and from Norfolk east, to Wiltshire south and west

(*b*) The following table gives the figures of the last great period of enclosure, about which we know far more than about the many preceding periods of enclosure:

ENCLOSURES BY ACT OF PARLIAMENT (PRIVATE BILLS)

| Years | | Common Field and some Waste | Waste only |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1700–1760 | . | 237,845 acres | 74,518 acres |
| 1761–1801 | . | 2,428,721 ,, | 752,150 ,, |
| 1802–1844 | . | 1,610,302 ,, | 939,043 ,, |

But the amount of land enclosed between 1700 and 1760 was greater than this table indicates, because enclosure by *Private Act of Parliament* only came in during the course of the eighteenth century, and we cannot gauge the amount of enclosure by the number of Acts with any safety before 1760 Mr. Gonner has shown that enclosure was proceeding on a large scale without Act of Parliament throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. But many of the earlier enclosures had not been accompanied by a redistribution of land so destructive to small farmers and to the old order of society as the later enclosures normally were Thus we read in Mr Bishton's Report on Shropshire to the Board of Agriculture (1794) 'This county does not contain much common field lands, most of those having been formerly enclosed, and before Acts of Parliament for that purpose were in use. But the inconvenience of the property being detached and intermixed in small parcels is severely felt, as is also the inconvenience of having the small farm buildings in villages, the lands occupied therewith of course being distant' He goes on to complain of the smallness of the farms

# SOME LEADING EVENTS SINCE THE FIRST GERMAN WAR

| | |
|---|---|
| 1918 (Dec.) | Lloyd George's General Election. |
| 1919 | Treaty of Versailles |
| | League of Nations set up |
| | Britain disarms, France and Italy do not |
| | Montagu-Chelmsford reforms establish Dyarchy in India disturbance and repression Gandhi |
| 1920. | United States Senate prevents America entering into League of Nations America refuses to guarantee French territory and therefore Britain follows suit. |
| | 'Ulster' obtains a separate Parliament (Dec.) |
| 1921 | War against Sinn Fein ended by Treaty in December · Irish Free State set up as a Dominion |
| 1922 | Turks drive Greeks out of Asia Minor Britain stops Turks at the Straits |
| | Fall of Lloyd George Ministry |
| | Mussolini establishes Fascism in Italy |
| 1923 | French occupy the Ruhr |
| 1924 | First Labour Government, dependent on Liberal vote, lasts eight months |
| 1925 | (Dec.) Locarno Treaties temporary relaxation of European tension |
| | Germany joins the League of Nations |
| 1926 | General Strike and Miners' Strike |
| 1927 | Disarmament Conferences fail |
| 1928. | Local Government Act. Fifth Reform Bill general enfranchisement of women |
| 1929. | Second Labour Government, dependent on Liberal vote, lasts two years |
| 1931 | World Slump and Financial Crisis |
| | (August) Break-up of Labour Ministry |
| | National Government formed and wins General Election against Labour |
| | Statute of Westminster gives new legal status to Dominions |
| 1932. | Unemployment question acute gradual, partial recovery |
| | World Economic Conference fails Japan defies and leaves League of Nations about Manchuria |

| | |
|---|---|
| 1933–1934 | Hitler establishes Nazi rule in Germany. Leaves League of Nations, repudiates obligations of Versailles Treaty and rearms Germany. |
| | European tension again becomes acute |
| 1935 | Jubilee of King George V |
| | Act of Parliament gives Responsible Self-government and Federal constitution to India |
| | Mussolini attacks Abyssinia, a member of the League of Nations |
| 1936 | League 'economic sanctions' fail to save Abyssinia |
| | Hitler re-occupies Rhineland |
| | Treaty with Egypt as an independent Nation |
| | George V dies, succeeded by Edward VIII (Jan.–Dec.), who abdicates George VI succeeds. |
| | Spanish Civil War begins |
| | British rearmament beings very slowly |
| 1938 (Mar.). | Hitler seizes Austria. |
| (Sept.). | 'Munich' Hitler occupies defensive frontier of Czecho-Slovakia |
| 1939 (Mar.) | Hitler seizes Czecho-Slovakia |
| (April) | Mussolini seizes Albania |
| (Sept.) | Hitler attacks Poland Second German-British War begins |

# LIST OF MINISTRIES

| | |
|---|---|
| 1770–1782 | North (Tory, King's Friends) |
| 1782 | Rockingham (Whig) |
| 1782–1783 | Shelburne (King's Friends and Chathamites) |
| 1783 | Coalition of North and Fox (Whigs and Tories) |
| 1783–1801 | Pitt (Chathamites and King's Friends, gradually becoming Tory ; Conservative Whigs join in 1794) |
| 1801–1804 | Addington (Tory) |
| 1804–1806 | Pitt's Second Ministry (Tory) |
| 1806–1807 | Ministry of All-the-Talents (Whigs and Tories) |
| 1807–1809 | Portland (Tory) |
| 1809–1812 | Perceval (Tory) |
| 1812–1827 | Liverpool (Tory), becoming more liberal in policy after 1822 |
| 1827. | Canning (Liberal Tory) |
| 1827. | Goderich (Liberal Tory). |
| 1828–1830. | Wellington-Peel (Tory) |
| 1830–1834. | Grey (Whig) |
| 1834 | Melbourne (Whig). |
| 1834–1835 | Peel (Conservative). |
| 1835–1841 | Melbourne (Whig) |
| 1841–1846 | Peel (Conservative). |
| 1846–1852 | Russell (Whig) |
| 1852 | Derby-Disraeli (Conservative) |
| 1852–1855 | Aberdeen Coalition (Peelites and Whigs) |
| 1855–1858 | Palmerston (Whig) |
| 1858–1859 | Derby-Disraeli (Conservative) |
| 1859–1865. | Palmerston (Whigs and Peelites, Liberals). |
| 1865–1866 | Russell (Whig and Liberal) |
| 1866–1868 | Derby-Disraeli (Conservative). |
| 1868–1874. | Gladstone (Liberal) |
| 1874–1880 | Disraeli (Conservative) |
| 1880–1885 | Gladstone (Liberal) |
| 1885–1886 | Salisbury (Conservative). |
| 1886 | Gladstone (Liberal) |
| 1886–1892 | Salisbury (Conservative, supported by Liberal Unionists) |
| 1892–1894 | Gladstone (Liberal). |
| 1894–1895 | Rosebery (Liberal) |
| 1895–1902 | Salisbury (Unionist) |

| | |
|---|---|
| 1902–1905. | Balfour (Unionist) |
| 1905–1908. | Campbell-Bannerman (Liberal) |
| 1908–1915 | Asquith (Liberal) |
| 1915–1916 | Asquith (Coalition) |
| 1916–1922. | Lloyd George (Coalition) |
| 1922–1923 | Bonar Law (Conservative). |
| 1923–1924 | Baldwin (Conservative). |
| 1924. | MacDonald (Labour) |
| 1924–1929. | Baldwin (Conservative) |
| 1929–1931 | MacDonald (Labour) |
| 1931–1935 | MacDonald (National) |
| 1935–1937 | Baldwin (National) |
| 1937. | Neville Chamberlain (National). |
| 1940 | Winston Churchill |

# LIST OF BOOKS

Readers may find the following books useful for more detailed study of various aspects of the period 1782–1901

## I BIOGRAPHICAL

PITT (1) Holland Rose (2 vols ) has superseded earlier lives. (2) Lord Rosebery (short study) (3) Macaulay's *Essay* in *Miscellaneous Works* and *Encyc Brit* (4) Wilberforce's sketch of Pitt in *Private Papers of Wilberforce*, 1897

FOX. (1) Life of, by Edward Lascelles (Oxford, 1936) (2) *Memorials and Correspondence* (4 vols ), ed Lord J Russell (*The Early Life of C J Fox*, by Sir G. O Trevelyan, refers to the period before the American War, but gives a picture of the political society out of which the men of the later period emerged )

BURKE (1) Lord Morley. (2) Sir J Prior (3) His own speeches and writings (many volumes)

WELLINGTON (1) Sir H Maxwell (2 vols in one) (2) *Conversations of Wellington*, Stanhope (3) Dispatches (many volumes)

NELSON Mahan (2 vols )

WILBERFORCE R Coupland

CASTLEREAGH C K Webster

BENTHAM A. V Dicey's *Law and Opinion in England*, though not strictly biographical, contains the best estimate of Bentham's influence on British development

PAINE Moncure Conway (2 vols )

COBBETT (1) E J Carlyle (2) G. D H Cole.

FRANCIS PLACE Graham Wallas

ROBERT OWEN F Podmore (2 vols )

COKE OF NORFOLK A M W Stirling

CANNING H W Temperley

LORD GREY OF THE REFORM BILL G. M Trevelyan

BROUGHAM (1) Atlay (Victorian Chancellors) (2) Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors*, including Brougham, is amusing but untrustworthy.

LORD ALTHORP Sir D Le Marchant

LORD GEORGE BENTINCK Disraeli.

RUSSELL. Spencer Walpole (2 vols )

PEEL (1) J R. Thursfield (2) Parker (3 vols ), for Correspondence (3) Lord Rosebery (short essay) (4) G Kitson Clark

Cobden Lord Morley (2 vols.)
Bright G M Trevelyan.
Florence Nightingale Cook (2 vols.).
Disraeli Monypenny and Buckle (6 vols)
Gladstone Lord Morley (2 vols).
Mill, John Stuart Autobiography
Lord Randolph Churchill Winston Churchill (2 vols)
Lord Salisbury. Lady Gwendolen Cecil (2 vols, others to follow).
Queen Victoria. (1) Lytton Strachey (2) *Letters of Queen Victoria*
Biographical Studies Walter Bagehot On various statesmen of the century
Studies in Contemporary Biography Bryce.
Eminent Victorians Lytton Strachey
Some Political Ideas and Persons John Bailey (1 vol) (on Queen Victoria and Disraeli)

Byron Thomas Moore (2 vols)
Keats Sidney Colvin
Wordsworth (1) The Prelude (Autobiographical)
(2) Life of Wordsworth, by Harper (2 vols)
Sir Walter Scott Lockhart (6 vols.)
Macaulay G O Trevelyan Carlyle Froude (4 vols)
Ruskin. Cook (2 vols) William Morris J W Mackail (2 vols).
Charles Darwin Francis Darwin (3 vols)
Leslie Stephen F W Maitland
A Survey of English Literature (from 1780–1880) Oliver Elton (4 vols.).
English Thought in the Eighteenth Century Leslie Stephen (2 vols)
General Gordon J Buchan
Asquith. Spender and C Asquith.
J Chamberlain Garvin
Balfour Mrs Dugdale
Campbell-Bannerman J A Spender.
Grey of Fallodon G. M Trevelyan.

## II POLITICAL, DIPLOMATIC AND MILITARY

History of England in the Eighteenth Century. Lecky (later vols).
A History of England, 1815–75 Spencer Walpole (9 vols).
A History of Modern England Herbert Paul (5 vols)
Cambridge Modern History, vols viii–xii, *passim*
A Modern History of the English People, 1880–1910 R H Gretton (2 vols., first vol to 1898)

Great Britain, 1886–1935. J A Spender
England, 1870–1914 Ensor (Oxford History of England).
King George V. D. C Somervell.
The King's Grace (George V) J Buchan
Modern England, 1885–1932 J H Marriott
Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy (forthcoming)
The Confederation of Europe W Alison Phillips

MODERN EUROPE, 1815–99 W Alison Phillips
BRITISH DIPLOMACY, 1813–15 Select documents dealing with the Reconstruction of Europe Ed by C K Webster.
THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA C K Webster, and
THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN, 1878 E L Woodward (small handbooks prepared by Historical Section of the Foreign Office, 1920, Nos 153 and 154).

HISTORY OF THE BRITISH ARMY Fortescue (8 vols)
HISTORY OF THE PENINSULAR WAR. Oman (5 vols)
HISTORY OF THE PENINSULAR WAR Napier (6 vols)
INFLUENCE OF SEA POWER UPON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND EMPIRE Mahan (2 vols)
SEA LIFE IN NELSON'S TIME John Masefield
THE CAMPAIGN OF TRAFALGAR Corbett
L'EUROPE ET LA RÉVOLUTION FRANÇAISE Albert Sorel (8 vols) This great and authoritative work is indispensable to a full understanding of the relation of the French Revolution and French policy to the whole Continent between 1789 and 1815 But its author had less knowledge and understanding of British than of Continental affairs The early and middle parts of the work are the best

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION IN ENGLISH HISTORY P A Brown
THE PASSING OF THE GREAT REFORM BILL J R M Butler
THE UNREFORMED HOUSE OF COMMONS E Porritt (2 vols)
TWENTY YEARS, 1815–1835 Cyril Alington, Head Master of Eton, 1921
A HISTORY OF THE GREAT WAR. Cruttwell
THE WORLD CRISIS Winston Churchill

*Contemporary Works*

THE ROLLIAD THE ANTI-JACOBIN CREEVEY PAPERS (2 vols.) for early part of century GREVILLE MEMOIRS (8 vols) for middle part of century CROKER'S CORRESPONDENCE (3 vols) MEMOIRS OF THE WHIG PARTY Lord Holland (2 vols + 1, 'Further Memoirs' to 1821) STATE TRIALS PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

## III ECONOMIC, INDUSTRIAL AND SOCIAL

VICTORIAN ENGLAND Portrait of an age G M Young (Oxford, 1936)
ECONOMIC HISTORY OF MODERN BRITAIN J. H Clapham
GROWTH OF ENGLISH INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE Cunningham (2 vols)
LE PEUPLE ANGLAIS AU XIX$^{E}$ SIÈCLE Elie Halévy (also in English).
THE ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION OF ENGLAND W. J. Ashley
OUTLINES OF ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND H O Meredith
LIFE AND LABOUR IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY G R Fay
TOWN LABOURER, 1760–1830, and SKILLED LABOURER, 1760–1830 J L. and B Hammond
TRADE UNIONISM S and B Webb.

CHARTIST MOVEMENT (1) Julius West; (2) Elie Halévy in *Quarterly Review*, July 1921, on Chartism
HISTORY OF CO-OPERATION Holyoake, see also LIFE OF HOLYOAKE MacCabe
A HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH POOR LAW, 1834–1908 Nicholls and Mackay (3 vols)
ENGLISH APPRENTICESHIP AND CHILD LABOUR A HISTORY Jocelyn Dunlop.
A HISTORY OF FACTORY LEGISLATION Hutchins and Harrison
A HISTORY OF BRITISH SOCIALISM. M Beer (2 vols)
CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASSES IN 1844 Engels
A SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND, 1815–1918 J F Rees
ENGLISH COMMONS AND FORESTS, 1864–1894 (Commons Preservation Society) Shaw Lefevre, Lord Eversley

POPULATION PROBLEMS IN THE AGE OF MALTHUS G Griffith (Cambridge, 1926)
LONDON LIFE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY Mrs George
ENGLISH FARMING, PAST AND PRESENT R E Prothero (Lord Ernle)
THE ENGLISH PEASANT AND THE ENCLOSURE OF COMMON FIELDS Gilbert Slater.
COMMON LAND AND ENCLOSURE Gonner
THE VILLAGE LABOURER, 1760–1830. Hammond.
THE ENCLOSURE AND REDISTRIBUTION OF OUR LAND. Curtler, 1920, and HISTORY OF AGRICULTURE, 1909
THE FARM LABOURER Jocelyn Dunlop
LARGE AND SMALL HOLDINGS Hermann Levy.

THE ENGLISH CHURCH IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY Warre Cornish (2 vols).
THE OXFORD MOVEMENT Dean Church
THE CENTURY OF HOPE Marvin
LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND Redlich and Hirst (2 vols)
LOCAL GOVERNMENT J P. R Maud (Home University Library)
SECONDARY EDUCATION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY R. L. Archer, 1921.

HISTORY OF CRIMINAL LAW Sir James F Stephen (3 vols)
LAW AND OPINION IN ENGLAND A V Dicey, especially for Bentham
THE CIVIL SERVICE OF GREAT BRITAIN Robert Moses Columbia University Studies in Political Science, vol. lvii, No 1, 1914
HOW BRITAIN IS GOVERNED. Ramsay Muir

*Contemporary Works*

ARTHUR YOUNG'S WORKS
COBBETT'S RURAL RIDES (2 vols)
INSTRUCTIONS TO YOUNG SPORTSMEN Col Hawker, eds of 1824 or 1844
Works of Jane Austen, T Love Peacock, George Borrow, Dickens, Mrs Gaskell's MARY BARTON, Disraeli's SYBIL, Trollope's BARCHESTER TOWERS series, Meredith's BEAUCHAMP'S CAREER, and other contemporary works of fiction throw much light on social history and custom in the early and middle nineteenth century.

## IV SCOTLAND

Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century H G Graham (2 vols ).
The Awakening of Scotland, 1747–1797 W L Mathieson
A Century of Scottish History Sir H Craik (2 vols )
A History of Scotland. C S Terry (last chapters)

Memorials of His Time Lord Cockburn (early years of century)
Lockhart's Life of Scott Scott's Antiquary Galt's Annals of the Parish, The Provost etc

## V. IRELAND

Lecky's History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century (last vols ), and Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland (for Grattan and O'Connell)
Parnell. Barry O'Brien (2 vols ), and Chap vi of Lord Morley's Recollections
The Economic History of Ireland from the Union to the Famine George O'Brien, 1921
Gladstone and Ireland Irish Policy of Parliament, 1850–94 Lord Eversley, 1912

## VI THE EMPIRE

There are two excellent historical series of volumes on Canada, Australasia, South Africa, India, and the Tropical Colonies, respectively The first is the Historical Geography of the British Empire and Dependencies, edited by Sir Charles Lucas, written by various hands The other series is written by A Wyatt Tilby, The British People Overseas Sir C Lucas's series is the more detailed of the two

A Short History of the British Commonwealth Ramsay Muir (vol ii)
The British Empire and the United States W A. Dunning
Lord Durham Stuart Reid (2 vols )

Sir George Grey Rees
The Long White Cloud (New Zealand) Pember Reeves
For Australian Social History see Geoffrey Hamlyn, by Henry Kingsley, and 'Rolf Boldrewood's' works

South Africa G Theal (5 vols )
Cecil Rhodes. Basil Williams
Impressions of South Africa Bryce, 1897.
'The Times' History of the South African War, edited by L S Amery and others (7 vols )

Warren Hastings, by Sir Alfred Lyall, and Lord Lawrence, by Sir R Temple, in the English Men of Action series

British Dominion in India Sir Alfred Lyall.
The Oxford History of India Vincent Smith, C I E
The Last Days of the Company, 1818–1858 A source book of Indian History by G Anderson and M Subedar (3 vols )
Indian Nationality R N Gilchrist
A Short History of India W H Moreland and Atul Chandra Chatterjee.

England in Egypt Milner
Modern Egypt. Cromer (2 vols.).

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